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History Of The English Baptists

Crosby



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THE HISTORY OF THE English Baptists,

FROM

The REFORMATION to the Beginning of the Reign of King GEORGE I.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

Their HISTORY to the RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

By THO. CROSBY.

LONDON,

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Preface To The Republication Of "The History Of The English Baptists" Four Volumes In Two

Glancing over the vast circle of human history with the distinct purpose of discovering those periods at which mankind were most forcibly appealed to and influenced in their spiritual capacity, our attention is immediately arrested and drawn by the singular splendour which marks the birth, growth and history of christianity. There is both a greater degree of evidence required and a greater degree given, for unfolding the moral truths of Ecclesiastical History. And where the mind takes proper advantage, fully intent on the object of inquiry, history is examined as a body instinct with spirits which have their immortality within, and will come forth and manifest themselves at the call of thought, rightly spending it's preparatory vigils. Then the most important eras of our existence are unfolded and stamped forcible upon our minds, until our hearts are finally consumed with that vital attachment of historic christianity to the present and future preservation of the faith.

When we ponder the lessons of Church History with a disposition to contemplate it's brightness rather than it's darkness, we find much to humble, but much more to cheer and elevate, while all inspires unbounded confidence in Divine faithfulness and wisdom. To comtemplate so vast a machinery at work for so many generations, to reflect on the sordid crimes committed under the sacred name of religion, the divisions by which the church was rent asunder, and the dire reign of intolerance which sought to extinguish her in mental and physical torpitude, is indeed afflicting. There is scarcely a page of Ecclesiastical History which does not furnish abundant materials to call forth sorrow. But far more consolatory is the realization that the Captain has stood by the helm of this old ship, and great is the comfort that views the destined rewards of His servants who have maintained under every disadvantage, a successful struggle against sin, by employing that light, which, in the darkest of periods, has sufficed to guide them to immortality. Amidst all the perturbations, and notwithstanding all the errors and infirmities of her inferior

administrators, God's eternal purposes for the illustrious Bride of Christ are steadily advancing to their completion. Only within the lids of Ecclesiastical History will such progression be distinctly perceptible age after age, and stand as a perpetual testimony, at once, to the promises and providence of God.

The eternal destiny of all the coming generations rests on the shoulders of the faithful of this present generation. The faith which was once delivered unto the saints was final. It needs no alterations. How it must grieve the great heart of God as He beholds the corruptness that flows so freely and unmolested in the realm of our religion today. This modern naturalistic liberalism neither came by chance nor did it emerge overnight. It is the higher evolutionary product of centuries of skillful devisings, hallowed and sanctioned by the ruthless, master deceiver, that grand antagionist of God. How we need to study the history of our fathers, who possessed that glorious sense of goal and destiny which alone is able to defy the death grip of humanistic materialism, that so imminently threatens to plunge our generation into the madness of a purposeless existence. Their exemplary lives was their consummation of everlasting blessedness and adoration. The highest fulfillment of their destiny was to love, protect, and preserve the faith for the following generation. They possessed the heavenly mindedness of humility that created in them a staunch an immovable application to the truth, while so many today are wrapped up in liberalism which breeds infidelity, irreligious temper, unholy speculation, dishonesty, pride, higher gradations of impiety, vile affections and all sorts of antigodliness. When men willfully abandon Divine guidance, and arrogantly close their eyes to the illumination from Heaven, their errors multiply with every step, until finally the calamity of their own devilish principles brings it's own antidote and retribution.

The echos of clanging chains and martyr fires had barely faded into the mist of yesterday when Thomas Crosby began this monumental work. A time when fertile fields were enriched with the blood of sainted millions, a time when the flood tides of liberalism within, were only rippling infants. A time when cowardly liberals were but few and many noble spirits possessed with deep and loyal convictions for truth illuminated the corridors and pathways of Zion. Thank God for the millions of Baptists whose testimonies were sealed

with their life's blood, without which, the faith would have never been preserved, and so our salvation.

Such an immense burden of mind, and soul must have griped and animated one of the eighteenth centuries' greatest ornaments as he employed his superior learning and power of logical inquiry in this sacred labor. While he believed the Scriptures to be the sole original of doctrine, his mind was large enough to consider the many sources both of information and instruction, which, properly opened, may be fashioned to pour copious streams of knowledge into the bosom of the christian community. God must have been pleased to endow his heart and mind with historical aspirations unparalleled in his era, as he traced out and recorded the true facts of history by such a laborious and spiritual watchfulness. It is indeed worthy of our admiration to observe our long departed Brother's patience in availing himself of his God given privileges, and presenting the world with this voluminous monument of Baptist History.

Faithfully and Prayerfully submitted,
Church History Research & Archives.
July 30, 1978

Acknowledgment

The members of Church History Research & Archives expresses our sincerest gratitude and heartfelt thanks to the Eternal God of Heaven for the rare privilege of reproducing this scarce and valuable work, which, heretofore, none have ventured to bear the responsibility. For the sake of cost and convenience to the reader, we have taken liberty to combine the original four volumes into two separate volumes, arranging them in sequence, harmonious to the references of other histories which refer to this work.

We are also deeply obligated to acknowledge the great concern and love of our historical minded brethren, Dr. R. E. Pound, Amory, Miss., and Dr. R. L. Crawford, Calif., for preserving, and so graciously providing the four volume set from which this work was reproduced. Our hearts are deeply moved toward those whose hearts throb with a quenchless love for the accumulation and preservation of Baptist History. Not until the sparkling dew of eternity has fallen, will the value of such efforts be crowned with grand vendication.

The presentation of this great work is indeed one of our greatest privileges. Surely it will survive us all, and stand as a shining monument to the ripe scholarship of it's noble author, and a historic classic to Baptists for generations to come. It is our prayer that every reader will find a special source of strength and heartfelt convictions as they relive the right and solemn experiences so realistically portrayed in this history.

TO THE
READER.



I AM well aware, that ſome things contained in this hiſtory *may awaken prejudice, cenſure, or diſpleaſure, and occaſion objections and offence, both to the treatiſe and my ſelf. And I know that ſome have already declared their opinion, that facts which bring no credit to the perſons of whom they are related, ought to be buried in oblivion. But ſuch perſons ſeem to me to be very ignorant of the duty of an hiſtorian. In anſwer to whom I ſhall only obſerve, that thoſe* heretical perſons *of the denomination of* Baptiſts, *on whom the ſword of the* magiſtrate *fell ſo heavy, are yet upon record, and not omitted even by ſo late an* author *as the reverend Mr.* Neal, *and ſo expoſed to the view of men from age to age. Therefore I thought it needful, as well as juſt, to have theſe things ſet in a clear open light, to diſabuſe all thoſe who may have been impoſed upon by falſe or partial and defective* hiſtory *in this matter, and to remove, or prevent, or allay, ſcandal, or cenſure, for time to come; and I am apt to think that many* readers *now and hereafter would have thought me* partial, *had I not taken notice of them. Neither do I think that it reflects any* odium *on the* Engliſh Baptiſts, *that ſome of their opinion in the point of* Baptiſm, *have been charged with* heretical *notions and* heterodox *opinions, Name me that body of chriſtians in the world, which may not be equally, if not more, chargeable with the ſame. And yet I doubt not, God hath many faithful ſervants in this kingdom, amongſt all the denominations of chriſtians, who notwithſtanding the imputation of* hereſy *and* heterodoxy *charged on them by others, will be found among the bleſſed in the kingdom of glory.*

And as it is utterly unreaſonable to impute the miſcarriages of ſome, *to the reſt of that* body *to which they belong,*

belong, until they profeſs and manifeſt their approbation of them; ſo it is much more unreaſonable to impute the miſcarriages *and* bad principles *of perſons long ſince dead, to* thoſe, *who in ſome one point, now believe and act as they did, but own not, nor abet either their* bad principles, *or their* practical enormities.

Now though many, even of the learned, *and ſo late an* author *as Mr.* Neal, *from whom we might have looked for more chriſtian treatment, have made it their buſineſs to repreſent the* Anabaptiſts, *as they are pleaſed in contempt to ſtile them, in* odious colours, *and to write many* bitter things, *even* notorious falſhoods *concerning them, nay,* to faſten *doctrines upon them, which they never approved; yet, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel of this* hiſtory, *no one ſect of chriſtians in this kingdom have merited more the favour and good eſteem of their* governours *and* chriſtian brethren, *by their peaceable carriage and behaviour towards them, than they have done. What* ſect *of chriſtians have ſhewed the like contentedneſs under the deprivations which the* legiſlature *has ſeen needful to lay upon the* Diſſenters *in general, than they? Who have been more content with the liberty allowed them by law than they? But not to be tedious in an epiſtolary way, I ſhall refer the* reader *to the work itſelf, and leave him to judge whether I deſerve to be* reproached *for avoiding partiality.*

He that conſiders the great trouble and pains that muſt attend the reading ſo many voluminous books, *to take in the compaſs of ſo many years included in this* hiſtory; *and the perplexing thoughts and difficulties under which an* author *labours, whoſe principal end is to ſet things in a juſt and fair light, will, if he be candid, eaſily paſs by ſmall faults and little inadvertencies; but if there ſhall appear in the courſe of this* hiſtory *any conſiderable miſtakes, I ſhall hold my ſelf obliged to ſuch* gentlemen, *who ſhall be pleaſed to repreſent them, promiſing to take the firſt opportunity that ſhall preſent, to retract or amend the ſame.*

Tho. Croſby.

THE PREFACE.

WHOEVER writes a Book ſeems by cuſtom obliged to write a *preface* to it; wherein it is expected, he ſhould ſhew the motives which induced him to write the ſame.

'Tis now many years ſince the materials, of which a great part of this treatiſe is formed, came into my hands. Had the ingenious collector of them lived to digeſt them in their proper order, according to his deſign, they would have appeared much more beautiful and correct, than now they do. I might here expatiate in his praiſe, and ſay a great deal of my own knowledge, both as to his induſtry and acquirements: But, as I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention him, I omit it here: And ſhall annex to this *preface* the ſeveral opinions of the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, which he deſigned as an introduction to his intended hiſtory of them; being

Mr. Benj. Stinton.

ing the only piece of that work which he had compleated.

I WAS in hopes ſome able hand would have undertaken to compleat what was wanting, in order to finiſh this work. To render the ſame leſs burthenſome to ſuch an undertaker, I employed my ſpare hours, in the beſt manner I could, to digeſt the materials in their proper order, and ſupply the vacancies; till at length, at the requeſt of two worthy *Baptiſt* miniſters, both ſince deceaſed, *Mr.* Wallin. *Mr.* Arnold. I communicated them to the Reverend Mr. *Neal*, who had undertaken to write an *Hiſtory of the Puritans*; under which general name, I did apprehend the *Engliſh Baptiſts* might very well be included: And he had them in his hands ſome years.

THE good character of the gentleman, with the importunity of my two friends afore-mentioned concurring (though I muſt confeſs it was with doubting) yet made me yield ſo to do. But I was ſurprized to ſee the ill uſe Mr. *Neal* made of theſe materials; and that the riſe and progreſs of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, their confeſſion of faith, their character, and their ſufferings, were contained in leſs than five pages of his third volume; and that too with very great partiality, as ſhall hereafter be proved.

AND it is but too well known, concerning *Pædobaptiſt* authors in general, that when they have been neceſſitated to ſpeak in favour of the opinion of the *Baptiſts*, preſently a vail has been drawn over the ſame, either reſpecting their perſons, principles, or morals; ſo that it is not an eaſy thing for ſtrangers to form a right judgment of them; which

which makes an hiſtory of them neceſſary, without any further apology. Yet, conſidering the great variety of opinions and humours that are in this kingdom, and the coarſe treatment even of the moſt celebrated authors, upon the moſt ſublime ſubjects; a man had need have a good ſhare of courage, and a firm aſſurance of the juſtice of his cauſe, that ventures to appear publickly in ſuch a cenſorious age.

THE *Editor* does preſume he is thus ſupported; and declares, That what he has here written is purely deſigned to inform the honeſt and well-meaning Chriſtian, whether *Pædobaptiſt*, or *Baptiſt*; by whom he hopes it may be candidly received, in proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

Mr. *Neal*, in his preface, concludes thus: *Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. III.*

'I am ſufficiently aware of the delicacy of 'the affairs treated of in this volume, and of 'the tenderneſs of the ground I go over; 'and, though I have been very careful of 'my temper and language, and have en'deavoured to look into the myſterious con'duct of the ſeveral parties with all the in'difference of a ſpectator, I find it very 'difficult to form an exact judgment of the 'moſt important events, or to ſpeak freely 'without offence; therefore, if any paſſio'nate or angry writer ſhould appear againſt 'this, or any of the former Volumes, I 'humbly requeſt the reader to pay no regard 'to perſonal reflections, or to inſinuations of 'any ill deſigns againſt the eſtabliſh'd reli'gion, or the publick peace, which are en'tirely groundleſs.

'In hiſtorical debates, ſays he, nothing 'is to be received upon truſt, but facts are to 'be examined, and a judgment formed upon 'the authority by which thoſe facts are ſup- 'ported; by this method we ſhall arrive at 'truth: And if it ſhall appear, that, in the 'courſe of this long hiſtory, there are any 'conſiderable miſtakes, the world may be 'aſſured I will take the firſt opportunity to 'retract or amend them".

A NOBLE declaration, indeed! But let us now ſee how conſentaneous his repreſentation of the *Engliſh Baptiſts* is thereto, eſpecially, conſidering what materials he was intruſted with.

HE allows there were no leſs than fifty four congregations of them in *England* in the year 1644. and ſays:

Vol. III. *p.* 161. 'THEIR confeſſion [of faith] conſiſted of 'fifty two articles, and is ſtrictly *Calviniſtical* in the doctrinal part, and according 'to the independant diſcipline; it confines 'the ſubject of baptiſm to grown Chriſtians, 'and the mode to dipping; it admits of 'gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a 'due ſubjection to the civil magiſtrate in all 'things lawful".

HE proceeds then to their character; which, in my opinion, is one piece of that *tender ground* he was to go over: And how careful he was of his temper and language, let the reader judge. For, ſays he,

Ib. *p.* 162. 'THE advocates of this doctrine were, 'for the moſt part, of the meaneſt of the 'people; their preachers were generally 'illiterate, and went about the countries 'making proſelytes of all that would ſub-

'mit

'mit to their immerſion, without a due re-
'gard to their acquaintance with the prin-
'ciples of religion, or their moral cha-
'racters".

WHAT a malicious ſlander is this! caſt upon a whole body of Chriſtians, conſiſting of fifty four congregations, according to his own acknowledgment! To me it ſeems unchriſtian, without ground, a fact unexamined, a judgment formed without any authority produced to ſupport the fact; and conſequently the reader left to form his judgment upon Mr. *Neal*'s *ipſe dixit*, repugnant to his noble declaration.

But leſt this ſhould not be enough, he concludes their character by adding thus:

'The people of this perſwaſion were more
'expoſed to the publick reſentments, becauſe
'they would hold communion with none but
'ſuch as had been dipped. All, ſays he,
'muſt *paſs under this cloud* before they
'could be received into their churches; and
'the ſame *narrow ſpirit* prevails too general-
'ly amongſt them even at this day".

THIS is a home ſtroke; and reaches the preſent as well as preceding ages. But I am verily perſwaded the preſent *Engliſh Baptiſts* will not be much affected with his raillery; ſince our bleſſed Lord and Saviour himſelf did not diſdain to *paſs under this cloud*, as Mr. *Neal* is pleaſed to phraſe it.

DR. *Featly*, writing againſt the *Baptiſts* in his day, ſays: 'He could hardly dip his pen
'in any other liquor, than the juice of gall".
And I find Mr. *Neal* has not only read the *Doctor*, becauſe he quotes him two or three times, but learned ſome of his language too;

too: What of wit he may imagine in ſuch kind of phraſeology, I know not; but ſure I am, *Chriſt's Ordinances* ought to be mentioned with more reverence, by thoſe who profeſs themſelves to be Chriſtians.

THE ingenious Dr. *Wall*, in his elaborate hiſtory of infant baptiſm, ſpeaking of the moſt ancient rites in baptiſm, acknowledges dipping to be ordinarily uſed in baptiſm. For, ſays he:

Vol. II. *p.* 291. 'THEIR general and ordinary way was 'to baptiſe by immerſion, or dipping the 'perſon, whether it were an infant, or grown 'man or woman, into the water. This, 'he adds, is ſo plain and clear, by an infinite 'number of paſſages, that as one cannot but 'pity the weak endeavours of ſuch *Pædo-* '*baptiſts*, as would maintain the negative of 'it; ſo alſo we ought to diſown, and ſhew 'a diſlike of the profane ſcoffs which ſome 'people give to the *Engliſh Anti-Pædobaptiſts*, 'merely for their uſe of dipping. 'Tis one 'thing to maintain, that that circumſtance is 'not abſolutely neceſſary to the eſſence of 'baptiſm; and another, to go about to re-'preſent it as ridiculous and fooliſh, or as 'ſhameful and indecent; when it was, in all 'probability, the way by which our bleſſed 'Saviour, and for certain was the moſt uſual 'and ordinary way by which the ancient 'Chriſtians, did receive their baptiſm".

AND, ſpeaking of the preſent ſtate of the *Anti-Pædobaptiſts* in *England*, he ſays:

Ib. p. 216. 'THEY, that are now, are as commend-'able, as any other ſort of men are, for a 'ſober and grave, quiet and peaceable way 'of living. They profeſs obedience to Ma-

giſtrates:

‘ giſtrates: *And a little further*, They are ‘ particularly commended for maintaining ‘ their poor liberally; as alſo for paſſing ‘ cenſures upon ſuch members of their own ‘ congregations as live diſorderly. This cha- ‘ racter of obedient ſubjects, is what they ‘ now own and profeſs, and what I hope is ‘ the real ſentiment of moſt of them ”.

And I add, it was what they did always own and profeſs ever ſince they had a being in this kingdom; and that neither Dr. *Wall*, nor any other, is able to prove the contrary. His ſilly ſtory about Mr. *Hicks*, I find in his latter edition, is recanted; therefore ſhall ſay nothing about it.

Biſhop *Burnet*, ſpeaking of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, gives them this character: *Hiſtory of his own Time*, p. 702.

‘ The *Anabaptiſts*, ſays he, were gene- ‘ rally men of virtue, and of an univerſal ‘ charity”.

And I would here obſerve, That though in the title page of this book, and throughout the ſame, I uſe the term *Baptiſt*, except in quotations from authors; it is not, as Dr. *Wall* obſerves, to caſt a reproach on our adverſaries; but becauſe I think it the moſt proper term, by which we can be diſtinguiſhed from other Chriſtians.

Indeed he ſays: ‘ As they diſown the ‘ name of *Anabaptiſts*, or *Rebaptizers*, ſo ‘ I have no where given it to them. As on ‘ the contrary, I do not give them the name ‘ of *Baptiſts*, nor of the baptized people; ‘ for that is to caſt a reproach upon their ad- ‘ verſaries, as concluding that they are not ſo. ‘ Every party, while the matter continues in ‘ diſpute, ought to give and take ſuch names ‘ as *Dr.* Wall, *p.* 2, 99.

'as caſt no reproach on themſelves, nor their 'opponents, but ſuch as each of them own; 'and ſuch are the names that I uſe."

So that this worthy gentleman has taken upon himſelf to be our godfather, and given us the name of *Anti-Pædobaptiſts:* But, as we are not infants, we have an undoubted right to put in our exceptions.

BESIDES the length of the word, for I do not love hard names, it ſeems to me no proper name; becauſe the people called *Quakers*, from whom we differ in judgment, as well as from the *Pædobaptiſts*, may be included; and therefore I have rejected it. Neither ſhall I think that he has aſſumed to himſelf and party a proper name, till ſprinkling, pouring, or any other way of waſhing beſides dipping, is fairly proved to be baptiſm, either from ſcripture or antiquity.

BUT, to return to Mr. *Neal.* If he would have us to underſtand by his ill-natured phraſe, *narrow Spirit*, that he means, becauſe we will not receive unbaptized perſons to the communion of our churches, therefore we are a people of *narrow Spirits*; then the deſigned reproach, which he would fix on the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, fits all the chriſtian churches in all ages: For it is their declared opinion, That no perſons unbaptized ought to be received to the communion of the chriſtian church, and they practiſe accordingly.

To omit a cloud of witneſſes I might produce, who concur in their teſtimonies, that this *great ordinance of baptiſm*, is not only the ſacrament of *initiation*, but alſo to be continued in the church unto the end of the world,

I ſhall

I ſhall only add a few general and comprehending teſtimonies:

1. In the articles of religion, publiſhed by his Majeſty's ſpecial command, *Anno* 1642. we have the judgment of the *church* of *England*, viz.

'Baptism is not only a ſign of profeſ-
'ſion, and mark of difference, whereby
'chriſtian men are diſcerned from others that
'be not chriſtned; but it is alſo a ſign of re-
'generation, or new birth, whereby, as by
'an inſtrument, they that receive baptiſm
'rightly are grafted into the church; the pro-
'miſes of the forgiveneſs of ſin, and of our
'adoption to be the ſons of God by the
'Holy Ghoſt, and viſibly ſigned and ſealed;
'faith is confirmed, and grace increaſed by
'virtue of prayer unto God, *&c.*"

2. The judgment of the *Presbyterians*, ſuitable to which they expreſs themſelves in their larger and ſhorter catechiſms, we find in the confeſſion of faith put forth by the aſſembly of divines, *Anno* 1658.

'Baptism, ſay they, is a ſacrament of
'the *New Teſtament*, ordained by Jeſus
'Chriſt, not only for the ſolemn admiſſion of
'the party baptized into the viſible church,
'*but alſo to be unto him a ſign and ſeal of the*
'*covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into*
'*Chriſt, of regeneration, of remiſſion of ſins,*
'*and of his giving up unto God, through*
'*Jeſus Chriſt, to walk in newneſs of life*:
'Which ſacrament is by Chriſt's own ap-
'pointment to continue in his church until
'the end of the world".

3. The

3. THE judgment of the *Congregational* (commonly called *Independent*) churches, we have in their confeſſion of faith at the *Savoy*; where were many of their Elders in *October* 1658, printed *Anno* 1659.

'BAPTISM, ſay they, *is a ſacrament of* '*the New Teſtament, ordained by Jeſus* 'Chriſt, *to be unto the party baptized, a* 'ſign *and ſeal of the covenant of grace, of* 'his *ingrafting into Chriſt, of regeneration,* 'of *remiſſion of ſins, and of his giving up* 'unto *God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to walk* 'in *newneſs of life: Which ordinance is* 'by *Chriſt's own appointment to be con-* 'tinued *in his church until the end of the* 'world".

4. THE *Engliſh Baptiſts* judgment you have in their confeſſion of faith, *Appendix* N° 2. Art. XXXIX. and N° 3. Art. XXIV.

IT is certainly commendable to keep the ordinances of Chriſt pure, as they were delivered; becauſe it prevents the creeping in of the inventions of men in the worſhip of God. Man is naturally apt to be medling that way, and mixing ſomething of his own with thoſe ſacred inſtitutions which God has with greateſt ſeverity prohibited; having not ſpared any, no not his own people, though what they have done ſeems not to be out of any wicked intentions, but rather out of an ignorant zeal: Of which there are many inſtances in ſcripture.

The Reverend Mr. *Neal* would do well to convince the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, That *ſprinkling* of *infants* is the *baptiſm* which Chriſt inſtituted,

ſtituted, and the Apoſtles practiſed. For we grant, that it is praiſe-worthy for the churches of Jeſus Chriſt to preſerve and keep the ordinances of Chriſt, as they have been delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles to them. And if, after a full and fair conviction from ſcripture, we remain ſtill obſtinate, a worſe name than that of *narrow Spirits* might be juſtly fixed on us.

I SHALL only reply to Mr. *Neal* in the words of the Reverend Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; who, though a *Pædobaptiſt*, very excellently expreſſes himſelf in his book, intituled, *Goſpel Worſhip, or the right Manner of ſanctifying the Name of God*, p. 8, 9, *&c.* His words are theſe:

'ALL things in God's worſhip muſt have 'a warrant out of God's word, muſt be 'commanded; it is not enough that it is not 'forbidden, and what hurt is there in it? 'but it muſt be commanded —— When 'we come to *matters of religion*, and the '*worſhip of God*, we muſt either have a '*command*, or ſome-what out of *God's word*, 'by ſome conſequence drawn from ſome '*command*, wherein God manifeſts his will; 'either a *direct command*, or by comparing 'one thing with another, or drawing conſequences *plainly* from the words, we muſt 'have a *warrant* for the *worſhip* of God, *&c.* '—— When any creature is raiſed in a 'religious way above what it hath in it by 'nature, if I have not ſcripture to warrant 'me, I am therein *ſuperſtitious* —— We 'muſt be all *willing worſhippers*, but not '*will worſhippers*. You ſee how ſevere God *page* 10. 'was to *Nadab* and *Abihu*, for but taking

'*other*

‘ *other fire*, than that which God appointed
‘ to offer up incenſe, though there was no di-
‘ rect commandment *againſt* it, *&c.*

page 11. ‘ In the matters of *worſhip* God ſtands
‘ upon *little* things; ſuch things as ſeem to
‘ be very ſmall and little to us, yet God
‘ ſtands much upon them in the matter of
‘ worſhip. For there is nothing wherein the
‘ prerogative of God doth more appear than
‘ in worſhip, as princes ſtand much upon
‘ their prerogatives —— There are things
‘ in the worſhip of God that are not written
‘ in our *hearts*, that only depend upon the
‘ will of God revealed in his word; which
‘ were no duties except they were revealed
‘ there. And theſe are of ſuch a nature as
‘ we can ſee no reaſon for, but only this, *be-*
‘ *cauſe God will have them* —— Though men
‘ would think it a little matter, whether *this*
‘ fire or *that* fire, and will not *this* burn as
‘ well as *that?* but God ſtands upon it ——
‘ When *Uzzah* did but touch the ark, when
‘ it was ready to fall, we would think it no
‘ great matter; but one touch of the ark
‘ coſt him his life. There is not a *Minim* in
‘ the *worſhip* of *God*, but *God* ſtands migh-
‘ tily upon it —— For a man to gather a
‘ few ſticks on the ſabbath, what great mat-
‘ ter was it? but God ſtands upon it. So
‘ when the men of *Bethſhemeſh* did but look
‘ into the ark, it coſt the lives of fifty thou-
‘ ſand and ſeventy men, *&c.*

page 12. *He further adds*, ‘ That there is no
‘ privileges or dignities of man that can
‘ ſecure them from God's ſtroke; inſtancing
‘ *Nadab* and *Abihu*'s caſe, *Moſes* the man of
‘ God being their uncle, and *Aaron* their fa-
‘ ther,

‘ther, men newly conſecrated to the prieſts ‘office, renowned men that God put much ‘glory upon; yet, if they will venture but ‘to offend God in this little thing, his wrath ‘breaks out upon them, and kills them pre‘ſently, *&c.*”

He adds much more to the ſame effect, and offers ſeveral reaſons by which he judgeth that *Nadab* and *Abihu* were good men; and gives a plain demonſtration that they had no wicked deſign: As,

1. They were young men, newly come to their office, and might not underſtand all things, as if they had had longer experience.

2. It's obſervable, for *ver.* 1. 'tis called *ſtrange fire which he commanded not*, that if there be not a command for our practice, nor ſuch a preſident as the ſcripture approves of, no human *pretence* can excuſe the tranſgreſſor from the judgment of God.

Will Mr. *Neal* admit *Roman Catholicks*, who profane the ordinance of the ſupper, to the communion of his church? We believe in our conſciences that ſprinkling children is a profanation of the ordinance of baptiſm, and ſo conſequently reject it; therefore our ſpirits will appear no narrower than his own. And if, upon a ſerious review of this paſſage laſt quoted, he will endeavour to be careful of his temper, I may hope in the next edition to ſee it appear in better language.

With reſpect to their ſufferings Mr. *Neal* very juſtly obſerves, that miniſters have a right by preaching to oppoſe doctrines*; but

* *Such as they believe to be erroneous, I would ſuppoſe he means.*

un-

unjuſtifiable at the ſame time to fight them with the ſword of the civil magiſtrate, and ſhut them up in priſon: And then mentions five or ſix, with little more than their names, of whom he had a large account, reſpecting their ſufferings, before him. But they were *Baptiſts*, and ſo not worthy of his notice, unleſs he can add ſomething to degrade them.

page 163. THE firſt he mentions is Mr. *Henry Denne*; of whom he only ſays, he was formerly ordained by the biſhop of St. *Davids*, and poſſeſſed of the living of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordſhire*. Then he mentions Mr. *Cooper*; and ſays, he was miniſter in *Warwickſhire*, and ſome time preacher to the garriſon in *Compton Houſe*.

THE next he mentions is Mr. *Hanſard Knollys*; who was, ſays he, 'Several times 'before the committee for preaching *Antino-* '*mianiſm*, and *Anti-Pedobaptiſm*; and be- 'ing forbid to preach in the publick churches, 'he opened a ſeparate meeting in great 'St. *Hellens*; from whence he was quickly 'diſlodged, and his followers diſperſed".

IF *Antinomianiſm* be ſuch a brand of infamy, as to put a vail upon the character of ſo good and pious a man as Mr. *Hanſard Knollys*; how came it to paſs that Dr. *Criſp* had more than a whole page beſtowed on him in encomiums to his praiſe, which I doubt not but he juſtly deſerved? If I may be permitted to anſwer without offence, and incurring the cenſure of an angry writer; it ſhould be, becauſe he was an *Independent Pedobaptiſt*.

In the next place he ſays, ‘ Mr. *Andrew* ‘ *Wyke*, in the county of *Suffolk*, was impri- ‘ ſoned on the ſame account; and Mr. *Oates* ‘ in *Eſſex* tried for his life at *Chelmsford* aſ- ‘ ſizes for the murder of *Ann Martin*, be- ‘ cauſe ſhe died a few days after her immer- ‘ ſion of a cold that ſeized her at that time ”.

This is ſo unrighteous a piece of partiality, that no ſentence too ſevere can be paſſed upon it; becauſe he had before him a full account of that affair; and thereby knew how honourably he was acquitted, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt and preſſing endeavours of his *Pædobaptiſt* Brethren to bring him in guilty, thereby to fix an odium on the practice of immerſion.

I was at a ſtand why this gentleman's chriſtian name, *Samuel*, was left out in Mr. *Neal*'s narration; ſeeing Mr. *Neal* had it before him. And I can aſſign no other reaſon for it, unleſs it were to impoſe on his readers, that they might take him to be *Titus Oates*, ſo noted in our hiſtories with a brand of infamy upon him. But I muſt leave that to his own conſcience; and refer my readers to page 236 of this hiſtory, where they will find, among others, the ſame account of theſe perſons mentioned by Mr. *Neal* as communicated to him, and leave them to judge of his partiality in this matter.

To bring up the rear of the *Baptiſts* ſufferings; poor *Laurence Clarkſon*, with his recantation at large, is exhibited.

Among the thouſands of *Baptiſts* in *England* here is one produced; who, through the ſeverity of the times, and being but an unſteady

ſteady man in his principles, and one that had not been uſed to ſuffer for conſcience ſake, was tempted to make this recantation, finding he could no other way obtain his liberty.

He had been ſix months in priſon, committed by the *Pædobaptiſt* committee of *Suffolk*, for that ſo heinous a crime of baptizing by immerſion; a crime ſo great, that all the interceſſion of his friends, though he had ſeveral, could not procure his releaſe; the committee being fully reſolved not to let ſuch crimes go unpuniſhed: Nay, though an order came down, either from a committee of parliament, or chairman of it, to diſcharge him, yet they refuſed to obey it.

Mr. *Edwards*, who firſt publiſhed this account, did it to expoſe the ſectaries, againſt whom he had an implacable hatred. But, whether the weakneſs of this man under his oppreſſion, or the folly and wickedneſs of his perſecutors, were hereby more expoſed, let the reader judge.

However, the *Pædobaptiſts* gain'd no great honour by a proſelyte made after this manner: For upon his releaſe he turned *ſeeker*; and when the *Baptiſts* expelled him from their ſociety, as a man that had denied the truth to eſcape ſuffering, he writ a ſmall Pamphlet *, wherein he endeavours to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying, That he did not aſſert the baptiſm of believers by immerſion to be an error, but only intended that it was erroneouſly practiſed, there being now no true churches, nor true

* *The Pilgrimage of Saints by Church caſt out; in Chriſt found ſeeking truth.*

admin-

adminiſtrators of that ordinance. And it is no wonder, that a perſon who could make ſuch a vile ſubmiſſion to his worſhipful perſecutors, ſhould afterwards make ſuch equivocations, to extenuate his crime.

BISHOP *Jewel* ſigned the popiſh articles; and archbiſhop *Cranmer* ſubſcribed a recantation. Here are for Mr. *Neal* two eminent *Pædobaptiſt* Recanters, for one poor Baptiſt: And if he has any more ſuch inſtances, I will endeavour to ſupply him at the ſame rate. Fuller, *Cant.* 16. *Lib.* 8. *p.* 9, 23.

THIS partiality of Mr. *Neal* revived my reſolution to compleat this Treatiſe, in the beſt manner I could, for a publication; and what is wanting in it of elegancy of phraſe, hath been endeavoured to be ſupplied in the truth of the relation, which is the only commendation of hiſtory, and much preferable to that artificial ſtuff, which may find better acceſs to ſome ears.

AND therefore to the *Engliſh reader* I would now addreſs my ſelf, becauſe in this land were theſe actions done; and their fore-fathers, with bleeding hearts and diſtilling eyes, were ſpectators of, and common ſufferers under, the inſulting paces of tyrannical, arbitrary power, and unlimited prerogative, and had a cup of blood prepared for them; though, bleſſed be God, it is otherwiſe with us.

THIS Eſſay being the firſt of the kind, that has been publiſhed in this kingdom, it is to be hoped ſome abler hand in time may improve the ſame, and a more full account be given of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*.

THE deſign of the reverend Mr. *Benjamin Stinton*'s Hiſtory being to give an account of

the *Engliſh Baptiſts* only, he thought it might not be improper, and did intend to introduce it with ſome account of the origin of their opinion, and who have been reported to be the authors of it. And ſince there are various accounts given of this matter, ſays he, I ſhall briefly relate the different opinions about it, as well thoſe held by the *Pædobaptiſts*, as thoſe of the *Anti-Pædobaptiſts*, concerning their own original, and then leave the reader to judge which has the greateſt appearance of truth.

THEY are generally condemned as a new *ſect*, whoſe opinion and practice, with relation to baptiſm, was not known in the Chriſtian church till about two hundred years ago. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, 'At this time [*anno* 1549] 'there were many *Anabaptiſts* in ſeveral parts 'of *England*. They were generally *Ger-* 'mans, whom the revolutions there had forced 'to change their ſeats. Upon *Luther*'s firſt 'preaching in *Germany*, there aroſe many, 'who building on ſome of his principles, car- 'ried things much further than he did. The 'chief foundation he laid down was, that the 'ſcripture was to be the only rule of Chriſ- 'tians. Upon this many argued, that the 'myſteries of the Trinity, and Chriſt's in- 'carnation and ſuffering, of the fall of man, 'and the aids of grace, were indeed philo- 'ſophical ſubtilties, and only pretended to be 'deduced from ſcripture, as almoſt all opi- 'nions of religion were, and therefore they 'rejected them. Among theſe the baptiſm 'of infants was one: They held that to be 'no baptiſm, and ſo were re-baptized. But 'from this, which was moſt taken notice of,

Hiſt. Ref. Part II. p. 110.

'as

'as being a visible thing, they carried all the 'general name of *Anabaptists*.'

MR. *Marshal* says, 'That the first that 'ever made a head against it [infant-bap- 'tism] or a division in the church about it, 'was *Baltazar Pacommitanus* in *Germany*, 'in *Luther*'s time, about the year 1527.' *Sermon on Infant-baptism*, p. 5.

This *Baltazar* is stiled *Baltazar Huebmar Pacimontanus*, Dr. in *Waldshut*, a town near the *Helvetians*. He was a man of great note for learning, and did by his preaching and writing very much promote his opinion. He was burnt at *Viana*, in 1528. for which he is esteemed a martyr by his followers. Zuinglius, *in the epistle before his answer to his book on Baptism.*

BUT, says Mr. *Tombs*, *Bellarmine* and *Cochleus* say, that *Erasmus* himself had sowed some seeds of it also. And whoever reads his works, will find several things in them favouring the opinion of the *Anti-Pædobaptists:* As when he saith, in his union of the church, 'It is no where expressed, in the 'apostolical writings, that they baptized 'children;' and again, upon *Rom.* vi. 'Bap- 'tizing of children was not in use in St. *Paul*'s 'time; and that they are not to be con- 'demned, who doubt whether childrens bap- 'tism was ordained by the Apostles.' *Examen.* p. 22. *De ratio Conc.*

JOHN GERHARD, a *Lutheran* minister, derives the original of this sect from *Carolostadius*, who was conversant with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and the other reformers, and assisted them in that blessed work. He says, that he is called the father of the *Anabaptists*, by *Erasmus Alberus*. Tom. 40. *of his Common Places.*

SLEIDAN, who writ the history of the *Anabaptists*, does not go so far, but asserts of him, 'that he praised their opinion.'

OSIANDER affirms, 'that he joined 'himself to them.'

MELANCTHON, who was well acquainted, both with the man and his opinions, says of him, 'that he endeavoured to pro- 'mote the gospel, tho' in a wrong course.'

Com. 1 *epist. Cor.* ix. 24. *Page* 6.

THE short history of the *Anabaptists*, published in 1647, says; 'It is hard to say, whe- 'ther *Carolostadius*, or one *Nicholas Stork*, 'was the first founder of baptism.'

Hist. Anab. Lib. ii. Sect. ii. *Tombe's Examen.* p. 22.

ARNOLDUS MESHOVIUS, another historian of those times, lays it still nearer the door of the first reformers; and says, 'That 'the business of *Anabaptism* began at *Witten- 'burg*, anno Christi 1522. *Luther* then lurk- 'ing in the castle of *Wartpurg* in *Thuringia*, 'by *Nicholas Pelargus*; and that he had com- 'panions at first, *Carolostadius*, *Philip Me- 'lancthon*, and others; and that *Luther* re- 'turning from his *Patmos*, as he called it, 'banished *Carolostadius*, and the rest, and 'only received *Philip Melancthon* into favour 'again.'

THESE passages make it probable that this question abount Infant-baptism was agitated among the reformers themselves, and that some of them were at first for rejecting that practice.

De Rit. Bap. Lib. ii. c. 1. *Wall*, Part II. p. 179.

VICECOMES, a learned *Papist*, has left upon record, that *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, were adversaries of infant-baptism: Though the *Pædobaptists* look upon this only as a slander cast upon them.

'TIS certain that *Zuinglius*, that holy and learned reformer, who flourished about the year 1520, was for some time against it, as he ingenuously confesses, in these words: 'When

'When this opinion was every where ſo rashly and without consideration received, That all men believed that faith was confirmed by signs, we must necessarily expect this sad issue, that some would even deny baptism to infants; for how should it confirm the faith of infants, when it is manifest that they as yet have no faith? Wherefore I my self, that I may ingenuously confess the truth, some years ago, being deceived with this error, thought it better that childrens baptism should be delayed, till they came to full age: Though (adds he) I never broke forth into that immodesty and importunity, as some now do.' *De Bap.* Tom. II. p. 63. *Baxter's Scripture Proofs*, p. 291.

If some of the other reformers were at first of this opinion, as his Words imply, yet they might think it impracticable to carry their reformation so far at once, and that it might overthrow what they had already so happily done: And when some of this opinion afterwards had brought a scandal upon the *Protestants*, and occasioned such confusions all over *Germany*, they might be tempted to renounce this opinion, and write with so much zeal and anger, as they did against those who maintained it.

'Tis still more evident, that these first reformers look'd upon sprinkling as a corruption of baptism, and endeavoured to introduce the primitive rite of dipping, as is practised by the *English Baptists*.

LUTHER has, in several places, fully declared his opinion in this matter:

'Baptism, saith he, is a *Greek* word; 'it may be termed a dipping, when we dip 'something in water, that it may be wholly 'co-

Duveil *on Acts* viii. 38.

'covered with water: And although that 'cuſtom be now altogether aboliſhed among 'the moſt part, for neither do they dip the 'whole children, but only ſprinkle them with 'a little water, they ought altogether never-'theleſs to be dipt, and preſently to be drawn 'out again; for the etymology of the word 'ſeems to require that.'

IN another place he ſays; 'Waſhing from 'ſins is attributed to baptiſm; it is truly in-'deed attributed, but the ſignification is ſofter 'and flower than that it can expreſs baptiſm, 'which is rather a ſign both of death and re-'ſurrection. Being moved by this reaſon, 'I would have thoſe that are to be baptized, 'to be altogether dipt into the water, as the 'word doth ſound, and the myſtery doth 'ſignify.'

AND that this was the opinion and practice of the chief leaders in the reformation, appears by ſomething remarkable, that happen'd in thoſe times concerning this matter.

JOHANNES BUGENHAGIUS POMERANIUS, who was a companion of *Luther*, and ſucceeded him in the miniſtry at *Wittenburg*, a very pious and learned divine, tells us, in a book he publiſhed in the *German* tongue, *Anno* 1542,

'THAT he was deſired to be a witneſs of 'a baptiſm at *Hamburgh*, in the year 1529. 'That when he had ſeen the miniſter only 'ſprinkled the infant wrapped in ſwathling-'clothes on the top of the head, he was 'amazed; becauſe he neither heard nor ſaw 'any ſuch thing*, nor yet read in any hiſtory,

* *Among the Proteſtants I ſuppoſe he meant.*

'except

'except in caſe of neceſſity, in bed-rid perſons. In a general aſſembly therefore of all the miniſters of the word, that was convened, he did aſk of a certain miniſter, *John Fritz* by name, who was ſome time miniſter of *Lubec*, how the ſacrament of baptiſm was adminiſtred at *Lubec?* Who for his piety and candour did anſwer gravely, that infants were baptized naked at *Lubec*, after the ſame faſhion altogether as in *Germany*. But from whence and how that peculiar manner of baptizing hath crept into *Hamburgh*, he was ignorant. At length they did agree among themſelves, that the judgment of *Luther*, and of the divines of *Wittemburg*, ſhould be demanded about this point: Which being done, *Luther* did write back to *Hamburgh*, that this ſprinkling was an abuſe, which they ought to remove. Thus plunging was reſtored at *Hamburgh*.'

But notwithſtanding this, Dr. *Featly* and many others will have it, that *Anabaptiſm* took its firſt riſe at *Munſter*; and that *Nicholas Stork*, *Thomas Muncer*, *John* of *Leyden*, *Mark Stubner*, *Knipperdoling*, *Phiffer*, and ſuch like, were the firſt teachers of this doctrine, and founders of the ſect.

These men denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation of Chriſt, the authority of magiſtrates, the lawfulneſs of taking oaths, and almoſt all the Chriſtian doctrines; and were guilty of ſeveral groſs enormities, ſuch as poligamy, rebellion, theft and murder; They ſeized the city of *Munſter*, proclaimed *John* of *Leyden* their king, committed abundance of violence, and cauſed tumults and rebellions in ſeveral places.

THE extravagant doctrines, and seditious practices of these men, are every where charged upon the opposers of infant-baptism, to render them odious, and a dangerous and seditious sect, not fit to be tolerated in any nation, whose principles have so bad a tendency, and whose beginning was so scandalous.

IN return to all which, the *Baptists* alledge in their own defence, that the *Papists* improve this story after the like manner, against the new begun reformation it self, and represent it as the consequence of letting men have the Scriptures to read, and the liberty of judging for themselves in matters of religion.

THAT there is great reason to suspect the truth of many things reported of this People, is evident: For in a time of war, and popular tumults, it is not easy to come at a certain knowledge of what is transacted; and if a design miscarries, it is generally censured, how just or good soever it was. The *Roman Catholicks* charge the *Vaudois*, and *Albigeois*, and sometimes the *Lutherans*, with crimes almost as black as they do these *Anabaptists*: And as for the Protestants of those times, they persecuted this sect with so much cruelty, and wrote against them with so much bitterness, that it discredits very much what they say of them, at least makes it probable they took up some reports concerning them upon very slender evidence.

Bayle's Dictionary, Anabaptists.

NEITHER do the histories of those times agree in the accounts they give of them; for some charge them with more crimes, and much greater, than others do; some accuse them with those things which are directly contrary to what is affirmed of them by others; and

and ſome with things ſo incredible, that their adverſaries themſelves look upon them to be but ſlanders.

THEY ſay alſo, that there is no juſt reaſon to lay thoſe wars and tumults in *Germany* at the door of the *Anabaptiſts*; for it is plain, in the hiſtories of thoſe times, that *Papiſts*, as well as *Proteſtants*, and of theſe the *Pædobaptiſts* as well as *Anabaptiſts*, were concerned in them. *Biſhop* Jewel's *Defence*, P. I. c. 4.

AND the chief occaſion of their riſing, was the defence of their civil liberties. When they drew up a manifeſto of their demands, in twelve heads, and preſented it to the magiſtrates, who had promiſed to hear their complaints, and do them juſtice, there is but one article, that directly regards religion; which was, that they might have liberty to chuſe the miniſters of their churches, and depoſe them afterwards, if they ſaw occaſion. *Dupin's Ecc. Hiſt.* Cent. 16. Lib. i. p. 79.

THE confuſions at *Munſter*, where the blackeſt part of this tragedy was acted, were begun by a *Pædobaptiſt* miniſter of the *Lutheran* perſuaſion, one *Bernard Rotman*, preacher at the church of St. *Maurice* in that city; and were carried on by him, with ſeveral other *Lutherans*, for ſome time, before any *Anabaptiſt* appeared to have a hand in it. *Spanhemius Hiſt. Anab.* p. 12. *Hook's Apol.* p. 11. *Sleidan.*

AND though *Muncer* and *Phiffer* are ſaid to have denied infant-baptiſm, and to have inſtilled the ſame opinion into others, yet they had not received or profeſſed this principle till ſome time after theſe inſurrections were begun in ſeveral parts of *Germany*. If theſe men were as vile as they are repreſented to be, and guilty of all thoſe crimes of which they are accuſed, this could not have proceeded from their opinion about baptiſm, which

which can have no ſuch tendency: Nor is there any colour of juſtice, in charging thoſe crimes upon other Chriſtians of that denomination, who abhor their erroneous tenets, and behave themſelves after the moſt inoffenſive manner. If all the errors which have been maintained, and all the theſts, murders, adulteries, and rebellions, which have been committed by *Pædobaptiſts*, were to be made the conſequence of that opinion, it would ſoon appear a very bloody and dangerous tenet indeed, and render thoſe who held it much more odious than *Anabaptiſts*.

BUT that which is more material to our enquiry after the firſt riſe of this ſect is, That theſe men did not advance this tenet concerning baptiſm, as a thing entirely new, but what was taught by others, who rejected the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*, as well as themſelves; and affirmed it to have been the opinion of the *Waldenſes* and *Petrobruſians*, who had gone before them.

THEY did not ſet up themſelves upon this account as the heads and founders of a new ſect, or religion, as enthuſiaſtical perſons are too ready to do, if there be but the leaſt room for it.

Vol. I. Cent. 16. Lib. v. p. 45. *DUPIN*, a perſon well acquainted with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, calls this the revival of the error.

THERE were before, and about this time, many people of their opinion concerning baptiſm, who had made a declaration of much better principles, and under better leaders.

Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 110. BISHOP *Burnet* ſays, 'There were two 'ſorts of theſe [*Anabaptiſts*] moſt remarkable: The one was of thoſe who only 'thought

'thought that baptiſm ought not to be given
'but to thoſe who were of an age capable of
'inſtruction, and who did earneſtly deſire
'it ——— Theſe were called the gentle, or
'moderate *Anabaptiſts*: But others, who car-
'ried that name, denied almoſt all the prin-
'ciples of the Chriſtian doctrine, and were
'men of fierce and barbarous tempers ———
'Theſe being joined in the common name
'of *Anabaptiſts*, with the other, brought
'them alſo under an ill character.'

MONSEIUR *Bayle*, ſpeaking of the many martyrs that the *Anabaptiſts* boaſt of, and their martyrology, being a large book in *Folio*, ſays:

'COULD it only produce thoſe that were put to death for attempts againſt the govern- ment, its bulky martyrology would make but a ridiculous figure. But it is certain, that ſeveral *Anabaptiſts*, who ſuffered death couragiouſly for their opinions, had never any intention of rebelling. Give me leave to cite an evidence, which cannot be ſuſpected; it is that of a writer, who has exerted his whole force in refuting this ſect. He obſerves, that its great progreſs was owing to three things: The firſt was, That its teachers deafned their hearers with numberleſs paſſages of ſcripture: The ſecond, That they affected a great appearance of ſanctity: The third, That their followers diſcovered great conſtancy in their ſufferings and deaths. But he gives not the leaſt hint, that the *Anabaptiſt* martyrs ſuffered death for taking up arms againſt the ſtate, or ſtirring up the people to rebellion.'

Dictionary, Anabaptiſts, *Letter* F, 2d. Edit.

Guy de Bres.

MON-

MONSEIUR *Bayle* being a *Papiſt*, and the author he cites a *Proteſtant*, made this remark upon it:

'OBSERVE by the way, ſays he, that this 'author refutes his adverſaries, juſt as the 'Catholicks refute the *Proteſtants*: And then 'ſhews how the arguments uſed againſt the 'one, are of equal force againſt the other.'

GEORGE CASSANDER, who lived in thoſe times, had diſputed with the *Anabaptiſts*, and viſited ſome of their miniſters in priſon, does in his epiſtle to the duke of *Gulick* and *Cleve*, give a very good character of them who dwelt in *Belgick* and lower *Germany*, even when ſome others were guilty of ſuch extravagancies at *Munſter* and *Battenburgh*. He ſays,

'That they diſcovered an honeſt and a 'pious mind; and that they erred from the 'faith, through a miſtaken zeal, rather than 'an evil diſpoſition; that they condemned 'the outragious behaviour of their brethren of '*Munſter*; that they taught that the king-'dom of Jeſus Chriſt was to be eſtabliſhed 'only by the croſs. They deſerve therefore, 'adds he, to be pitied and inſtructed, rather 'than to be perſecuted.'

Hornbeek's Sum. Con. *p.* 364.

THE learned *Beza* alſo gives a very honourable account of many of them in his epiſtle to the *Gallo-Belgic* churches at *Embden*, and ſays:

'Many of the *Anabaptiſts* are good men, 'ſervants of God, and our moſt dear bre-'thren.'

THESE authors had more juſtice than to condemn the innocent with the guilty, and to aſperſe

aſperſe the whole for the errors and diſorders of a ſmall part.

THE great number of *Anabaptiſts* that were about this time in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, and other countries, make it improbable, that theſe frantick men at *Munſter* ſhould be the founders of this ſect, or ſo much as the firſt that revived the queſtion, about childrens baptiſm in thoſe times.

THOSE ſtirs at *Munſter* did not begin till the year 1532. nor did they come to any great height, or any *Anabaptiſts* appear in that city till the year 1533. And yet we find great oppoſition made againſt *Anabaptiſts* before this in ſeveral parts, both by diſputations and writings, and ſome ſevere laws made againſt their opinion. Spanhemius, *p.* 13.

THEY were oppoſed at *Augsburg* about the year 1516. by *Regius:* In *Saxony* by *Luther*, 1522. In *Thuringia* by *Micerius*, 1525. In *Switzerland*, at *Zurick*, there were three publick diſputations held between *Zuinglius* and the heads of the *Anabaptiſts*, in *Jan. March*, and *Nov.* 1525. *Oecolampadius* alſo diſputed with theſe Hereticks, as he calls them, the ſame year at *Bazil*; and again in the Years 1527, and 1529.

THIS opinion prevailed ſo faſt, that to prevent the growth of it, the magiſtrates of *Zurick* publiſhed a ſolemn edict againſt it in 1525. requiring all. perſons to have their children baptized, and forbidding rebaptization, under the penalty of being fined, baniſhed, or impriſoned. Another was put forth in 1530. making it puniſhable with death.

'IN

Hooke's *Apology*, p. 29.

'IN the year 1528. *Hans Shaeffer*, and '*Leonard Freek*, for oppoſing infants bap-'tiſm, were beheaded at *Schwas* in *Germany*; 'and *Leopald Suyder* at *Augsburg* for the 'ſame.

'AT *Saltzburg* eighteen perſons of the 'ſame faith were burnt; and twenty five at '*Waltſen* the ſame year.

'ANNO 1529. twenty of them were put 'to death in the *Palatinate*; and three hun-'dred and fifty at *Altze* in *Germany*. The 'men for the moſt part beheaded, and the 'women drowned.

'ANNO 1533. *Hugh Crane*, and *Marga-'ret* his wife, with two more, were martyred 'at *Harlem*; the woman was drowned; the 'three men were chained to a poſt, and roaſt-'ed by a fire, at a diſtance, till they died. 'This was the very ſame year that the riſing 'was at *Munſter*.

Ib. p. 30.

'LIKEWISE in the Proteſtant *Cantons* in '*Switzerland*, they were uſed as hardly, 'about the ſame time.

'ANNO 1526. one *Felix Mentz*, a *Bap-'tiſt* miniſter, was drowned at *Zurich*.

'ANNO 1530. two of the baptized bre-'thren were burnt.

'ANNO 1531. ſix more of the congrega-'tion of *Baptiſts* were martyr'd in the ſame 'place.

'ANNO 1533. two perſons, *Lodwick Teſt*, 'and *Catherine Harngen*, were burnt at '*Munſter*.'

THERE is part of a letter, preſerved in an author not to be ſuſpected, that was written to *Eraſmus*, out of *Bohemia*, dated *October* 10, 1519. in which an account is given of

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a ſect then in being, and which had been in that country for above ninety years, who by the character given of them, appear to be *Anabaptiſts*; and were not only long before *Stork* and *Muncer*, but alſo before *Luther* and *Calvin*, who ſet themſelves to oppoſe the church of *Rome*. The letter deſcribes them thus: Colomeſius's *Collection*, ep. 30.

'Theſe men have no other opinion of the Pope, cardinals, biſhops, and other clergy, than as of manifeſt antichriſts. They call the Pope ſometimes the beaſt, and ſometimes the whore, mentioned in the *Revelations*. Their own biſhops and prieſts they themſelves do chuſe for themſelves; ignorant and unlearned laymen, that have wife and children. They mutually ſalute one another by the name of brother and ſiſter. They own no other authority than the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament: They ſlight all the Doctors, both ancient and modern, and give no regard to their doctrine. Their prieſts, when they celebrate the offices of the maſs [or communion] do it without any prieſtly garments; nor do they uſe any prayer or collects on this occaſion, but only the Lord's prayer, by which they conſecrate bread that has been leavened. They believe or own little or nothing of the ſacraments of the church: Such as come over to their ſect, muſt every one be baptized anew, in mere water. They make no bleſſing of ſalt, nor of water; nor make any uſe of conſecrated oil. They believe nothing of divinity in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, only that the conſecrated bread and wine do by ſome occult ſigns repreſent the death of Chriſt; Wall's *Hiſt. Bapt.* Part II. p. 200.

'and accordingly, that all that do kneel down 'to it, or worſhip it, are guilty of idolatry. 'That that ſacrament was inſtituted by Chriſt 'to no other purpoſe but to renew the me- 'mory of his paſſion, and not to be carried 'about, or held up by the prieſt to be gazed 'on. For that Chriſt himſelf, who is to be 'adored and worſhipped with the honour of '*Latreia*, ſits at the right hand of God, as 'the Chriſtian church confeſſes in the creed. 'Prayers to ſaints, and for the dead, they 'count a vain and ridiculous thing; as like- 'wiſe auricular confeſſion and penance, en- 'joined by the prieſt for ſins. Eves and 'faſt-days are, they ſay, a mockery, and 'the diſguiſe of hypocrites. They ſay, the 'holy days of the virgin *Mary*, and the 'Apoſtles, and other ſaints, are the inven- 'tion of idle people; but yet they keep the '*Lord's-day*, and *Chriſtmas*, and *Eaſter*, and '*Whitſontide*, &c.'

THIS deſcription does almoſt in every thing fit the modern *Anabaptiſts*, eſpecially thoſe in *England*. Their ſaluting one another by the name of brother and ſiſter; their chuſing their own miniſters, and from among the laity; their rejecting all prieſtly garments, and refuſing to kneel at the ſacrament; their ſlighting all authorities but that of the ſcriptures, but eſpecially their baptizing again all that embraced their way, does certainly give the *Baptiſts* a better right than any other Proteſtants, to claim theſe people for their predeceſſors.

'TIS true, ſome zealous *Pædobaptiſts*, who would willingly have none thought ſober and religious, who deny baptiſm to children, have

have insinuated that these *Pyghards*, and followers of *Hus* in *Bohemia*, did not baptize such as came over to them, from any dislike of infant-baptism, but of those ceremonies which the church of *Rome* used in it. And *Ottius* does positively affirm this to be the reason of it.

But there is no proof from any authentic histories that those early Protestants, who retained infant-baptism, did any of them, upon their departing from Popery, reject their baptism in that church, and receive a new baptism.

WALDEN, who lived in those times, and writ against the *Hussites* in *Bohemia* above an hundred years before *Ottius*, affirms, 'That some of them maintained this heresy, 'That believers children were not to be bap- 'tized; and that baptism was to no purpose 'administred to them.' Tom. III. Tit. v. c. 53. Marshall *against* Tombs, *page* 65.

We must therefore look for a more early beginning of this sect and opinion than the insurrection at *Munster*, or the reformation in *Germany*. And we find there are some of the *Pædobaptists*, and those of no small repute, who affirm, that the *Albigenses* were the first who dared positively to declare against infant-baptism, and call the preaching of this opinion, by *Muncer*, *Stork*, &c. only a reviving of that error. Cassander Dupin. *Cent.* 16. *Lib.* v. *page* 45.

Of this sect there was a great number, in divers parts of *France* and *Bohemia*, above three hundred years before *Luther*'s and *Calvin*'s reformation. They went under different names, either from the places that were fullest of them, or the persons who were their principal leaders: But the name of *Albigenses* and *Waldenses* were the titles most commonly given Fox, *Vol.* I. *p* 299.

given to them; the one from *Albi*, a place ſo called in *Languedoc*, in which were great numbers of them; the other from one *Waldus*, the ſuppoſed founder of that ſect, who was a rich and learned citizen of *Lyons*, and began there to oppoſe the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1160.

THE *Papiſts* impute a great many heinous crimes to theſe people; a method which they generally take with all who have diſſented from their church. And yet *Reinerus*, a zealous oppoſer of them, gives a very honourable account of this ſect.

Danvers, *page* 344.

'THEY are, ſays he, in their manner 'compos'd, and modeſt; no pride in ap-'parel, becauſe they are therein neither coſtly 'nor ſordid. They tranſact their affairs 'without lying, fraud, and ſwearing, being 'moſt upon handicraft trades: Yea, their 'doctors or teachers are *weavers* and *ſhoe-'makers*, who do not multiply riches, but 'content themſelves with neceſſary things. 'Theſe *Lyoniſts* are very chaſte and tem-'perate, both in meats and drinks; who 'neither haunt taverns, or ſtews: They do 'much curb their paſſions; they are always 'either working, teaching, or learning, *&c.* 'very frequent in their aſſemblies and wor-'ſhips, *&c.* They are very modeſt and 'preciſe in their words, avoiding ſcurrility, 'detraction, levity, and falſehood.'

THOSE who write againſt the *Baptiſts*, charge them with abundance of hereſies, and monſtrous doctrines; ſo that it is not eaſy with certainty to come at their opinions.

AS to the matter of Baptiſm, ſome repreſent thoſe they write againſt, as denying all baptiſm,

baptiſm. Others ſpeak of ſome that allowed baptiſm to the adult, but denied it to infants. Others again accuſe them of no error at all about baptiſm. But there is an expedient found out to reconcile this hiſtorical difference, which both parties agree to, and ſeems to be the truth, *viz.* That there were ſeveral ſects, who went under this general name of *Waldenſes* or *Albigenſes*, like as there are of *Diſſenters* in *England*. That ſome of theſe did deny all baptiſm, and others only the baptiſm of infants. That many of them were of this latter opinion, is affirmed in ſeveral hiſtories of this people, as well ancient as modern. I will for brevity-ſake only mention one, whoſe authority is the rather to be taken, becauſe he was not only a *Pædobaptiſt*, but alſo ſet himſelf with great care to find out the truth of this matter. 'Tis that of *Chaſſanian*, who in his hiſtory of the *Albigeois* ſays:

Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 81.

'SOME writers have affirmed that the 'Albigeois approved not of the baptiſm of 'infants: Others, that they entirely ſlighted 'this holy ſacrament, as if it was of no uſe, 'either to great or ſmall. The ſame has been 'ſaid of the *Vaudois*; though ſome affirm, 'that they have always baptized their chil- 'dren. This difference of authors kept me 'for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, before I could 'come to be reſolved on which ſide the truth 'lay. At laſt conſidering what St. *Bernard* 'ſays of this matter, in his 66th Homily on 'the ſecond chapter of the *Song of Songs*, 'and the reaſons he brings to refute this 'error, and alſo what he wrote *ad Hilde- 'fonſum comitem Sancti Ægidii*, I cannot 'deny that the *Albigeois*, for the greateſt

'part, were of that opinion. And that 'which confirms me yet more in the belief 'of it, is, that in the hiſtory of the city of '*Treves*, which I have mentioned before, at 'the end of the fourth chapter, 'tis ſaid, that 'at *Ivoi*, in the dioceſe of *Treves*, there were 'ſome who denied that the ſacrament of bap-'tiſm was available to the ſalvation of in-'fants: And one *Catherine Saube*, who was 'burnt at *Montpelier*, in the year 1417. for 'being of the mind of the *Albigeois*, in not 'believing the traditions of the *Romiſh* church, 'had the ſame thoughts concerning infant-'baptiſm, as 'tis recorded in the regiſter of 'the town-houſe of the ſaid city of *Mont-'pelier*; of which we ſhall ſpeak at the end 'of the fourth book. The truth is, they did 'not reject this ſacrament, or ſay it was uſe-'leſs; but only counted it unneceſſary to in-'fants, becauſe they are not of age to believe, 'or capable of giving evidence of their faith. 'That which induced them, as I ſuppoſe, 'to entertain this opinion, is what our Lord 'ſays: *He that believeth, and is baptized, 'ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not, 'ſhall be damned.*'

CASSANDER, who has examined the queſtion about infant-baptiſm with much care, and is ſaid to have writ with more impartiality concerning the *Anabaptiſts* than any other author, makes *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry*, who lived four hundred years before all this, to be the firſt that taught this opinion, and practiſed according to it. For, ſpeaking of theſe pretended hereticks, he affirms of them; 'That 'they firſt openly condemned infant-baptiſm, 'and ſtiffly aſſerted that baptiſm was fit only

Caſſander's *Infant-bapt. Pref.*

'for the adult; which they both verbally 'taught, and really practiſed in their admi- 'niſtration of baptiſm.'

AND after him, Dr. *Wall* ſays: 'I take 'this *Peter Bruis*, and *Henry*, to be the firſt 'Antipædobaptiſt preachers that ever ſet up 'a church, or ſociety of men holding that 'opinion againſt infant-baptiſm, and re-bap- 'tizing ſuch as had been baptized in infancy;' and calls them, in the contents, the two firſt *Antipædobaptiſt* preachers in the world. *Hiſtory of Infant-baptiſm*, Book II. p. 184.

BUT leſt theſe early reformers ſhould bring any reputation to the *Anabaptiſts*, he relates ſeveral infamous ſtories and malicious ſlanders caſt upon them by the *Papiſts*, without any endeavours to clear them: A method that he would hardly have taken with the firſt leaders of the reformation, either in *England* or *Germany*.

THESE were both *Frenchmen*, and began to propagate their doctrines, and found the ſect, who after their names were called *Petrobruſians* and *Henricians*, in *Dauphine*, about the year 1126.

THEY had both of them been in prieſts orders, and had each of them a place or employment in that office: The former having been a miniſter of a pariſh-church, but was turned out: The latter a monk, but had deſerted the monaſtery, upon the change of his principles; for which reaſon they were called apoſtates, as well as hereticks.

PETER began firſt; and after he had for ſome time publiſhed his opinions, and drawn many followers after him, *Henry* became his diſciple, and afterwards his ſucceſſor.

THE errors they are ſaid to defend, are digeſted into ſix articles.

1. THAT infants are not to be baptized.
2. THAT temples or altars ought not to be built; and, if built, to be pulled down again.
3. THAT croſſes are not to be worſhipped, but rather broken, or trodden under foot.
4. THAT the maſs is nothing, and ought not to be celebrated.
5. THAT dead men receive no benefit from the prayers, ſacrifices, *&c.* of the living.
6. THAT it is a mocking of God, to ſing prayers in the church.

THEIR opinion concerning Baptiſm, is all that needs here to be enquired into.

PETER, abbot of *Clugny*, writ an epiſtle to three biſhops of *France*, againſt theſe hereticks and their followers, in the year 1146. the time when they chiefly prevailed. He accuſes them of all theſe tenets, and makes their denying of infant-baptiſm the firſt, and expreſſes it thus.

The firſt Propoſition of the new Hereticks.

Wall's *Hiſtory of Infant-baptiſm*, Part II. p. 173.

'THEY ſay, Chriſt ſending his diſciples 'to preach, ſays in the goſpel, *Go ye out into 'all the world, and preach the goſpel to every 'creature: He that believeth, and is bap-'tized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth 'not, ſhall be damned.* From theſe words 'of our Saviour it is plain that none can be 'ſaved, unleſs he believe, and be baptized; 'that is, have both chriſtian faith and bap-'tiſm;

'tiſm; for not one of theſe, but both toge-
'ther, does ſave: So that infants, tho' they
'be by you baptized, yet ſince by reaſon of
'their age they cannot believe, are not ſaved.
'It is therefore an idle and vain thing, for
'you to waſh perſons with water, at ſuch
'a time when you may indeed cleanſe their
'ſkin from dirt in a human manner, but not
'purge their ſouls from ſin: But we do ſtay
'till the proper time of faith; and when a
'perſon is capable to know his God, and be-
'lieve in him, then we do, not as you charge
'us, re-baptize him, but baptize him; for
'he is ſo to be accounted, as not yet baptized,
'who is not waſhed with that baptiſm, by
'which ſins are done away.'

THIS account of their practice does perfectly agree with the *modern Baptiſts:* And the author who relates it, ſays alſo,

'THAT they were reported to renounce
'all the Old Teſtament, and all the New,
'except the four goſpels. But this he ſays
'he was not ſure of; and would not im-
'pute it to them, for fear he might ſlander
'them.'

So it appears that he took ſome care in reporting their opinions, and can hardly be ſuppoſed to accuſe them ſo poſitively of that which he only had by hearſay, or at leaſt to make it the firſt article of their hereſy.

A YEAR after this *author* had written againſt them, St. *Bernard*, abbot of *Clareval*, was deſired by the Pope to accompany ſome biſhops, whom he had ſent to ſtop the ſpreading of theſe doctrines, and reduce thoſe who had been led into them. When they came nigh to the territory of the earl of St. *Giles*,

THE truth is, says Mr. *Marshall*, 'These two men did, for twenty years together, 'so much spread the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, and so plague the bishops mitres, 'and the monks bellies, that I wonder not, 'though they charged any thing upon them, 'which might make them odious to the 'people.' *Infant-bapt.* p. 66.

THEIR new doctrine did strangely spread in a little time; and tho' it began only in *Dauphine*, it soon obtained in most of the provinces of *France*; and from being buzz'd about in deserts, and little villages, it began quickly to be owned by great crouds of people, and entertained in populous towns and cities: Which greatly enraged the *popish clergy*, and occasioned a very hot persecution. *Peter* was in the year 1144 taken in the territory of St. *Giles*, and according to the laws of those times burnt to death. *Henry* escaped for some time after this, and went on to propagate the same doctrines in several places; but at length he was taken also, and delivered in chains to the bishop of *Ostia*: But what was done with him is not said, tho' it may easily be supposed; for the men of that character don't use to be guilty of letting hereticks escape out of their hands.

THESE persons lived in the 12th century after Christ, and had a great number of followers, who kept themselves clear of many gross errors, with which the church of *Rome* was corrupted in that dark time. And yet there were two famous persons, who lived and attempted a reformation of religion, above an hundred years before these; who are also accused of broaching this doctrine, and found-

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Bernard writes a letter to the ſaid earl, in whoſe country the aforeſaid *Henry* was at this time harboured; in which he recounts what miſchiefs that heretick, as he calls him, had done.

Wall's *Hiſt. Bapt.* Part II. p. 175.

'THE churches, ſays he, are without people; the people without prieſts, *&c.* 'God's holy place is accounted profane; the 'ſacraments are eſteemed unholy, *&c.* Men 'die in their ſins; their ſouls carried to that 'terrible judicature, alas! neither reconciled 'by penance, nor ſtrengthned by the holy 'communion. The infants of *Chriſtians* are 'hindred from the life of Chriſt, the grace 'of baptiſm being denied them: Nor are 'they ſuffered to come to their ſalvation, 'tho' our Saviour compaſſionately cries out in 'their behalf, ſaying, *Suffer little children 'to come to me*, &c.'

THE ſame St. *Bernard* publiſhed a little after ſeveral ſermons; in one of which he complains of a ſort of hereticks, who pretended to derive their doctrines from the Apoſtles, ſuppoſed to be theſe *Petrobruſians* and *Henricians:* Concerning whom he ſays,

Sermon in Cant. 66.

'They laugh at us for baptizing infants, for 'our praying for the dead, and for deſiring 'the prayers of the ſaints: They believe no 'fire of purgatory after death, but that the 'ſoul when it departs the body preſently paſſes 'either into reſt or damnation.'

'TIS true, that both theſe authors give them but an ill character, and impute many errors and vile practices to them: But, of theſe, the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves are willing to clear them.

THE

ing a ſect that denied the baptiſm of infants: That is, *Bruno* and *Berengarius*; the former was biſhop of *Angers*, and the latter deacon of the ſame church.

BOTH theſe are ſaid to have attempted a reformation of ſome corrupt doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, about the year 1035. among which the practice of baptizing infants was one. Of this there are two witneſſes produced, which Dr. *Wall* acknowledges to have great appearance of truth, notwithſtanding his endeavours to render it ſuſpicious.

ONE proof that theſe men were againſt infant-baptiſm, is from a letter written by *Deodwinus*, biſhop of *Leige*, to *Henry* I. king of *France*; in which are theſe words: 'There is a report come out of *France*, and which goes thro' all *Germany*, that theſe two,' *viz.* *Bruno* and *Berengarius*, 'do maintain that the Lord's body [the hoſt] is not the body, but a ſhadow and figure of the Lord's body. And that they do diſannul lawful marriages; and, as far as in them lies, overthrow the baptiſm of infants.'

Wall's *Hiſt.* c. vii. Part II. p. 159.

THE other proof produced, is from *Guitmund*, who wrote againſt *Berengarius*, towards the latter end of his life. This *author*, after he had taken notice of the afore-mentioned letter, and the opinions therein laid to their charge, ſays: 'That *Berengarius* finding that thoſe two opinions [of marriage, and baptiſm] would not be endured, by the ears even of the worſt men that were, and that there was no pretence in ſcripture to be brought for them, betook himſelf wholly to

Ibid. Part II. p. 160.

'to uphold the other [*viz.* that againſt tran-
'ſubſtantiation] in which he ſeemed to have
'the teſtimony of our ſenſes on his ſide, and
'againſt which none of the holy fathers had
'ſo fully ſpoken, and for which he pick'd
'up ſome reaſons, and ſome places of ſcrip-
'ture miſunderſtood.'

THIS ſeems to be agreeable to the method of the firſt *authors* of the preſent reformation in *England* and *Germany*. They ſet out with a deſign to reſcue both the ſacraments from their corruptions and abuſes, as has been proved; yet finding the common people uncapable of receiving ſo great an alteration at once, dropt the buſineſs of baptizing children, and bent their chief endeavours againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

THESE were two famous *champions* for the truth, againſt popiſh errors and ſuperſtitions; eſpecially the latter: And for above an hundred years after, all that ſtood up for the purity of the Chriſtian religion, were called *Berengarians*. And ſo many were his followers, that *Matthew Paris* ſays, he drew all *France*, *Italy*, and *England*, to his opinion.

IF any ſtill doubt, whether there were in this age ſeveral who oppoſed the baptiſm of infants, let them read Dr. *Alix*'s remarks on the ancient church of *Piedmont*, and particularly what he ſays concerning one *Gundulphus*, and his followers in *Italy*; divers of whom were examined by the biſhop of *Cambray* and *Arras*, in the Year 1025. who repreſents them to have given the following Reaſon againſt infant baptiſm, *viz.*

Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 85.

'BECAUSE to an infant, that neither wills 'nor runs, that knows nothing of faith, is 'ignorant of its own ſalvation and welfare; 'in whom there can be no deſire of regene-'ration, or confeſſion of faith; the will, 'faith, and confeſſion of another man, ſeems 'not in the leaſt to appertain.'

THUS do the moſt learned of the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves make the firſt riſe of the *ſect*, they in contempt term *Anabaptiſts*, to be at leaſt five hundred years before the confuſions at *Munſter*, where others would fix their origin. Nor do ſome ſtop here; but go ſtill farther back, to find out the authors and founders of this ſect, even to the fourth century. For Mr. *Long*, Prebendary of St. *Peter*'s, *Exon*, ſays:

Hiſtory, Donatiſts, p. 60.

'For, though there were great fewds be-'tween the *Donatiſts*, and others, that ſepa-'rated from them, on the like pretences 'as they ſeparated from the *Catholicks*, as '*Maximinianiſts* and *Luciferians*, who were 'profeſſed *Anabaptiſts*.'

NOW the *Donatiſts* flouriſhed about the year 400. as appears by ſeveral edicts publiſhed againſt them about that time: And, though the name of *Anabaptiſt* is given in ſeveral ancient writers to the *Donatiſts*, and *Arians* in general, this was not becauſe they objected againſt the baptiſm of infants; but for their baptizing thoſe again, who had been baptized before by the *Catholicks*, either in infancy, or at age.

BUT now, concerning the *Luciferians*, Mr. *Long* aſſerts:

Ib. *p.* 103.

'THAT they did not only rebaptize the 'adult, that came over to them, but refuſed

'to

'to baptize children, contrary to the practice 'of the Church, as appears, says he, by se- 'veral discourses of St. *Augustin.*'

THESE, by his account, were the most moderate of those who separated from the Catholick church in those times: That they were called *Luciferians* from *Lucifer Calaritanus*, bishop of *Sardinia*, once a zealous defender of the Catholick faith against the *Arians*, for which he was banished by them, when they had the Power; and that his separation from the *Catholicks* was occasioned by their shewing too much countenance to the *Arians*, and admitting them upon too easy conditions, not only into their communion, but into ecclesiastical dignities. *History*, Donatists, *p.* 102.

HE was a man greatly esteemed and commended on many accounts by the *Catholicks*; great numbers were of his perswasion, and followed him, and stood independent on the *Donatists* congregations, or any of the other factions.

MR. *Philpot* the martyr, in a letter of his to his fellow-sufferer, who scrupled infants baptism, finds out another about this time, on whom he fathers the first rise of this opinion. Ib. *p.* 103.

ONE of his fellow-sufferers for the Protestant religion, being in doubt about the lawfulness of infant baptism, writ a letter to him about it. In *Philpot*'s answer to this, he says,

'THAT *Auxentius* one of the *Arians* 'sect, with his adherents, was one of the first 'that denied the baptism of children; and 'next after him, *Pelagius* the Heretick, and 'some *Case of Infant Baptism*, p. 96.

'ſome other that were in St. *Bernard*'s time, 'as it appears by his writings.'

Socrates, *Eccleſi. Hiſt.* Lib. IV. Ch. XXV. *Greek Copy*, Ch. XXX.

THIS *Auxentius* was biſhop of *Milan*, and departed this life in the year 378. being ſucceeded in his biſhoprick by St. *Ambroſe*, who is remarkable for his being elected a biſhop before he was baptized.

OTHERS have followed this opinion; as *Bullinger* *, *George Phillips* †, *Holms* ‖, and the *Athenian Oracle* ⁂.

I SHALL not enquire into the truth of theſe repreſentations: Both the *Donatiſts* and *Arians* are termed *Anabaptiſts* in ſeveral ancient *authors*; but the occaſion of giving them that title is diſputed. However, ſince they were accuſed of groſs hereſies, and the authors of a dreadful ſchiſm in the church, ſome writers againſt the *Baptiſts* are willing enough to repreſent theſe as their predeceſſors.

Wall's *Hiſt.* Vol. II. Ch. IV. Sect. III.

BUT, if this be doubtful, there is ſtill a more early oppoſer of infant baptiſm produced by others; of which there is ſuch authentic proof, as not to be denied by any; and that is *Tertullian*, who flouriſhed about the year 200, and was very famous in the Chriſtian church, leaving many learned writings behind him.

THIS man is the firſt chriſtian writer, who expreſly mentions ſuch a practice as baptizing of infants, and at the ſame time condemns it, as an unwarrantable and irrational practice.

* Tom. III. Sect. VIII. † *Anſw. to* Lamb. *p.* 137. ‖ *Animad. on* Tom. *p.* 93. ⁂ Vol. III. *p.* 245.

CHAS-

CHASSANIAN, a learned *Frenchman*, and zealous *Pædobaptiſt*, in his hiſtory of the *Albigeois*, having proved that they rejected the baptiſm of infants, tho' he thinks that they erred in this matter, yet endeavours to excuſe them, by alledging, 'That they were 'not the firſt who were of this opinion, 'ſeeing *Tertullian* was for deferring baptiſm, 'till perſons came to years of diſcretion.' Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 83.

Dr. *Wall*, who in one place calls *Peter Bruis* and *Henry* the two firſt *Antipædobaptiſt* preachers in the world, yet in another place acknowledges there was, in the firſt four hundred years, one *Tertullian*, who adviſed it to be deferred till the age of reaſon; and one *Nazianzen* till three years of age, in caſe of no danger of death. Mr. *John Goodwin* the *Independent*, being engaged in this controverſy, ſays, 'That *Tertullian* ſeems to have 'been the firſt who perſuaded Chriſtians to 'delay baptiſm, eſpecially the baptiſm of 'their children, until afterwards.' Mr. *Stokes* alſo calls *Tertullian* the firſt *Antipædobaptiſt* in the world. Wall's *Hiſt. Bapt.* Part I. p. 82. *Catabap.* p. 74. *Remarks on Dr.* Gale, *p.* 53.

BOTH parties in this controverſy cite *Tertullian*'s words, as making for them. The *Pædobaptiſts*, to prove there was ſuch a practice as baptizing infants in the Chriſtian church, as early as *Tertullian*'s time: The *Baptiſts*, to improve what he ſays againſt it; and to ſhew that the firſt writer that makes any mention of ſuch a cuſtom, diſlikes and condemns it. For thus he expreſſeth himſelf:

'THEY whoſe duty it is to adminiſter 'baptiſm are to know, That it muſt not be 'given raſhly, *give to every one that asketh 'thee*, has its proper ſubject, and relates to 'almſ- Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. 18.

'almſgiving: But the command rather is here
Wall's *Hiſt.* 'to be conſidered; *Give not that which is*
Bap. p. 1, 26. '*holy to dogs, neither caſt your pearls before*
'*ſwine*; and that, *lay hands ſuddenly on no*
'*man, neither be partaker of other mens*
'*faults*. Therefore, according to every ones
'condition and diſpoſition, and alſo their age,
'the delaying of baptiſm is more profitable,
'eſpecially in the caſe of little children;
'for what need is there, that the godfathers
'ſhould be brought into danger, becauſe they
'may either fail of their promiſes by death,
'or they may be miſtaken, by a child's pro-
'ving of wicked diſpoſition. Our Lord
'ſays, indeed, *forbid them not to come unto*
'*me*; therefore let them come when they are
'grown up; let them come when they under-
'ſtand, when they are inſtructed, whither it
'is that they come; let them be made Chri-
'ſtians, when they can know Chriſt: What
'need their guiltleſs age make ſuch haſte to
'the forgiveneſs of ſins? Men will proceed
'more warily in worldly things; and he that
'ſhould not have earthly goods committed to
'him, yet ſhall have heavenly; let them
'know how to deſire this ſalvation, that you
'may appear to have *given to one that*
'*asketh*.'

HERE then is a *Baptiſt* as early as the year 200. and if, by that term, we only underſtand an oppoſer of infant baptiſm, he bids very fair for being the firſt; becauſe that ſuppoſes ſuch a practice to be introduced, or at leaſt attempted. We cannot expect, that any ſhould expreſly declare themſelves againſt infants baptiſm before ſuch an opinion was broached, or that any could ſeparate till ſuch a practice

practice was introduced. But, if that term be uſed to ſignify ſuch as hold the doctrine, on which infant-baptiſm is rejected, *viz.* That a perſonal profeſſion of repentance and faith is neceſſary from thoſe who are admitted to baptiſm, this was taught and practiſed by perſons of greater authority than *Tertullian*, and who lived long before his time; as will appear by the next account, which ſome have given concerning this matter, *viz.*

THAT the baptiſm of infants was, in the primitive times, left as an indifferent thing; being by ſome practiſed, by others omitted.

SOME *Pædobaptiſts*, of no ſmall reputation, finding themſelves ſo hardly preſſed in the buſineſs of antiquity, are willing to halve the matter with their Brethren.

I FIND ſeveral men of great learning, and diligent ſearchers into antiquity, to go this way; as *Grotius*, *Daillee*, biſhop *Taylor*, and Mr. *Baxter*. What they ſay to this purpoſe is worth obſerving.

GROTIUS, who his adverſaries acknowledge, had a vaſt ſtock of learning, and was well read in antiquity, ſays to this purpoſe in his Annotations on *Matt.* xix. 14. taken partly from *Wall*, and partly from *Poole*.

IT does not appear, that infant-baptiſm did univerſally obtain in the primitive times, but was more frequent in *Africa* than any where elſe. In the councils of the ancients, one ſhall find no earlier mention of *Pædobaptiſm* than in the council of *Carthage*. Wall, par. ii. *p.* 23.

IN *Tertullian*'s time it appears, there was nothing defined concerning the age in which they were to be baptized, that were conſecrated Tertullian *on Baptiſm*, Ch. xviii.

crated by their parents to Chriſtian diſcipline; becauſe he diſſuades, by ſo many reaſons, the baptizing of infants.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, ſpeaking of thoſe who die without baptiſm, mentions among the reſt thoſe that were not baptized by reaſon of infancy; and he himſelf, though a biſhop's ſon, and educated a long time under the care of his father, was not baptized till he became a youth, as is related in his life. And *Chryſoſtom*, though according to the true opinion born of Chriſtian parents, and educated by *Miletus* a biſhop, was not baptized till paſt twenty one years of age.

BUT moſt of all, the canon of the ſynod of *Neo Ceſarea*, held in the year 315. is worthy our notice; which determines, that a woman with child may be baptized when ſhe will; for in baptiſm the mother communicates nothing to the child, becauſe, in the profeſſion at baptiſm, every one declares his own reſolution: How much ſoever interpreters draw it to another ſenſe, it is plain, that the doubt concerning baptizing women great with child was for that reaſon; becauſe the child might ſeem to be baptized together with its mother, and a child was not wont to be baptized, but upon its own will and profeſſion; and ſo *Balſamon* explains it, that cannot be enlightned or baptized; and alſo *Zonaras*, the child in the womb has then need of baptiſm, when it ſhall be able to deliberate and chooſe; and many of the *Greeks*, ſays *Grotius*, from the beginning to this day, obſerve the cuſtom of detaining the baptiſm of their infants, until they are able to make con-

Com. Cant. Tit. 4.

confeſſion of their own faith; and then concludes, by ſaying, he has not brought this to overthrow the baptiſm of infants, but to ſhew the liberty, antiquity, and difference of the cuſtom.

BUT notwithſtanding this laſt clauſe, wherein he endeavours to excuſe what he had ſaid, the *Pædobaptiſts* are very angry with him, for what he has publiſhed againſt that practice. One ſays, 'That he was perverted 'by cardinal *Perron*, who, in his anſwer to 'King *James*, pleaded the cauſe of the *Ana-* 'baptiſts with all his might.' Another accuſes him with an intention herein to gratify both the *Socinians* and the *Papiſts*. And a third ſays upon this, 'That he was naturally 'inclined to trim all controverſies in religion 'that came in his way; and uſing that vaſt 'ſtock of learning which he had, as princes 'that would hold the ballance, do their 'power, to help the weakeſt ſide.'

Rivet's *Apology*. Marſhal, *Def.* p. 29. Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 22.

THE learned biſhop *Taylor* gives the ſame account, not only when he is repreſenting the arguments of the *Anabaptiſts*, but when he gives his own ſentiments in the caſe. His words are theſe, as quoted by Mr. *Wall:*

'IN the firſt age, ſays he, they did, or 'they did not, according as they pleaſed; for 'there is no pretence of tradition that the 'church, in all ages, did baptize all the in- 'fants of Chriſtian parents: It is more certain 'that they did not do it always, than that they 'did it in the firſt age. St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Je-* 'rome, and St. *Auſtin*, were born of Chri- 'ſtian parents; and yet not baptized until the 'full age of a man, or more.

Diſſwaſive from Popery, par. ii. lib. ii. ſect. iii. p. 117. Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 24.

AND a little after: 'That it was the 'cuſtom ſo to do in ſome churches, and at 'ſome times, is without all queſtion; but 'that there is a tradition from the *Apoſtles* ſo 'to do, relies on but two witneſſes, *Origen* 'and *Auſtin*; and, the latter having received 'it from the former, it wholly relies on one 'ſingle teſtimony; which is but a pitiful ar-'gument to prove a tradition Apoſtolical. 'He is the firſt that ſpoke it; but *Tertullian*, 'that was before him, ſeems to ſpeak againſt 'it; which he would not have done, if it had 'been a tradition apoſtolical.'

RIGALTIUS, another writer who was very converſant with the works of the fathers, gives the ſame account:

Annot. in Cypriani, *Ep.* ad *Fid.* 'FROM the age of the *Apoſtles*, ſays he, 'to the time of *Tertullian*, the matter con-'tinued *in ambiguo*, doubtful or various; 'and there were ſome, who, on occaſion of 'our Lord's ſaying, *Suffer little children to 'come to me*, though he gave no order to bap-'tize them, did baptize even new-born in-'fants; and, as if they were tranſacting ſome 'ſecular bargain with God Almighty, brought 'ſponſors and bondſmen to be bound for them, 'that when they were grown up, they ſhould 'not depart from the Chriſtian faith; which 'cuſtom *Tertullian* did not like.'

Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 13.

De Uſu Patrum, *lib.* ii. *ch.* vi. MONSIEUR *Daille* alſo, who muſt be reckoned amongſt the men of no ſmall learning, was of the ſame opinion. He ſays,

Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 25. 'IN ancient times, they often deferred the 'baptizing both of infants, and of other peo-'ple, as appears by the hiſtory of the Empe-'rours, *Conſtantine* the great, of *Conſtan-*

'*tius*,

'*tius*, of *Theodosius*, of *Valentinian*, and '*Gratian*, out of St. *Ambrose*; and also by 'the orations and homilies of *Gregory Nazi*-'*anzen*, and of St. *Basil* on this subject: 'And some of the *Fathers* too have been 'of opinion that it is fit it should be de-'ferred.'

AND one would wonder to find, even Mr. *Baxter*, though he had writ so zealously for infant-baptism, and cast such bitter reflections upon those that deny it; yet at length to center in this opinion, and speak more favourably of them. Baxter's *Life*, book I. *p.* 140.

'AND for the *Anabaptists* themselves, says 'he, as I found that most of them were per-'sons of zeal in religion, so *many* of them 'were sober, godly people, and differed from 'others but in the point of infant-baptism, 'or at most in the points of predestination, 'and free-will, and perseverance. And I 'found in all antiquity, that though infant-'baptism was held lawful by the church, yet 'some, with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, 'thought it most convenient to make no 'haste; and the rest left the time of baptism 'to every ones liberty, and forced none to be 'baptized. Insomuch, as not only *Constan*-'*tine*, *Theodosius*, and such others, as were 'converted at years of discretion, but *Augu*-'*stine*, and many such as were the children of 'Christian parents, one or both, did defer 'their baptism much longer, than I think 'they should have done. So that in the pri-'mitive church some were baptized in in-'fancy, and some at ripe age, and some a lit-'tle before their death; and none were forced, 'but all left free.

'AT

Wall's *Hiſt. Bap.* par. ii. *p.* 26.

AT another time, he ſays, 'In the days 'of *Tertullian*, *Nazianzen* and *Auſtin*, men 'had liberty to be baptized, or to bring their 'children, when, and at what age they pleaſ-'ed; and none were forced to go againſt 'their conſciences therein.'

THE laſt account we have of this matter is, That in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, no infants were baptized; but that this practice was brought in, after a certain term of years, without any precedent from *Chriſt*, his *Apoſtles*, or thoſe apoſtolical men that lived next after them. And this is not only the opinion of the *Baptiſts*, but many of the *Pædobaptiſts*, who have ſearched antiquity about this matter, do ingenuouſly confeſs the ſame. Many inſtances might be produced of this; I will only give three or four.

Ib. *p.* 18. *WALAFRIDUS STRABO*, who lived about the year 750, is very expreſs in this point: 'It is to be noted, ſays he, That 'in the primitive times, the grace of bap-'tiſm was wont to be given to thoſe only, 'who were arrived to that maturity of body 'and mind, that they could know and under-'ſtand what were the benefits of baptiſm, 'what was to be confeſſed and believed; 'and, in a word, what was to be obſerved 'of thoſe that are regenerated in Chriſt. But 'when the diligence about our divine religion 'encreaſed, the Chriſtians underſtanding that 'the original ſin of *Adam* did involve in guilt, 'not only thoſe who had added to it by their 'own wicked works, but thoſe alſo, who ha-'ving done no wickedneſs themſelves. The 'orthodox *Chriſtians*, I ſay, underſtanding 'this, left children ſhould periſh, if they died 'with-

'without the remedy of the grace of regeneration, appointed them to be baptized for the forgiveneſs of ſins.' Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 86.

LUDOVICUS VIVES, in his notes on *Auguſtin*, *de Civitate Dei*, ſays: 'No 'perſon was formerly brought to the ſacred 'baptiſtery, till he was of adult age, and 'both underſtood the meaning of that myſtical water, and requeſted once and again 'to be waſhed in it.'

SUICERUS ſays the ſame thing, but is more poſitive as to the time. 'In the two 'firſt ages, ſays he, no perſon was baptized 'till he was inſtructed in the faith, and 'tinctur'd with the doctrine of Chriſt, and 'could teſtify his own faith; becauſe of 'thoſe words of Chriſt, *He that believeth, and is baptized.* Therefore believing was 'firſt.' Ib. *p.* 86.

CURCELLÆUS does not only confeſs the ſame, but fixes the time of bringing in infant-baptiſm. His words are theſe:

'PÆDOBAPTISM was not known in the world the two firſt ages after Chriſt. In the 'third and fourth it was approved by a few. 'At length in the fifth, and following ages, 'it began to obtain in divers places. And 'therefore we obſerve this rite indeed as an 'ancient cuſtom, but not as an apoſtolical 'tradition.' Ib. *p.* 87.

AND in another place, according to Mr. *Stennet*, he ſays: 'The cuſtom of baptizing 'infants did not begin before the third age 'after Chriſt; and there appears not the 'leaſt footſtep of it, in the two firſt centuries.'

I WILL only add to theſe an *Engliſh writer*, whoſe great learning, and diligent ſearch into antiquity, are well known. I mean the reverend Dr. *Barlow*, afterwards biſhop of *Lincoln*.

THIS famous gentleman, before his great preferment in the eſtabliſh'd church had either biaſs'd his opinion, or tempted him to conceal it, frankly acknowledged, That both ſcripture and antiquity were on the ſide of the *Baptiſts*.

Danvers, *Cent.* 4. *p.* 63.

'I BELIEVE and know,' ſays he, in a letter to Mr. *Tombs*, 'that there is neither 'precept nor example in ſcripture for Pædo-'baptiſm, nor any juſt evidence for it for 'about two hundred years after Chriſt. Sure 'I am, that in the primitive times they were '*Catechumeni*, then *illuminati*, or *baptizati*. 'The truth is, I do believe, Pædobaptiſm, 'how or by whom I know not, came into 'the world in the ſecond century, and in the 'third and fourth began to be practiſed, tho' 'not generally; and defended, as lawful, 'from the text groſly miſunderſtood, *John* 'iii. 5. Upon the like groſs miſtake of '*John* vi. 53. they did, for many centuries, 'both in the *Greek* and *Latin* church, com-'municate *infants*, and give them the Lord's 'Supper: And I do confeſs, ſays he, they 'might do both, as well as either.'

WHEN this letter was publiſhed, and improved by the *Baptiſts*, the advocates for Pædobaptiſm would not let the biſhop reſt, till he had either denied the letter, or writ a recantation. At length Mr. *Wills* extorted a letter from him, and leave to publiſh it. In this the biſhop acknowledges his writing

as

as above; but is ſo far from proving he was miſtaken, or had miſrepreſented the hiſtory of thoſe times, that he does not affirm any ſuch thing; only tries to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying, that he writ it twenty years ago, when he talked more, and underſtood leſs; and that whatever objections he had againſt infant-baptiſm, he never diſturbed the peace of the church, nor declined the practice.

THUS have I traced this matter, till we are brought up to the beginning of Chriſtianity it ſelf: And this laſt opinion is that wherein the controverſy reſteth.

I SHALL only add ſome brief remarks on the account given of the different times aſſigned by the learned for the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, and the ſeveral perſons whom they repreſent to have been the founders of that ſect.

1. THAT the moſt common opinion concerning the firſt riſe of the *Baptiſts*, and that which would reflect the greateſt odium upon them, has the leaſt appearance of truth in it, and is ſufficiently confuted by the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves: *viz.* That they ſprung from thoſe mad and heretical people at *Munſter* in *Germany*, a little after the reformation. The moſt learned of their adverſaries, and thoſe that have examined the hiſtories of this people with the greateſt care and diligence, make them to be much ancienter, and aſſign no leſs than ſeven other different periods of time for their origin; any one of which being true, will wipe away that ſcandal.

2. THAT

2. THAT as tradition is generally acknowledged to be the beſt and chief ſupport of infant-baptiſm; ſo even this appears, from their own accounts, to be very precarious and uncertain.

THERE are but two ways, by which they can pretend to juſtify this practice; *viz.* from ſcripture, and from antiquity.

NOW the moſt learned and ingenious of the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves do confeſs, that there is no expreſs mention of any ſuch thing in ſcripture; and that the arguments from thence are, at moſt, but probable. Their more uſual way therefore is to recur to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and the writings of the *Fathers:* But how uncertain and contradictory their accounts are from hence, does ſufficiently appear by this collection.

3. WE may ſee here alſo, that the advocates of infant-baptiſm do themſelves confeſs and prove, that in all ages of Chriſtianity almoſt, there have been ſome who have oppoſed that practice, as an human tradition, and unwarrantable cuſtom.

THE writings of the firſt two hundred years are wholly ſilent about it: The firſt that mentions it, condemns it; and very many of thoſe, who ſtood up afterwards to oppoſe the corruptions and abuſes brought into religion, declared their diſlike of it.

NOW for all this to be granted, and proved too, by the adverſaries of the *Baptiſts*, is no ſmall argument in their favour; and may convince the world, that their ſcruples in this caſe

caſe are not wholly groundleſs, nor a mere novelty.

4. In this variety of opinions, and theſe different accounts from ancient hiſtory, thoſe who either want ability or opportunity to ſearch thoſe writings themſelves, have moſt reaſon to depend on their account, who ſay, that there are no footſteps of infant-baptiſm in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity; and that it appears to have been introduced a conſiderable time after Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

These, I ſay, ſuppoſing them to be men of equal learning and probity with the others, have moſt reaſon to be relied on; becauſe it made againſt their own practice, and what they appeared deſirous to ſupport and maintain. Men are too apt to be partial to their own ſide, and to conceal or let paſs any thing that would reflect upon their own practice in religion: He that appears ſo fair therefore, as to relate what makes againſt him as well as for him, is freeſt from ſuſpicion.

Again: Thoſe who appear too angry with them, for making theſe conceſſions to the *Baptiſts*, have not yet been able to confute them, by producing any direction from *Chriſt* or his *Apoſtles* to baptize infants, nor one inſtance of baptizing any ſuch for the firſt two hundred years. And if it be ſaid, Thoſe who talk thus are but few, in compariſon of the great number that oppoſe them; it is anſwered, That truth is not always on the ſide of the greateſt number; and that their number is not inconſiderable, when we add to them all the learned among the *Baptiſts*, and a great number of learned men in

Vid. Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 173.

in the church of *Rome*, who aſſert the ſame thing.

5. THIS diverſity of opinions among the learned about tradition, and the practice of the Fathers, tends to confirm the *Baptiſts* in their opinion; That the holy ſcriptures are to be the only rule of our faith and worſhip; and that we are to practiſe nothing, as an inſtitution of Chriſt, which is not therein contained. Suppoſing it could be proved, by ſufficient evidence, that the churches did immediately after the apoſtles practiſe infant-baptiſm, it would not neceſſarily follow from thence that it was inſtituted by Chriſt, and practiſed by the Apoſtles; becauſe the moſt ancient churches were ſubject to err, and thoſe chriſtians who lived in the very next age after the Apoſtles, made ſeveral additions, both in doctrine and worſhip. Their writings may therefore prove fact, but not right: And the grand queſtion would ſtill remain; Whether this practice was derived from *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*, or begun by ſome others after his death?

THE writings of the *Fathers* therefore could only furniſh them with probable arguments: And we muſt, after all, refer to ſcripture for certainty in this, and all other controverſies about points of revealed religion. But how defective are they, even in theſe probable arguments; and how miſerably are they divided, in their opinions on this account? It is eaſy to diſcern from this collection, that they are much more ſucceſsful in confuting each other, than in defending themſelves: What one calls orthodox, an-

other repreſents as hereſy; and a practice highly applauded by one, is ſeverely cenſured by another. And in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory there is a very great uncertainty, even as to facts.

BUT, in the midſt of theſe confuſions, *we have a ſure word; whereunto we do well to take heed, as unto a light that ſhineth in a dark place. To the law therefore, and to the teſtimony; if they ſpeak not according to this word, it is becauſe there is no light in them.*

2 Pet. i. 19.

Iſa. viii. 20.



THE

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conſcience taken away, and the moſt cruel and barbarous actions committed. And whenever it has been thus, thoſe who were branded with the name of *Anabaptiſts* have been ſure to feel the ſharpeſt part of theſe things.

THE *Martyrology* of the foreign *Anabaptiſts* is a large book in *Folio*; and the account it gives of the number of their martyrs and confeſſors, as well as of the cruelties that were uſed towards them, very much exceeds any thing that has been done in *England*. However, according to their number in this land, and the degree to which perſecution has at any time ariſen, they have always had their full ſhare of it.

Edw. III. An. Dom. 1371. JOHN WICKLIFF was the firſt perſon of any note, who in *England* oppoſed the corruptions of the pope and his clergy, and who met with any conſiderable ſucceſs in ſo doing. He began this work in the reign of king *Edward* III.

THERE were indeed before him ſeveral who ſhew'd their diſlike of many things in the eſtabliſh'd church, and frequently ſpoke againſt the ſuperſtitious clergy; but theſe were very few, and perſons of no great character, ſuch as did but little towards opening the eyes of the people. But this man having good natural abilities, the benefit of a liberal education, and ſeveral good friends at court to encourage and

and ſupport him, and above all, being extraordinarily qualified and aſſiſted by God, gave the firſt conſiderable check to the errors and ſuperſtition of thoſe times. And though the Reformation was not eſtabliſhed till about 187 years after, yet the firſt ſeeds of it were ſown by him; for which reaſon the beſt hiſtorians of the Reformation in *England*, begin their account from the days of *Wickliff*.

THE famous Martyrogoliſt Mr. *John Fox*, begins the ſecond part of his hiſtory thus: 'Although it be manifeſt and evident 'enough, that there were divers and ſundry before *Wickliff*'s time, which have 'wreſtled and labour'd in the ſame cauſe 'and quarrel that our countryman *Wick-* 'liff hath done, whom the Holy Ghoſt 'hath from time to time raiſed and ſtirred 'up in the church of God, to vanquiſh 'and overthrow the great errors which 'daily did grow and prevail in the world; 'yet notwithſtanding, for ſo much as they 'are not many in number, neither yet very 'famous or notable, we will begin 'the narration of this our hiſtory with '*Wickcliff*, at whoſe time this furious fire 'of perſecution ſeem'd to take its original 'and beginning [a].'

BISHOP *Burnet* alſo begins his account of the Reformation with him, ſaying, 'From

[a] *Book of Martyrs*, firſt edit. p. 85.

'the days of *Wickcliff* there were many 'that diſliked moſt of the received doc-'trines in ſeveral parts of the nation [b].'

Wickliff *a graduate in* Merton *college.*

WE find no mention of him in hiſtory till his being a graduate in *Merton* college in *Oxford* [c]; ſo that no account can be given of his parentage, place of birth, or manner of education. His great abilities ſoon advanced him to a profeſſorſhip in the univerſity, and a living, in which he had the cure of ſouls. When he was convinced, by the word of God, of the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the times, and reſolved upon a reformation, theſe two places gave him great advantages for the promoting his deſign: for by the one he was frequently engaged in diſputations with the learned; and by the other, in preaching to the common people. He conſider'd with himſelf, that old cuſtoms and principles, that had been long rooted in the minds of the people, could not preſently, and all at once, be removed; and therefore reſolved to proceed gradually in his deſign, finding fault firſt with leſſer things, in order to come to the greater; beginning with ſome logical and metaphyſical miſtakes, and ſo proceeding till he came to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and other abuſes of the church. He endeavoured to expoſe the vi-

[b] *Hiſtory of Reformat.* vol. I. p. 23.
[c] *Fuller's Church Hiſt.* lib. iv. p. 130.

cious

cious lives and insolent behaviour of the clergy [d]; and especially their assuming the civil power, encroaching upon the prince's prerogative, exacting great sums from the people. This procured him the favour of the court, and particularly the duke of *Lancaster* (the king's son) and the Lord *Piercy*, which proved a great protection to him afterwards, when persecuted by the bishops.

Translates the bible.

'HE translated the bible (says *Burnet* [e]) 'out of *Latin* into *English*, with a long 'preface before it, in which he reflected 'severely on the corruptions of the clergy, 'and condemned the worshipping of saints 'and images, and denied the corporal pre- 'sence of Christ's body in the sacrament, 'and exhorted all people to study the scrip- 'tures. His bible, with this preface, was 'well received by a great many;" and tended greatly to open the eyes of the people, and is the first *English* bible that ever was.

WHAT was done by this famous man, towards removing those corruptions in doctrine and worship which were then in the *English* church, exposed him to the persecution of the *Romish* clergy, who exercised all the rage and power they durst against him.

[d] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 556.
[e] *Hist. Reformat.* vol. I. p. 23.

1376. *Is deprived and silenced.* FIRST, he was deprived of his benefice at *Oxford*, and silenced by *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*. After this he was summoned to appear before a synod, which sat at St. *Paul*'s church, to answer for his errors before his ordinary; but his two great friends and encouragers, the duke of *Lancaster* and Lord *Piercy*, appearing with him, nothing was done against him at this time.

Ordered by the pope to be prosecuted. AN account of his errors and proceedings being sent to pope *Gregory*, there was quickly a bull sent to *Oxford*, enjoining the university and clergy to apprehend him; and a letter from the pope to the king, requiring his majesty to join with and assist the clergy in prosecuting of him.

THIS gave fresh encouragement to the clergy; who having exhibited certain conclusions against him, cited him to appear again before a convocation of bishops at *Lambeth*, with a full resolution to condemn both him and his errors; but a message came from the court, which put a stop to their proceedings.

SEVERAL other attempts were made against him; but they could not proceed till the duke of *Lancaster* was removed from the king, and then he was condemn'd at *Oxford*: yet he died peaceably in his bed in the year 1385. tho' forty one years after his body was taken up and burnt.

As

As to his opinions, it is very difficult now to have a certain account of them; becauſe they who took ſo much care to burn his bones, did not neglect to deſtroy his books, which of the two were like to do them the moſt hurt. And to do this the more effectually, not only the prelates of *England* and *Bohemia*, but alſo a general council condemned all his books, and commanded them to be burnt; ſtrictly forbidding any perſon to read or conceal any of them, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt as maintainers of hereſy: ſo that in the year 1410, by diligent inquiſition about two hundred of them were gathered together in *Oxford* and *Bohemia*, and committed to the flames. We are now therefore forced to take the account of his opinions from his enemies; and if any credit may be given to their account, he was for carrying the reformation much further than it was in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, or ſince. For

His books condemned and burnt.

His opinions.

1. HE not only denied the pope's ſupremacy [f], but was againſt any perſon's aſſuming the title and authority of being the *head of the church*; aſſerting, 'That it is 'blaſphemy to call any *head of the church*, 'ſave Chriſt alone.'

Art. 1.

2. HE condemned epiſcopacy as being a creature of princes ſetting up. For he

[f] *Fuller* à *Wald.* p. 131.

Art. 14. aſſerted, ‘ That in the time of the apoſtles ‘ there were only two orders, *viz. prieſts* ‘ and *deacons*; and that a *biſhop* doth not ‘ differ from a *prieſt*.’

3. HE was for having miniſters maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people, and not by tythes ſettled on *Art.* 24. them by law; ſaying, ‘ That *tythes* are ‘ pure alms, and that *paſtors* are not to ‘ exact them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures.’

4. HE was not for giving the church a *power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to determine controverſies of faith.* For it is *Art.* 25, 26. ſaid, ‘ That he ſlighted the authority of ‘ general councils, and affirmed, that wiſe ‘ men leave that as impertinent which is ‘ not plainly expreſſed in ſcripture.’

5. HE was alſo againſt preſcribed forms of prayer, but eſpecially againſt impoſing *Art.* 30. of them. For he ſaith, ‘ To bind men to ‘ ſet and preſcript forms of prayers, doth ‘ derogate from that liberty God hath given ‘ them.’

Is ſuppoſed to have been a Baptiſt.

I AM inclined to believe Mr. *Wickliff* was a *Baptiſt*, becauſe ſome men of great note and learning in the church of *Rome*, have left it upon record, that he denied infant-baptiſm. *Thomas Waldenſis* [g] chargeth him expreſly with this opinion; and calls him one of the ſeven heads that came out of the bottomleſs pit, for it; ſaying, ‘ That

[g] *De Bapt. Sac. Tit.* 5. chap. liii.

‘ he

'he doth positively assert, That children 'are not to be sacramentally baptized.'

THE same saith *Joseph Vicecomes*[h]: 'As to 'adult baptism, no one ever doubted thereof, 'witness the monuments or writings of all 'the holy fathers and œcumenial coun- 'cils, as well as the scriptures themselves, 'especially the *Acts of the apostles*; but 'as for infants baptism, he tells us, that '*Vincentius Victor*, *Hincmarus* of *Laudun*, 'the *Henrici* & *Apostolici*, *John Wickliff*, '&c. did all of them witness against it in 'their times.'

BESIDES, they charge him with several of those which are called *Anabaptistical* errors; such as the refusing to take an oath[i], and also that opinion, That dominion is founded in grace[k]. Upon these testimonies, some protestant writers have affirmed that *Wickliff* was a *Baptist*, and have put him in the number of those who have born witness against infant-baptism. And had he been a man of a scandalous character, that would have brought reproach upon those of that profession, a less proof would have been sufficient to have ranked him among that sect. Jan Van Bright. Danvers.

BUT in defence of so great and learned a reformer, it is said, that those are only lies and slanders, cast upon him by the *But accounted a slander of the* Papists.

[h] *De Rit. Bapt.* lib. ii. chap. 1.
[i] *Art.* 41. *condemned by the* Council of Constance.
[k] *Fuller*, *Art.* 51.

Papists,

Papiſts, his enraged enemies; and that *Vicecomes* has alſo reckoned *Luther*, *Calvin* and *Beza*, among the adverſaries of infant-baptiſm; which is, ſay they, a moſt evident falſhood: that if this had been his opinion, the *Council of Conſtance*, who condemned 45 of his ſuppoſed errors, would not have omitted objecting this againſt him, for in ſuch caſes, they commonly over did it: that there is a treatiſe ſtill extant of *Wickliff*'s, called *Dialogus*, in which he ſpeaks of the baptizing of infants, as being according to Chriſt's rule; and the parents intention of doing it, as a good intention.

ALL this does indeed render it doubtful whether he was of that opinion. Yet it is to be conſidered, on the other hand, that the *Papiſts* were the beſt capable of giving an account of perſons who lived in thoſe times; that though they often caſt ſlanders upon thoſe who oppoſed their ſuperſtitions, it follows not, that all muſt be falſe which they ſaid of them. *Fox*, who has related his opinions, has left out one of thoſe condemned in the convocation at *London*, and three of the 45 condemned in the *Council of Conſtance*, as appears by his firſt edition; which muſt be concealed for ſome deſign, not known. And although when *Wickliff* wrote his *Dialogus*, he held the baptizing of infants; yet it does not hence follow, that he might not afterwards

28, 35, and 45.

be

be of another mind, and write againſt it in ſome of thoſe two hundred books of his that were burnt; of which, as Mr. *Fuller* [1] ſaith, not a tittle is left.

SEVERAL of the *Romiſh* errors are aſſerted in that book; as purgatory, adoration of angels, the authority of the church, *&c.* which it is plain he afterwards denied. Very few who ſet themſelves to reform religion, ſee all the abuſes in it at firſt; but moſt commonly add new opinions, conſequent to thoſe they at firſt maintained; and ſo an honeſt hiſtorian [m] ſuppoſes *Wickliff* to have done.

THE heretical opinions charged upon *Wickliff* in the latter part of his life, and after his death, are much more numerous than thoſe he was accuſed of at the beginning of his proſecution.

POPE *Gregory* charged him with 18 errors; *Thomas Arundel* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with 24; the *Council of Conſtance* with 45; *Thomas Waldenſis* computeth 80; *John Luke*, D. D. in *Oxford*, brings up the account to 266; and laſt of all, *John Cocleus* raiſes the number to 303.

BUT whether he denied infant-baptiſm, or not, it is certain he was the firſt reformer of any note, that ſpread thoſe tenets among the *Engliſh* which tend to overthrow the practice of baptizing infants.

Many of Wickliff's *followers were* Baptiſts.

[1] *Church-Hiſtory*, p. 135.
[m] *Fuller*, p. 131.

ſants. And if he did not purſue the conſequence of his own doctrines ſo far, yet many of his followers did, and were made *Baptiſts* by it.

HE taught, that no rule or ceremony ought to be received in the church, which is not plainly confirmed by the word of God: and therefore ſaid, 'That wiſe men 'leave that as impertinent, which is not 'plainly expreſſed in ſcripture [n].'

Now, the following of this rule in reformation, muſt needs tend to the caſting out of infant-baptiſm; the *Pædobaptiſts* themſelves granting, that there is no direction for ſuch a practice in the word, nor one example of it, as will be hereafter ſhewn.

BISHOP *Burnet* obſerves [o], it was the purſuing this principle, that gave riſe to the *Anabaptiſts* in *Germany*; *Luther* having laid it down as a foundation, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Chriſtians; that many building upon this, carried things further than he did, and denied divers things which he held, and amongſt the reſt the baptiſm of infants.

ANOTHER Tenet of *Wickliff*'s was this [p]: 'That thoſe are fools and preſumptuous, 'which affirm ſuch infants not to be 'ſaved, which die without baptiſm, and

[n] *Fuller*, p. 132.
[o] *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. II. p. 110.
[p] *Fuller*, p. 133.

he

'he denied, that all ſins are aboliſhed in 'baptiſm'.

NOW, it was the opinion that baptiſm waſhed away original ſin, and by a ſecret virtue regenerated the perſon, and that the infant dying without it, was in danger of damnation, that began and eſtabliſhed this practice; therefore this foundation being removed, that practice falls of courſe.

NAY further, it is affirmed to be a doctrine of *Wickliff*'s, [q] 'That baptiſm doth 'not confer, but only ſignify grace, which 'was given before.'

AND in his *Dialogus*, although that was written while he retained divers popiſh errors, he aſſerts, [r] 'That children may 'be ſaved without Baptiſm; and that the 'baptiſm of water profiteth not, without 'the baptiſm of the Spirit.' Which ſhews, that even then he was inclinable to the opinion of the *Baptiſts*; and makes it very probable, that when he afterwards threw off many of the errors mentioned in that book, he did alſo reject the baptiſm of infants, as it is charged upon him by his adverſaries.

AMONGST the followers of this great man, both in *Bohemia* and *England*, we find many *Baptiſts*. The Reformation, which began ſo early in *Bohemia*, and

[q] *Fuller* à *Wald. Art.* 35.
[r] *Trialogus*, lib. iv. chap. 11. à *Baxter*.

ſpread

ſpread ſo quickly through moſt parts of *Germany*, was in a great meaſure owing to our *Wickliff*.

SOME have thought that he fled into thoſe parts to eſcape the rage of the *Engliſh* clergy for ſome time, and then returned again, and ſo had propagated his principles ſecretly there. But the account Mr. *Fox* gives[f] us ſeems the moſt probable; which is, that a certain young gentleman of *Bohemia* happening to be at *Oxford*, upon his returning back to the univerſity of *Prague*, took with him ſeveral of *Wickliff*'s books, and communicated them to Mr. *John Hus*, a publick preacher there; and *Hus*, who was a man of great learning, a fruitful wit, and of extraordinary piety, by reading theſe books imbibed the ſame ſentiments of religion which *Wickliff* had, and openly defended both *Wickliff* and his doctrines; and ſo became the firſt reformer there, and founder of that ſect which were called by ſome *Pyghards*, and by others *Huſſites*.

NOW concerning this people, and their ſentiments of religion, we have a very particular account in a letter written to *Eraſmus* out of *Bohemia*, by *Johannes Slechta Coſtelecius*, dated *October* 10, 1519. which makes the riſe of that ſect to be

[f] *Martyrol.* vol. i. p. 606.

above

above 97 years before that insurrection at *Munster*; which some would make the first rise of the *Baptists*, and many years before *Luther* and *Calvin*.

IN the account he gives of them, he says, they mutually salute one another by the name of *Brother* and *Sister*; they own no other authority than the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; they believe or own little or nothing of the sacraments of the church; such as come over to their sect, must every one be baptized anew in mere water, *&c.* Vide *Preface.*

NOW though the account in this letter agrees almost in every thing, with the opinions and practice of the *English Baptists*; yet the advocates of infant-baptism would fain persuade us to the contrary, by suggesting that they did not re-baptize those that embraced their opinion, as judging baptism in infancy invalid; but judging all baptism received in the corrupt way of the church of *Rome* to be so. And in confirmation of this, Dr. *Wall* cites *Ottius*[t], who affirms this to be the Reason of it.

BUT when the *Pædobaptists* argue after this manner, they don't consider that they hereby cast the same odium upon the protestant religion in general, which they have so often endeavoured to fix upon the

[t] *Hist. Anabapt. anno* 1521.

Baptists

Baptiſts only; *viz.* That they can have no right adminiſtrator of baptiſm amongſt them, and conſequently no true baptiſm. For as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves [x], at the beginning of the Reformation, all had been baptized in the corrupt way of the church of *Rome*. If that baptiſm was nothing, then there was none truly baptized in being. Now it did not ſeem reaſonable, that men who were not baptized themſelves, ſhould go and baptize others; and therefore the firſt heads of the Reformation, not being rightly baptized themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any authority, when they went to baptize others.

IF, on the other hand, they affirm, that the baptiſm received in the church of *Rome* is valid; then theſe people muſt be real *Anabaptiſts*, who baptized every one anew that came over to their ſect.

NOR do we find any that believed infant-baptiſm to be lawful, who upon departing from the church of *Rome*, did look upon the baptiſm they had there received as invalid, and ſo received a new baptiſm upon their becoming Proteſtants. They all abhorred indeed the ſuperſtitious uſe of oil of chriſom; yet ſeeing there was in that baptiſm the element of water applied, the right words of inſtitution uſed, and both theſe adminiſtred, as they thought, to a proper ſubject, they judged it had the eſ-

[x] Vol. II. p. 113.

ſentials

ſentials of a true baptiſm, and accordingly contented themſelves with it.

'TIS therefore moſt reaſonable to conclude, that thoſe perſons were *Baptiſts*, and upon that account baptized thoſe that came over to their ſect, who profeſſed the true faith, and deſired to be baptized into it.

AS for *Ottius*, it is no wonder he aſſerts the contrary. For he writ with a great deal of warmth to expoſe the mad *Anabaptiſts*, who had made ſuch confuſion in *Germany*, and therefore would not allow any ſober and religious people to be of their opinion in any thing. But *Waldenſis*, who lived above an hundred years before *Ottius*, and writ againſt the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*, affirms, that ſome of them maintained this Hereſy, [a] 'That 'believers children were not to be bap-'tized, and that baptiſm was to no pur-'poſe adminiſtred to them.'

BUT to return to *England:* Let us ſee how the doctrines of *Wickliff* prevailed there, and what was taught and practiſed, in the point of baptiſm, by his *Engliſh* diſciples.

AS in *Bohemia* the followers of *Wickliff* went under the name of *Waldenſes*, *Pyghards*, and *Huſſites*; ſo in *England* they were many years called *Lollards*. Wickliff's followers called Lollards.

[a] Walden. *Tom.* III. *Tit.* v. *c.* 53. Marſhall, *p.* 65.

UNDER this name were the ſeveral ſtatutes made againſt them; their ſuppoſed hereſies were condemned under the name of *Lollardy*, and the priſon in *London*, to which they were ſent, was called the *Lollards Tower*. Some think they derived this name from *Walter Lollard*, one of the *Waldenſian* preachers in *Germany*, who came into *England* about the year 1315. and propagated ſeveral opinions, agreeing with thoſe afterwards maintained by *Wickliff*. Others ſuppoſe they were ſo called from the *Latin* word *lolium*, which ſignifies *tares*, or hurtful weeds among the corn, and ſo were termed *Lollards*, *quaſi lolia, in ara Domini*.

THE firſt followers of *Wickliff* according to Dr. *Burnet* [b], were generally illiterate and ignorant men, who were led into his opinions, rather by the impreſſions which common ſenſe and plain reaſon made upon them, than by any deep ſpeculations or ſtudy. 'There were, ſays he, 'ſome few *Clerks* joined to them, but 'they formed not themſelves into any body 'or aſſociation, and were ſcattered over 'the kingdom, holding theſe opinions † 'in private, without making any publick 'profeſſion of them. Generally they were 'known by their diſparaging the ſuperſtitious *Clergy*, whoſe corruptions were then ſo

† *Againſt worſhipping ſaints and images, and the corporal preſence.*

[b] *Hiſt. Ref. vol.* I. *p.* 23.

no-

'notorious, and their cruelty ſo enraged,
'that no wonder the people were deeply
'prejudiced againſt them.'

IN the 5th year of *Richard* II. (at which time *Wickliff* himſelf was alive) a bill for the ſuppreſſing of hereticks paſſed in the houſe of Lords, and was aſſented to by the King, and publiſhed for an act of Parliament, though the bill was never ſent to the houſe of Commons. By this pretended law, ſays *Burnet*, 'it appears, that *Wick-*
'*liff*'s followers were then very numerous;
'that they had a certain habit, and did
'preach in many places, both in churches,
'church-yards, and markets, without li-
'cence from the ordinary; and did preach
'ſeveral doctrines, both againſt the faith
'and the laws of the land, as had been
'proved before the Archbiſhop of *Canter-*
'*bury*, the other biſhops, prelates, doctors
'of divinity, and of the civil and canon
'law, and others of the clergy; that they
'would not ſubmit to the admonitions, nor
'cenſures of the church, but by their ſubtil
'ingenious words, did draw the people to
'follow them and defend them by a ſtrong
'hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was
'ordained, that upon the biſhops certifying
'into the chancery the names of ſuch
'preachers and their abettors, the chan-
'cellour ſhould iſſue forth commiſſions to

Rich. II. An. Dom. 1382. *A bill paſſed the Lords, and ſigned by the King, to ſuppreſs hereticks.*

[a] *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. I. p. 25.

'the ſheriffs, and other the king's mini-
'ſters, to hold them in arreſt and ſtrong
'priſon, till they ſhould juſtify them
'according to the law and reaſon of holy
'church.'

Diſowned and condemned by the commons.

THE *popiſh* party made uſe of this pious fraud; and though the next parliament diſowned and condemned that pretended law, yet they found means to get this new act ſuppreſſed, and went on to proſecute the *Lollards* with all the fierceneſs and ſeverity the former law would permit; and ſeveral of their moſt noted preachers were apprehended, impriſoned and harraſſed, by vexatious ſuits in the eccleſiaſtical courts, for as yet there was no law that reached to life.

Henry IV. An. Dom. 1400.

A law made for burning hereticks.

BUT when the crown was uſurped by *Henry* IV. in gratitude to the *clergy*, who aſſiſted him in coming to it, he granted them a law, to their hearts content, for the burning of *hereticks*; which paſſed both houſes in the ſecond year of his reign. And to the *eternal infamy of the* romiſh *clergy*, who procured this bloody law, upon the authority of which ſo much cruelty was afterwards acted, it was entred in the rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos* [d].

Will. Sawtre *burnt.*

THE firſt who was put to this cruel death in *England*, merely for religion, was *William Sawtre*, who was burnt in *Lon-*

[d] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 773.

don,

don, *An. Dom.* 1400. He had been ſometime miniſter of the pariſh of St. *Margaret*, in the town of *Lynn*; but having entertained the opinions of the *Lollards*, was firſt convicted of hereſy by the biſhop of *Norwich*, and afterwards brought to make a publick recantation of the ſame, and ſo eſcaped for that time: but coming to *London*, and retaining ſtill a zeal for the true religion, he petitioned the parliament that he might be heard in ſome matters relating to religion, which he believed would be for the benefit of the whole kingdom.

THE *clergy* ſuſpecting his deſign, which muſt have been to get the eſtabliſhed religion reformed, or a toleration for ſuch as diſſented, got the matter to be referred wholly to them in convocation; who ſoon condemned him as an obſtinate heretick, and procured a decree from the king for his burning.

[e] THIS *Proto-Martyr* of the *Engliſh* nation is thought by ſome to have been a *Baptiſt*; becauſe the *Lollards*, who lived in the dioceſe of *Norwich*, where this man firſt received and profeſſed his notions, were generally of that opinion [f]: and Mr. *Fox*, in relating the errors of which he was accuſed by the *Papiſts*, uſes the ſame partiality that he had done before in *Wickliff*'s caſe; for of the ten errors of which

[e] *Hook*'s *Apology*, *Preface*.
[f] *Martyrol.* vol. I. p. 673.

he was convicted by the bishop of *Norwich*, he conceals the two last, as may be seen in the scroll and recantation.

FOX was doubtless so honest an historian, as not to record any thing he knew to be false; yet it is plain, by these and several other instances, he endeavoured to conceal many things that would make against the religion established in his time, or that he thought would be a disparagement to his *martyrs*.

Wickliff's followers terrified.

THE cruel and ignominious death of this good man struck a great terror into the rest of *Wickliff*'s followers, and made them more cautious how they divulged their opinions for the future; yet such was the craft and diligence of the *clergy*, that they found out means to discover many of them, and by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, which they had now obtained, persecuted them with great cruelty, so that the prisons were full of them, many were forced to abjure, and those that refused were used without mercy g.

AND as this persecution began in the diocese of *Norwich*, so it was carried on with the greatest heat and violence.

MR. FOX gives an account of an hundred and twenty, who were hereupon accused, and committed to prison for *Lollardy* in about three years time; that is,

g *Fuller*, p. 164.

from

from the year 1428, to 1431 [h]. Of these, some through fear either denied or abjured their opinions; others suffered cruel penance, and others were burnt alive: as Father *Abraham*, *William White*, *John Wadden*, and others. *Three* Lollards *burnt*

As to the opinions that were held by these *Lollards*, or disciples of *Wickliff*, in *England*, 'tis agreed by all, that they denied the pope's supremacy, the worshipping of images, praying for the dead, and the like popish doctrines. Whether they rejected the baptism of infants or not, has been doubted by some; but that they generally did so, is more than probable, from what is left upon record concerning them.

FOR the better discovering who were *Lollards*, there were certain articles drawn up, upon which the *Inquisitors* were to examine those who were suspected, and if they saw need, oblige them to abjure. Among these the 12th article was, [i] 'That 'the infant, though he die unbaptized, shall 'be saved.'

WALDENSIS, who wrote against the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*, about the year 1410. affirms, That *Wickliff*'s followers in *Scotland*, and some in the bishop of *Norwich*'s diocese did hold [k], That the children

[h] *Fuller*, vol. I. p. 867, *&c.*
[i] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 687.
[k] *Marshal def. Inf. Bapt.* p. 65.

of believers are not to be ſacramentally baptized; and that they judged it unprofitable to give children eccleſiaſtical baptiſm, [l] ſaying they were ſufficiently clean and holy, becauſe they were born of holy and chriſtian parents.

THE *Dutch* martyrology gives an account of Sir *L. Clifford*, who had formerly been a *Lollard*, but had departed from their opinions, who informed the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that the *Lollards* would not baptize their new-born children. And our *Engliſh* martyrologiſt tells us, [m] That the *Lollards* were accuſed of holding theſe errors concerning baptiſm, *viz.* 'That the ſacrament of baptiſm, uſed 'in the church by water, is but a light 'matter, and of ſmall effect; that chriſtian 'people be ſufficiently baptized in the blood 'of Chriſt, and need no water; and that 'infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their 'parents be baptized before them.'

FOX indeed endeavours to excuſe them in theſe things; and ſuppoſes they were only ſlanders caſt upon them by their perſecutors.

IT is certain they did not deny water-baptiſm itſelf, as theſe accuſations ſuppoſe; but becauſe they denied that baptiſm waſhed away ſin, and conferred grace, they

[l] *Baptiſts Anſwer to Wills*, p. 7.
[m] *Fox*, vol. I. p. 868.

charge

charge them with ſaying, that it was a light matter, and of ſmall effect: Becauſe they held, it was the blood of Chriſt that ſaved us, and not water, they accuſe them of this error, that chriſtian people be ſufficiently baptized in the blood of Chriſt, and need no water; and becauſe they rejected the baptizing of infants, as a needleſs ceremony, they condemn them as ſuch that affirmed, that infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their parents were baptized before them.

THE perſecution of the *Lollards* rather encreaſing their number than diminiſhing them, I ſhall not take notice of the particular ſufferers in ſucceſſion; but proceed to the reign of *Henry*. VIII. where I find their principles about baptiſm more fairly ſtated. Hen. VIII An. Dom. 1511.

BISHOP BURNET ſays[n], 'That in the 'reign of K. *Henry* VIII. on the 2d day of 'May, in the year 1511, ſix men and 'four women, moſt of them being of 'Tenderden, appeared before Archbiſhop 'Warham, in his manour of *Knoll*, and 'abjured the following errors:

'1. THAT in the ſacrament of the 'altar is not the body of Chriſt, but ma-'terial bread: 2. That the ſacraments of 'baptiſm and confirmation are not neceſſa-

[n] *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. I. p. 27.

'ry,

'ry, nor profitable for mens ſouls: 3. That 'confeſſion of ſins ought not to be made 'to a prieſt: 4. That there is no more 'power given by God to a prieſt than to 'a layman: 5. That the ſolemnization of 'matrimony is not profitable nor neceſſa-'ry, for the well of a man's ſoul: 6. 'That the ſacrament of extreme unction is 'not profitable nor neceſſary for a man's 'ſoul: 7. That pilgrimages to holy and 'devout places be not profitable, neither 'meritorious for man's ſoul: 8. That 'images of ſaints be not to be worſhipped: '9. That a man ſhould pray to no ſaint, 'but only to God: 10. That holy 'water, and holy bread, be not the better 'after the benediction made by the prieſt, 'than before. And as they abjured theſe 'opinions, ſo they were made to ſwear, 'that they would diſcover all whom they 'knew to hold theſe errors, or who were 'ſuſpected of them, or that did keep any 'private conventicles; or were fautors, or 'comforters of them that publiſhed ſuch 'doctrines. Two other men of *Tenderden* 'did that day in the afternoon abjure moſt 'of theſe opinions. The court ſat again 'the fifth of *May*, and the archbiſhop 'enjoined them penance, to wear the 'badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes 'during their lives, or till they were diſ-'penſed with for it; and that in the pro-'ceſſion, both at the cathedral of *Canter-*

'*bury*,

'*bury*, and at their own pariſh-churches, 'they ſhould carry a faggot on their ſhould-'ers, which was looked on as a publick 'confeſſion that they deſerved burning. 'The ſame day another of *Tenderden* ab-'jured the ſame doctrines. On the 15th 'of *May* the court ſat at *Lambeth*, where 'four men and one woman abjured. On 'the 19th, four men more abjured. On 'the 3d of *June*, a man and a woman 'abjured; another woman the 26th of '*July*; another man the 29th of *July*; 'two women on the 2d of *Auguſt*; a 'man on the 3d, and a woman on the '8th of *Auguſt*; three men on the 16th 'of *Auguſt*; and three men and a woman 'on the 3d of *September*. In theſe ab-'jurations, ſome were put to abjure 'more, ſome fewer of the former doc-'trines: and in ſome of their abjurations, 'two articles more were added. Firſt, 'that the images of the crucifix of our 'lady and other ſaints, ought not to be 'worſhipped, becauſe they were made 'with mens hands, and were but ſtocks 'and ſtones. Second, that money and 'labours ſpent in pilgrimages were all in 'vain. All theſe perſons (whether they were 'unjuſtly accuſed, or were overcome with 'fear, or had but crude conceptions of 'thoſe opinions, and ſo eaſily frighted 'out of them) abjured, and performed the 'penance that was enjoined them. O-

'thers

'thers met with harder meaſure; for on
'the 29th of *April*, in the ſame year 1511.
'one *William Carder* of *Tenderden*, being
'indicted on the former articles, he de-
'nied them all but one: *That he had*
'*ſaid, it was enough to pray to Almighty*
'*God alone, and therefore we needed not to*
'*pray to ſaints for any mediation*; upon
'which witneſſes were brought againſt
'him, who were all ſuch as were then
'priſoners, but intended to abjure, and
'were now made uſe of to convict o-
'thers. They ſwore, that he had taught
'them theſe opinions. When their de-
'poſitions were publiſhed, he ſaid he did
'repent, if he had ſaid any thing againſt the
'faith, and the ſacraments, but he did
'not remember that he had ſaid any ſuch
'thing. Sentence was given upon him
'as an obſtinate heretick, and he was
'delivered up to the ſecular power. On
'the ſame day a woman, *Agnes Grevil*,
'was indicted upon the ſame articles.
'She pleaded *not guilty*; but by a ſtrange
'kind of proceeding, her huſband and
'her two ſons were brought in witneſſes
'againſt her. Her huſband depoſed, that
'in the end of the reign of K. *Edw.* IV.
'one *John Ive* had perſuaded her into
'theſe opinions, in which ſhe had per-
'ſiſted ever ſince. Her ſons alſo depoſed,
'that ſhe had been ſtill infuſing theſe
'doctrines into them. One *Robert Har-*

'*riſon*

'*riſon* was alſo indicted, and pleading '*not guilty*, witneſſes did prove the ar-'ticles againſt him; and on the 2d of '*May*, ſentence was given againſt theſe 'two, as obſtinate hereticks; and the ſame 'day the archbiſhop ſigned the writs for 'certifying theſe ſentences into the chancery, 'which conclude in theſe words: *Our* '*holy mother the church, having nothing* '*further that ſhe can do in this matter,* '*we leave the forementioned hereticks, and* '*every one of them, to your royal highneſs,* '*and to your ſecular council.*

'AND on the 8th of *May*, *John Brown* 'and *Edward Walker*, being alſo indicted of 'hereſy, on the former points, they both 'pleaded *not guilty*; but the witneſſes 'depoſing againſt them, they were judged 'obſtinate hereticks, and the former a 'relapſe, for he had abjured before cardi-'nal *Morton*, and on the 19th of *May* 'ſentence was given. When or how the 'ſentences were executed, I cannot find: 'ſure I am, there are no pardons upon 'record for any of them; and it was the 'courſe of the law, either to ſend a pardon, 'or iſſue out the writ for burning them. '*Fox* mentions none of theſe proceedings; 'only he tells, that *John Brown* was ta-'ken for ſome words ſaid in diſcourſe 'with a prieſt, about the ſaying of maſſes 'for redeeming of ſouls out of purgatory; 'upon which he was committed for ſuſ-

'picion

'picion of hereſy. But *Fox* ſeems to have 'been miſinformed about the time of his 'burning, which he ſays was *An. Dom.* '1517; for they would not have kept a 'condemn'd heretick ſix years out of the fire. 'I never find them guilty of any ſuch cle-'mency.' Thus far Bp. *Burnet*.

IT may very well be ſuppoſed, that moſt of the aforementioned perſons were oppoſers of infant-baptiſm; elſe why were they obliged to abjure the opinion of baptiſm, as being neither neceſſary nor profitable? But if it be ſaid, that theſe ten articles were eſteemed heretical opinions and errors by the church in that day, therefore if they found any perſon guilty of one, they obliged them to abjure the whole; then I ſay, it is evident there were oppoſers of infant-baptiſm at that time, and that the riſe of the *Baptiſts* is not of ſuch late date as ſome would have it.

An. Dom. 1528. *A parliament call'd*

THE king becoming ſenſible of his error, in being wholly ruled by the *Clergy*, call'd his high court of *Parliament* in the year 1528 [m]. The *Commons* complained ſharply of their grievances againſt the *Clergy* [n]; eſpecially in ſix things, the third of which was, that ſpiritual men became *farmers* of great granges and farms, to the prejudice of *huſbandmen* and *grangers* [o].

[m] *Baker's Chron.* p. 296.
[n] *Mart. Hiſt. kings of* England, p. 382.
[o] *Hiſt.* Engl. *in* Q. Eliz. p. 1186.

THE

THE fourth was, becauſe many *abbots*, *priors*, and other ſpiritual men, kept tan-houſes, and ſold wool, cloth, and other wares, as temporal merchants.

I mention this, to ſhew that the *clergy* of the church of *Rome* have been employed in mechanick exerciſes; and I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to make it appear that this has been the caſe of thoſe of the other denominations among proteſtants, as well as the *Baptiſts*; though they have all join'd in warm reflections on them on this account, as if they only were chargeable with this practice.

BUT to proceed, though we find not in hiſtory among the *martyrs*, many who are taken notice of as oppoſers of *infant-baptiſm*, the *hiſtorians* themſelves being *Pædobaptiſts*; yet there is ground ſufficient to believe, that many of them were *Baptiſts*.

JAMES BAINHAM, *Knt.* [p] who was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Apr.* 30, 1532. ſeems by what he ſaid upon his examination before the biſhop of *London*, *Dec.* 15, 1531. to have been an oppoſer of infant-baptiſm. An. Dom. 1532.

IN the year 1533. Mr. *John Frith* [q], who was burnt in *Smithfield*, wrote a ſhort tract, which he called *a Declaration of* An. Dom. 1533.

[p] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 298.
[q] *Wall. Hiſt. Bap.* Vol. II. p. 207.

Bap-

Baptiſm. 'Tis publiſhed with his other works, *Lond.* 1573.

Ten Anabaptiſts put to death.

KING *Henry* having renounced the pope, and married *Anne* of *Bulloign*, ſhe being a ſpecial favourer of the goſpel, no great perſecution nor abjuration was in the church of *England* during her time; ſaving, that ten *Anabaptiſts*, which the regiſters of *London* make mention of, were put to death in ſundry places of the realm, *An. Dom.* 1535. Other ten ſaved themſelves by recantation.

An. Dom. 1535.

Note again, that two more, albeit the definite ſentence was read, yet notwithſtanding were pardoned by the king, which was contrary to the pope's law [r].

ABOUT this time was *Thomas Cranmer* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* very buſy in projecting the moſt effectual means for promoting a reformation in doctrine [s]. He moved in Convocation, that they ſhould petition the king for leave to make a tranſlation of the bible; but *Stephen Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and all his party oppoſed it, both in Convocation and in ſecret with the king.

IT was ſaid, that all the hereſies and extravagant opinions which were in *Germany*, and from thence brought over into *England*, ſprang from the free uſe of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May*, 1535.

[r] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 325.

[s] *Burnet's Hiſt. Ref.* vol. I. lib. 3. p. 195.

nine-

nineteen *Hollanders* were accuſed of ſome hereticical opinions, denying Chriſt to be both God and Man, or that he took fleſh and blood of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the ſacraments had any effect upon thoſe that received them. In which opinions fourteen of them remained obſtinate, and were burnt by pairs in ſeveral places. It was pretended, that all theſe drew their damnable errors from the indiſcreet uſe of the Scriptures. Theſe, or however ſome of them, are ſuppoſed to be *Anabaptiſts*, becauſe *Fuller* mentions ſome under that name who ſuffered that year.

Fourteen Hollanders burnt by pairs in ſeveral places.

THE proceedings of the convocation, and the articles of religion therein agreed upon, and publiſhed with the king's authority in 1536. ſhew, that the opinion of the *Baptiſts* was then increaſing in *England*.

An. Dom. 1536.

THIS convocation ſat down in *June*, and after ſome affairs relating to the king's divorce were debated, the lower houſe ſent to the upper houſe, a collection of many opinions that were then in the realm. There are ſixty ſeven ſet down, and are the tenets of the old *Lollards*, new *Reformers*, and *Anabaptiſts*; and after much conſultation and debating, certain articles were agreed upon, and publiſhed with the king's authority.

BY theſe articles, which are expreſſed at large by *Fuller* and *Burnet*, it may be ſeen what ſort of men the whole body of the *clergy* condemned as hereticks in thoſe days.

BUT it will be ſufficient here to inſert only thoſe concerning baptiſm.

AS touching the holy ſacrament of baptiſm, ſay they, 'We will that all biſhops and preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt of neceſſity believe certainly all thoſe things which have been always by the whole conſent of the church approved, received and uſed, in the ſacrament of baptiſm. That is to ſay,

'I. That the ſacrament of baptiſm was inſtituted and ordained in the New Teſtament by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as a thing neceſſary for the attaining of everlaſting life; according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non poteſt intrare in regnum cælorum.*

'*Item*, THAT it is offered unto all men, as well infants as ſuch as have the uſe of reaſon, that by baptiſm they ſhall have the remiſſion of ſins, and the grace and favour of God; according to the ſaying of St. *John*, *Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, ſalvus erit.*

'*Item*, THAT the promiſe of grace and everlaſting life, which promiſe is adjoined

‘ joined unto the ſacrament of baptiſm, ‘ pertaineth not only unto ſuch as have ‘ the uſe of reaſon, but alſo to infants, ‘ innocents and children; and that they ‘ ought therefore, and muſt needs be bap- ‘ tized: And that by the ſacrament of ‘ baptiſm, they do alſo obtain remiſſion of ‘ their ſins, the grace and favour of God, ‘ and be made thereby the very ſons and ‘ children of God; inſomuch as infants ‘ and children, dying in their infancy, ſhall ‘ undoubtedly be ſaved thereby, or elſe ‘ not.

‘ *Item*, THAT infants muſt needs be ‘ chriſtened, becauſe they be born in ori- ‘ ginal ſin, which ſin muſt needs be re- ‘ mitted; which cannot be done but by ‘ the ſacrament of baptiſm, whereby they ‘ receive the Holy Ghoſt, which exer- ‘ ciſeth his grace and efficacy in them, ‘ and cleanſeth and purgeth them from ‘ ſin, by his moſt ſecret virtue and ope- ‘ ration.

‘ *Item*, THAT children or men once ‘ baptized, can, nor ought ever to be ‘ baptized again.

‘ *Item*, THAT they ought to repute ‘ and take all the *Anabaptiſts*, and the ‘ *Pelagians* opinions, contrary to the pre- ‘ miſes, and every other man's opinions ‘ agreeable to the ſaid *Anabaptiſts*, or the ‘ *Pelagians* opinions in this behalf, for de-

‘ teſtable hereſies, and utterly to be con-
‘ demned.

‘ *Item*, THAT men or children having
‘ the uſe of reaſon, willing and deſiring to
‘ be baptized, ſhall by the virtue of that holy
‘ ſacrament, obtain the grace of the remiſſion
‘ of all their ſins, if they ſhall come there-
‘ unto perfectly and truly repentant and
‘ contrite, of all their ſins before com-
‘ mitted, and alſo perfectly and conſtantly
‘ confeſſing and believing, all the articles
‘ of our faith, according as it was men-
‘ tioned in the articles before ; or elſe not.
‘ And finally, if they ſhall alſo have firm
‘ credence and truſt in the promiſe of God,
‘ adjoined to the ſaid ſacrament ; that is
‘ to ſay, that in and by this ſacrament
‘ which they ſhall receive, God the Father
‘ giveth unto them, for his ſon Jeſus Chriſt's
‘ ſake, remiſſion of all their ſins, and the
‘ grace of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby they
‘ be newly regenerated, and made the
‘ very children of God, according to the
‘ ſaying of Chriſt and his apoſtle St. *Pe-*
‘ *ter*, *Pœnitentiam agite, & baptizetur*
‘ *unuſquiſque veſtrum, in nomine Jeſu*
‘ *Chriſti, in remiſſionem peccatorum, &*
‘ *accipietis donum Spiritûs Sancti* ; and ac-
‘ cording alſo to the ſaying of St. *Paul,*
‘ *ad Titum.* 3. *Non ex operibus juſtitiæ quæ*
‘ *fecimus nos, ſed ſecundum ſuam miſericor-*
‘ *diam, ſalvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regene-*

‘ *rationis*

'*rationis & renovationis Spiritûs Sancti,*
'*quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum*
'*Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justifi-*
'*cati illius gratia heredes efficiamur, juxta*
'*spem vitæ eternæ.*'

Dr. WALL would insinuate, that there were no *Baptists* in *England* at this time; but that the King and Convocation, hearing of some in *Germany*, made and published these articles only by way of prevention, lest such opinions should be brought over hither. But is it probable they would have made so much stir about opinions that were not among them? Besides, the preface put to the articles in the King's name, does plainly contradict this insinuation; for therein it is said by the King: 'We being of late, to our great 'regret, credibly advertised of such diver-'sity in opinions, as have grown and 'sprongen in this our realm, as well con-'cerning certain articles necessary to our 'salvation, as also touching certain other 'honest and commendable ceremonies, 'rites; and usages, now a long time used 'and accustomed in our churches, have 'caused our *Bishops*, and other the most 'discreet and best learned men of our *Clergy* 'of this our whole realm, to be assembled in 'our Convocation, for the full debatement 'and quiet determination of the same.'

AFTER theſe articles of religion were publiſhed, Bp. *Burnet* tells us [a]: 'That 'thoſe that deſired reformation were glad 'to ſee ſo great a ſtep once made, and did 'not doubt but this would make way for 'further changes. They rejoiced to ſee 'the Scriptures and the antient Creeds 'made the ſtandards of the faith, without 'mentioning tradition, or the decrees of 'the church.'

BUT what little cauſe the *Baptiſts* had to rejoice with them, will appear by what follows:

An. Dom. 1538. FOR in *October* 1538. 'There was a 'commiſſion, ſays *Burnet* [b], ſent to *Cran-* 'mer, *Stokeſly*, *Sampſon*, and ſome others, 'to enquire after *Anabaptiſts*, to proceed 'againſt them, to reſtore the penitent, 'to burn their books, and to de- 'liver the obſtinate to the ſecular arm; 'but I have not, ſays the biſhop, ſeen 'what proceedings there were upon this.'

A proclamation iſſued againſt Anabaptiſts. On the 16th of *November*, the King put forth a proclamation, in which he condemns all the books of the *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentarians*, and appoints thoſe to be puniſhed who vented them; and in *December* following he ſent a letter to all the *Juſtices* in *England*, in which, after many other things, they are earneſtly preſſed to take care, that all the injunctions, laws

[a] *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. I. lib. iii. p. 218.
[b] *Ib.* vol. III. lib. iii. p. 159.

and

and proclamations, againſt *Sacramentarians* and *Anabaptiſts*, be duly executed. Which letter may be ſeen at large in *Burnet*.

An act of grace paſſed. Anabaptiſts *are excepted.*

[c] IN this year alſo there was an act of grace paſſed; in which, beſides other particular exceptions, all *Anabaptiſts* and *Sacramentaries* were excepted, and all thoſe that affirmed, there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

MR. FULLER tells us [d], 'That in this 'year a match being made by the lord 'Cromwell's contrivance between King 'Henry and the lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, *Dutch*-'men flocked faſter than formerly into 'England, and ſoon after began to broach 'their ſtrange opinions, being branded with 'the general name of *Anabaptiſts*. Theſe 'Anabaptiſts, he adds, for the main are 'but *Donatiſts* new dipt; and this year 'their name firſt appears in our *Engliſh* 'chronicles. I read, ſays he [e], that four *A*-'nabaptiſts, three men and one woman, 'all *Dutch*, bare faggots at *Paul's* croſs; 'and three days after, a man and a woman 'of their *ſect* were burnt in *Smithfield*.'

Two Anabaptiſts *burnt in Smithfield.*

THIS, Mr. *Fuller* calls [f] the beginning of the *Anabaptiſts* in *England*; but he is

Fuller's *account confuted.*

[c] *Hiſtory of Reformat.* vol. III. lib. iii. col. N°. 63.
[d] *Church Hiſt.* lib. iv. p. 229.
[e] *Stow's chron.* p. 576.
[f] *Index, letter* A.

very much miſtaken in his account, both as to their beginning, and the firſt appearance of their name in the *Engliſh* chronicle, as is plain from what has been ſaid before; but however an epitome thereof may not be improper in this place.

[g] IN the articles of religion, ſet forth by the King and Convocation, *An. Dom.* 1536. the ſect of the *Anabaptiſts* are mention'd and condemn'd; and their opinion, that infants are not to be baptized, is particularly oppoſed and cenſured as a deteſtable hereſy.

[h] THE regiſters of *London* mention certain *Dutchmen* counted for *Anabaptiſts*, ten whereof were put to death *Anno Dom.* 1535. other ten repented and were ſaved.

[i] Bp. BURNET ſays, That in *May* 1535. nineteen *Hollanders* were accuſed of ſome heretical opinions; among which this, denying, 'That the ſacraments had any effect on thoſe that received them: Fourteen of them remained obſtinate, and were burnt by pairs in ſeveral places.'

Now both theſe were three years before *Fuller* begins his account of the foreign *Anabaptiſts* that came into *England.* But beſides this, we have mentioned inſtances of much longer ſtanding, as that of *Waldenſis*, which ſaith, that the *Lollards*,

[g] *Fuller*, p. 217.
[h] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 325.
[i] *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. I. lib. iii. p. 195.

who

who were *Wickliff*'s followers in *Scotland*, and ſome in the biſhop of *Norwich*'s dioceſe, did hold, that the children of *Believers* are not to be ſacramentally baptized, and that they judged it unprofitable to give children eccleſiaſtical baptiſm; ſaying, that they were ſufficiently clean and holy, becauſe they were born of holy and chriſtian parents. Agreeable to this, is the account which Mr. *Fox* gives of ſome faithful chriſtians, who were burnt at *Norwich* about the year 1428. For he ſays, though he endeavours to excuſe them therein, that they ſay, that infants be ſufficiently baptized, if their parents be baptized before them; that chriſtian people be ſufficiently baptized in the blood of Chriſt, and need no water; that the ſacrament of baptiſm uſed in the church by water, is but a light matter, and of ſmall effect.

THERE were about 120 of this opinion; three whereof were burnt alive. Theſe were martyrs of the *Anabaptiſts* opinion in *England*, above an hundred years before Mr. *Fuller*'s date of their beginning.

BUT to return to the perſecution of the *Baptiſts*. We find in Mr. *Fox* certain injunctions, given out in the 30th year of the reign of King *Henry* VIII. on the 6th of *Nov. An. Dom.* 1539. the fourth whereof was this: [k] 'That thoſe that be in any An. Dom. 1539.

[k] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 440.

' errors,

'errors, as *Sacramentaries*, *Anabaptiſts*, 'or any other that ſell books having ſuch 'opinions in them, being once known, 'both the books and ſuch perſons ſhall be 'detected, and diſcloſed immediately unto 'the king's majeſty, or one of his privy 'council, to the intent to have it puniſh-'ed without favour, even with the ex-'tremity of the law.'

BY this injunction it appears, that there were ſome in thoſe days, who were for reforming the Sacrament of the ſupper from the abuſes of the church of *Rome*; that the former were then called *Sacramentarians*, the latter *Anabaptiſts*.

Thirty one Anabaptiſts baniſhed and put to death.

[l] IN this year ſixteen men and fifteen women were baniſhed, for oppoſing infant-baptiſm; who going to *Delf* in *Holland*, were there purſued and proſecuted before the magiſtrates for *Anabaptiſts*, and put to death for the ſame; the men beheaded, and the women drowned. Mr. *Barnes*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Anno Dom.* An. Dom. 1540. in his ſpeech to the people at the ſtake, 1540. clearing himſelf from being an *Anabaptiſt*, of which he was accuſed, ſays, '[m] Which 'ſect (meaning the *Anabaptiſts*) I deteſt 'and abhor; and in this place there hath 'been burned ſome of them, whom I never 'favoured, neither maintained.'

[l] *Dutch martyr.* lib. ii. p. 123.
[m] *Fox*, p. 610.

GREATLY

GREATLY did the *clergy* oppoſe one another at this time, even to the diſturbance of the peace of the king himſelf; as appears by his ſpeech to the parliament, *Decemb.* 24, 1545. where recommending love and unity to his ſubjects, he ſaith, 'n St. *Paul* ſaith, 'to the *Corinthians*, in the 13th chapter, '*Charity is gentle, charity is not envious,* 'charity is not proud, and ſo forth, in the 'ſaid chapter. Behold then what love and 'charity is amongſt you, when the one 'calleth the other *Heretick* and *Anabap-* 'tiſt, and he calleth him again *Papiſt*, *Hy-* 'pocrite, and *Phariſee*: Be theſe tokens 'of charity among you? I ſee, and hear 'daily, that you of the *clergy* preach one 'againſt another, teach one contrary to 'another, inveigh one againſt another, 'without charity, or diſcretion; ſome be 'too ſtiff in their old *Mumpſimus*, others be 'too buſy and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*.' An. Dom. 1545.

THIS part of the King's ſpeech intimates to us, that when the reformation began under his reign, there were many of his ſubjects went under the name of *Anabaptiſts*.

YET after all, the *popiſh clergy* prevailed with the King, and obtained a proclamation for the ſuppreſſing and aboliſhing of ſuch *Engliſh* books as might help to explain the Scripture; ſuch as the books of An. Dom. 1547. *A proclamation againſt the books of* Wickliff, Frith, *&c.*

n *Fox*, vol II. p. 571.

Wick-

Wickliff, Frith, Tindal, Barnes, &c. but within four months after this proclamation was iſſued out, the king died, and providence thereby diſappointed them, by bringing his ſon *Edward* VI. to the throne; who reſtored the holy Scriptures in the mother tongue, aboliſhed the maſſes, and received home ſuch as were baniſhed.

Edw. VI.

HE was but nine years of age; yet proved a moſt happy patron to the goſpel.

Carolus's *requeſt denied by the King.*

[o] CAROLUS, the Emperor made requeſt to him and his council, to permit lady *Mary* to have *Maſs* in her houſe, without prejudice of the law. Whereunto the King being required by the council to give his conſent, would in no caſe yield to it, notwithſtanding they laid before him what danger might enſue to him by breach of amity with the Emperor. And they being more urgent upon him, the king ſeeing their importunate ſuit, in the end his tender heart burſting out into bitter weeping and ſobbing, deſired them to be content: and ſo refuſed to yield unto the Emperor's requeſt in that behalf.

IN the ſecond year of his reign, the new Liturgy, firſt agreed upon by the *Clergy*, was confirmed by parliament; wherein [p] Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, they give the following direction about baptiſm.

[o] *Fox*, vol. II. p. 653.
[p] *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 77.

[c] IN

Baptism according to the new liturgy.

'IN baptism, says he, there was, besides 'the forms which we still retain, a cross 'at first made on the child's forehead and 'breast with an adjuration of the devil 'to go out of him, and come at him no 'more. Then the priest was to take the 'child by the right hand, and to place 'him within the font. There he was to 'be dipt thrice; once on the right side, 'once on the left, and once on the breast, 'which was to be discreetly done. But 'if the child were weak, it was sufficient 'to sprinkle water on his face. Then was 'the priest to put a white vestment or 'chrisome on him, for a token of inno-'cence, and to anoint him on the head, 'with a prayer for the unction of the holy 'Ghost.'

¶ IN his reflections upon this part of the book, when he is pleading for the first reformers continuing the use of the cross in baptism, he tells us, they did not use it, as thinking there was that virtue followed the use of it which the *Papists* thought: 'For in baptism, says he, as 'they [the *Papists*] used the sign of the 'cross, they add an adjuration to the *evil 'spirit not to violate it*, and in the making 'it, said, *Receive the sign of the cross, both 'in thy forehead and in thy heart, and 'take the faith of the heavenly precepts*, '&c.'

¶ *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p 80.

Fox

[r] FOX says, 'during the whole time 'of the six years of this king, much tran- 'quility, and as it were a breathing time, 'was granted to the whole church of *Eng-* 'land; so that the rage of persecution 'ceasing, and the sword taken out of the 'adversaries hand, there was now no 'danger to the godly, unless it were only 'by wealth and prosperity, which many 'times bringeth more damage, in corrupt- 'ing mens minds, than any time of perse- 'cution or affliction.

'BRIEFLY, during all this time, 'neither in *Smithfield*, nor any other 'quarter of this realm, any was heard to 'suffer for any matter of religion, either '*Papist* or *Protestant*, either for one opinion 'or the other, except only two; one an '*English* woman, called *Joan* of *Kent*; and 'the other a *Dutchman*, named *George*, who 'died for certain articles, strange and dis- 'sonant from the assertion of the church, 'which here I omit to speak of, for causes 'reasonable.'

An. Dom. 1549. THESE two having denied infant-baptism, and being the only persons who suffered for their sentiments in religion in this reign, I shall give that account of them and their sufferings which I find in Bishop *Burnet* [s].

[r] *Acts and Mon.* p. 685. *first Edit.*

[s] *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. part ii. p. 110, *&c.*

AT

'AT this time, says the Bishop, there were An. Dom. 1547.
'many *Anabaptists* in several parts of *Eng-*
'*land*; they were generally *Germans*, whom
'the revolutions there had forced to change
'their seats. Upon *Luther*'s first preach-
'ing in *Germany*, there arose many, who
'building on some of his principles, car-
'ried things much further than he did.
'The chief foundation he laid down was,
'that the Scripture was to be the only
'rule of christians. Upon this many ar-
'gued, that the mysteries of the Trinity,
'and Christ's Incarnation and Sufferings,
'of the Fall of Man, and the aids of Grace,
'were indeed philosophical subtilities, and
'only pretended to be deduc'd from Scripture,
'as almost all opinions of religion were,
'and therefore they rejected them. A-
'mongst these the baptism of infants was
'one. They held that to be no baptism,
'and so were re-baptized. But from this,
'which was most taken notice of, as be-
'ing a visible thing, they carried all the
'general name of *Anabaptists*.

'ON the 12th of *April* there was
'a complaint brought to the council, that
'with the strangers that were come into
'*England*, some of that persuasion had
'come over, and were disseminating their
'errors, and making *proselytes*: So a com-
'mission was ordered for the archbishop of
'*Canterbury*, the bishops of *Ely*, *Worcest-*
'*er*

'*er*, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, and '*Rocheſter*; Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Thomas* '*Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and ſome others, 'three of them being a *quorum*; to examine, 'and ſearch after all *Anabaptiſts*, *Hereticks*, 'or contemners of the Common-prayer. 'They were to endeavour to reclaim them, 'to enjoin them penance, and give them 'abſolution; or, if they were obſtinate, to 'excommunicate and impriſon them, and 'to deliver them over to the ſecular pow-'er, to be further proceeded againſt. Some 'tradeſmen in *London* were brought before 'theſe *commiſſioners* in *May*, and were 'perſuaded to abjure their former opinions.' *I ſhall only mention the laſt of them*; *which was*, that the baptiſm of infants was not profitable.

'ONE of thoſe who thus abjured, 'was commanded to carry a faggot next '*Sunday* at St. *Paul*'s, where there ſhould 'be a ſermon, ſetting forth his hereſy. 'But there was another of theſe extreme 'obſtinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly cal-'led *Joan* of *Kent*. She denied that Chriſt 'was truly incarnate of the virgin, whoſe 'fleſh being ſinful, he could take none 'of it; but the Word, by the conſent of the 'inward man in the virgin, took fleſh of 'her; theſe were her words. They took 'much pains about her, and had many 'conferences with her; but ſhe was ſo

Joan Bocher, *called* Joan *of* Kent.

'ex-

‘ extravagantly conceited of her own notions,
‘ that ſhe rejected all they ſaid with ſcorn.
‘ Whereupon ſhe was adjudged an obſti-
‘ nate heretick, and ſo left to the ſecular
‘ power. This being returned to the coun-
‘ cil, the good King was moved to ſign
‘ a warrant for burning her, but could not
‘ be prevailed on to do it. He thought it a
‘ piece of cruelty, too like that which
‘ they had condemned in *Papiſts*, to
‘ burn any for their conſciences; and in a
‘ long diſcourſe he had with Sir *John*
‘ *Cheek*, he ſeemed much confirmed in
‘ that opinion.

‘ CRANMER was imployed to perſuade
‘ him to ſign the warrant. He argued
‘ from the law of *Moſes*, by which *blaſ-*
‘ *phemers* were to be ſtoned. He told the
‘ King, he made a great difference be-
‘ tween errors in other points of divinity,
‘ and thoſe which were directly againſt
‘ the apoſtles *Creed*; that theſe were im-
‘ pieties againſt God, which a prince, as
‘ being God's deputy, ought to puniſh, as
‘ the King's deputies were obliged to puniſh
‘ offences againſt the King's perſon.

‘ THESE reaſons did rather ſilence than
‘ ſatisfy the young King; who ſtill thought
‘ it a hard thing, as in truth it was, to pro-
‘ ceed ſo ſeverely in ſuch caſes; ſo he ſet his
‘ hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes,
‘ ſaying to *Cranmer*, that if he did wrong
‘ ſince it was in ſubmiſſion to his autho-

'rity, he ſhould anſwer for it to God. 'This ſtruck the archbiſhop with much 'horror, ſo that he was very unwilling 'to have the ſentence executed; and both 'he and *Ridley* took the woman then in 'cuſtody to their houſes, to ſee if they 'could perſuade her: But ſhe continued 'by jeers and other inſolencies to carry 'herſelf ſo contemptuouſly, that at laſt the 'ſentence was executed on her the 2d of '*May* next year; biſhop *Scorey* preaching 'at her burning. She carried herſelf then 'as ſhe had done in the former parts of 'her proceſs, very undecently, and in the 'end was burnt.'

An. Dom. 1550. [t] IN the year 1550. about the end of *December*, the ſame author aſſures us, that after many cavils in the ſtate, an act paſſed for the king's general pardon; wherein the *Anabaptiſts* are excepted. 'Laſt of all, ſays the Biſhop, [that is, of the acts made by this parliament] 'came the king's 'general pardon; out of which thoſe in 'the tower or other priſons, on the account 'of the ſtate, as alſo all *Anabaptiſts*, were 'excepted.'

THIS exception does plainly intimate, that there were at this time ſome of this opinion kept in the *priſons*, tho' they were not charged with any crimes againſt the ſtate, but for the principles of religion; and

[t] *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 143.

that

that there was ſo much of the *popiſh* ſpirit of perſecution remaining among thoſe *Reformers*, as to exclude *Anabaptiſts* from the benefit of the king's pardon.

IN the ſame year a viſitation was made of the dioceſe of *London*, by *Ridley*, their new biſhop. Among the other articles which he put to the inferior *Clergy*, this was one; 'u Whether any *Anabaptiſts*, or 'others, uſed private conventicles, with 'different opinions and forms from thoſe 'eſtabliſhed;' and with other queſtions about *baptiſm* and marriages. *Burnet* ſays theſe articles are in biſhop *Sparrow*'s collection.

The Common-prayer book reviewed.

'x ABOUT the end of this year, or the 'beginning of the next, there was a review 'made of the Common-prayer book. Several 'things had been continued in it, either 'to draw in ſome of the *Biſhops*, who 'by ſuch yielding might be prevailed on 'to concur in it, or in compliance with 'the people, who were fond of their old 'ſuperſtitions. So now a review of it 'was ſet about.' *Martin Bucer* [whoſe opinion was highly eſteemed both by the king, and *Cranmer* the archbiſhop, and who had a great hand in all the changes that were made in religion in thoſe times in *England*] 'was conſulted in it, and '*Aleſſe* the *Scotch* divine tranſlated it into

x *Hiſt. Ref.* 158.
u *Ib.* p. 155

'*Latin* for his uſe,' [and with it was ſent over into *Germany*] 'upon which *Bucer* 'writ his opinion, which he finiſhed the 'fifth of *January* the year following.'

Bucer's *opinion thereon.*

IN this he adviſed to a further reformation in many things. 'He wiſhed that 'there was a ſtrict diſcipline to exclude 'ſcandalous livers from the ſacrament.'

'HE wiſhed that the old habits might 'be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them ſu-'perſtitiouſly, and others contended much 'about them. He did not like the half 'office of communion, or ſecond ſervice to 'be ſaid at the altar, when there was no 'ſacrament. He was offended with the re-'quiring the people to receive at leaſt once 'a year, and would have them preſſed to it 'much more frequently. He diſliked that 'the prieſts generally read prayers with 'no devotion, and in ſuch a voice that the 'people underſtood not what they ſaid. 'He would have the ſacrament de-'livered into the hands, and not put into 'the mouths of the people, *&c.*'

AS to *Baptiſm*, 'He complained that '*Baptiſm* was generally in houſes, which 'being the receiving infants into the 'church, ought to be done more pub-'lickly. The hallowing of the water, the 'chriſme, and the white garment [then 'uſed in baptizing] he cenſured as being 'too ſcenical. He excepted to the exor-'ciſing the devil, and would have it turn-

'ed

'ed to a prayer to God; that authorita-
'tive way of saying *I adjure*, not being
'so decent. He thought the godfathers
'answering in the child's name, not so
'well as to answer in their own, that
'they should take care in these things all
'they could.'

SOME of these things which he excepted to, were corrected afterwards, but others were kept, and are to this day; though the same things are still objected against by most of the *Nonconformists*, and are one great occasion of their dissenting from the established church.

HAVING thus cast out many of those corruptions that were formerly in their worship, and got most of the sees filled with such *Bishops* as were for the Reformation, they set about the purging out those corruptions that were doctrinal; and most of the year following was spent in preparing articles which should contain the doctrines of the church of *England*. These were generally said to be framed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*. They were agreed upon by the *bishops*, and other learned men, in the Convocation held at *London* in the year 1552. and consisted of forty two articles. As there were three articles more than there are at present, so they expresst several things different from what they are now. All that is proper to be taken notice of here is the eighth, which is concerning origi-

nal ſin. The *Anabaptiſts* are particularly meant, as affirming, that it conſiſts in the following of *Adam*; for thus it begins.

'ORIGINAL ſin ſtandeth not in the 'following of *Adam*, as the *Pelagians* do 'vainly talk, and at this day is affirmed 'by ſome *Anabaptiſts*; but it is the fault 'and corruption of every man, *&c.*'

'TIS probable ſome of thoſe who oppoſed infants-baptiſm in thoſe times, had embraced the opinions of the *Pelagians* about or iginal ſin. But the *Pædobaptiſts* did generally charge them with this opinion, becauſe they held that *infants* dying without actual ſin, were not damned; and that they need no baptiſm to waſh away original ſin, but were ſaved without it. However, ten years after, when the articles were again reviewed and corrected in many things, they thought it proper to leave this clauſe out, and only charged this hereſy upon the *Pelagians*. The 28th article concerning Baptiſm was the ſame that now it is, except the laſt clauſe, which relates to infant-baptiſm, which they laid down in theſe words: 'The 'cuſtom of the Church for baptizing young 'children, is both to be commended, and 'by all means to be retained in the 'church.'

IT ſeems by this, that the firſt *Reformers* did not found the practice of infants

ſants-baptiſm upon ſcripture; but took it only as a commendable cuſtom, that had been uſed in the chriſtian church, and therefore ought to be retained. This new alteration made in the Common-prayer and articles of faith, cauſed the *Papiſts* to ſay, 'x That the Reformation was like to change 'as often as the faſhion did, ſince they 'ſeemed never to be at a point in any thing, 'but new models were thus continually fra-'ming; to which it was anſwered, that it 'was no wonder that the corruptions 'which they had been introducing for 'above a thouſand years were not all diſ-'covered or thrown out at once.'

THE length of time taken up in altering the Common-prayer and articles, obliges me to place the following ſtory ſomewhat out of courſe.

TWO years after the burning of *Joan* of *Kent*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, 'y One *George* 'Van Pare, a *Dutchman*, being accuſed for 'ſaying, that God the Father was only 'God, and that Chriſt was not very God; 'he was dealt with long to abjure, but 'would not. So on the 6th of *April*, 1551. 'he was condemned in the ſame man-'ner that *Joan* of *Kent* was, and on the '25th of *April* was burnt in *Smithfield*. 'He ſuffered with great conſtancy of 'mind,

Geo. Van Pare *burnt*

An. Dom. 1551.

x *Burnet's Hiſt. Ref.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 190.
y *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. lib. i. p. 112.

'mind, and kiſſed the ſtake and faggots 'that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* 'I find a *popiſh* writer ſaying, that he 'was a man of moſt wonderful ſtrict life, 'that he uſed not to eat above once in 'two days, and before he did eat would 'lie ſome time in his devotion proſtrate 'on the ground. All this they made uſe 'of to leſſen the credit of thoſe who had 'ſuffered formerly; for it was ſaid, they 'ſaw now, that men of harmleſs lives might 'be put to death for *Hereſy*, by the con-'feſſion of the *Reformers* themſelves: and 'in all the books publiſhed in Q. *Mary*'s 'days, juſtifying her ſeverity againſt the '*Proteſtants*, theſe inſtances were always 'made uſe of. And no part of *Cranmer*'s 'life expoſed him more than this did: 'It was ſaid, he had conſented, both to '*Lambert*'s and *Ann Aſkew*'s death in the 'former reign; who both ſuffered for *o-*'*pinions* which he himſelf held now, 'and he had now procured the death of 'theſe two perſons; and when he was 'brought to ſuffer himſelf, it was called 'a juſt retaliation on him. One thing 'was certain, that what he did in this 'matter flowed from no cruelty of temper 'in him, no man being farther from that 'black diſpoſition of mind; but it was 'truly the effect of thoſe principles by whch 'he governed himſelf.'

'THEN

THEN *Burnet* goes on to give an account of the moderate *Anabaptiſts*, and ſays, 'z For the other ſort of *Anabaptiſts*, 'who only denied infants baptiſm, I find 'no ſeverities uſed to them, but ſeveral 'books were written againſt them, to 'which they wrote ſome anſwers. It 'was ſaid, that Chriſt allowed little children to be brought to him, and ſaid, *of 'ſuch was the kingdom of heaven*; and 'bleſſed them. Now if they were capable 'of the kingdom of *heaven*, they muſt 'be regenerated; for Chriſt ſaid, none but 'ſuch as *are born of water and of the Spirit* 'could enter into it. St. *Paul* had alſo 'called the children of believing parents '*holy*, which ſeemed to relate to ſuch a 'conſecration of them as was made in 'baptiſm; and *baptiſm* being the ſeal of '*chriſtians* in the room of *circumciſion* 'among the *Jews*, it was thought the one 'was as applicable to the children, as the 'other. And one thing was obſerved, that 'the whole world in that age, having 'been baptized in their infancy, if that 'baptiſm was nothing, then there were 'none truly baptized in being; but all 'were in the ſtate of mere nature. Now 'it did not ſeem reaſonable, that men 'who were not baptized themſelves, ſhould 'go and baptize others, and therefore the

z *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. II. p. 112.

'firſt

'first heads of that *sect* not being rightly 'baptized themselves, seemed not to act 'with any authority when they went to 'baptize others. The practice of the 'church so early begun, and continued 'without dispute so many ages, was at least 'a certain confirmation of a thing which 'had (to speak moderately) so good founda-'tions in scripture for the lawfulness, tho' 'not any peremptory, but only probable 'proofs for the practice of it.'

An. Dom. 1552. THE same author informs us: '[a] That in 'the year 1552. a proposal was made for 'the correcting the great disorders of '*Clergymen*, which were occasioned by the 'extreme misery and poverty to which *A motion to reform the Clergy.* 'they were reduced. That some motions 'were made about it in parliament; but 'they took not effect: So one writ a 'book concerning it, which he dedicated 'to the lord *Chancellour*, then the bishop 'of *Ely*. He shewed, that without re-'wards or encouragements, few would 'apply themselves to the pastoral function; 'and that those in it, if they could not 'subsist by it, must turn to other employ-'ments; so that at that time, says he, 'many *Clergymen* were *Carpenters* and '*Taylors*, and some kept *Alehouses*.'

I mention this, because it is often cast upon the *Dissenters*, and particularly those

[a] *Hist. Ref.* part II. lib. i. p. 202.

called

called *Anabaptiſts*, that they encourage *Tradeſmen* and *Mechanicks*. Now it is plain from their articles, they are for maintaining of *Miniſters*, that they may be entirely bent to their ſacred office; but if, in caſe of neceſſity, they are obliged to follow trades, for the maintenance of themſelves and families, it is no more than what the *Clergy*, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, have done, till they could get ſufficient allowance by law to free them from it.

BUT to return; theſe ſad inſtances of perſecution practiſed by the *Proteſtants* in this king's reign againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, are in *Fox*'s *Latin* book of martyrs, but left out in his *Engliſh*, out of a tender regard, as is ſuppoſed, to the reputation of the *martyrs* in Queen *Mary*'s Days.

[b] THE ſame is tranſlated by Mr. *Peirce*. It being ſhort, I will oblige the reader therewith, and with Mr. *Peirce*'s remarks upon it.

Peirce's account and remarks on the burning of Joan of Kent and Pare.

'IN king *Edward*'s reign ſome were put 'to death for hereſy. One *Joan Bocher*, 'or *Joan* of *Kent*. Mr. *Strype* tells us, 'her hereſy was, That ſhe believed the 'Word was made fleſh in the Virgin's belly, 'but not that he took fleſh of the Virgin. 'Now, ſays Mr. *Fox*, when the *Proteſtant* '*Biſhops* had reſolved to put her to death, 'a friend of Mr. *John Rogers*, the divi-

[b] *Anſw. to* Nichols, P. 33.

'nity-

'nity-reader in St. *Paul*'s church, came 'to him, earneſtly deſiring him to uſe his 'intereſt with the archbiſhop, that the poor 'woman's life might be ſpared, and other 'means uſed to prevent the ſpreading of 'her opinions, which might be done in 'time: urging too, that though while ſhe 'lived, ſhe infected few with her opi-'nions, yet ſhe might bring many to think 'well of it, by ſuffering death for it. He 'pleaded therefore that it was better ſhe 'ſhould be kept in ſome priſon, without an 'opportunity of propagating her notion a-'mong weak people, and ſo ſhe would 'do no harm to others, and might live to 'repent herſelf. *Rogers* on the other hand 'pleaded, ſhe ought to be put to death. 'Well then, ſays his *Friend*, if you are re-'ſolved to put an end to her life together 'with her opinion, chuſe ſome other kind 'of death, more agreeable to the gentle-'neſs and mercy preſcribed in the goſpel; 'there being no need, that ſuch torment-'ing deaths ſhould be taken up, in imita-'tion of the *Papiſts*. *Rogers* anſwered, that '*Burning Alive* was no cruel death, but 'eaſy enough. His *Friend* then hearing 'theſe words, which expreſſed ſo little re-'gard to poor creatures ſufferings, anſwer-'ed him with great vehemence, and ſtri-'king *Rogers*'s hand, which before he held 'faſt, ſaid to him, *Well, perhaps, it may* '*ſo happen, that you yourſelves ſhall have*

'*your*

'*your hands full of this mild burning.*
'And ſo it came to paſs; and *Rogers* was
'the firſt man who was burnt in Queen
'*Mary*'s time.

'THIS *Rogers*, ſays Mr. *Pierce*, was a
'*Nonconformiſt*, and a very excellent man,
'(and died nobly in the cauſe of Chriſt;
'but this *barbarity* of his deſerves to be
'expoſed: and the rather, becauſe God in
'his providence ſeems to have ſhewn his
'great diſpleaſure againſt it. I am apt to
'think *Rogers*'s friend was no other than
'*Fox* himſelf. As to the other inſtance,
'Mr. *Strype* tells us, that in the year 1552,
'*Sept.* 27. a letter was ſent to the arch-
'biſhop, to examine a *ſect* newly ſprung
'up in *Kent*. He ſays, it appears not what
'this *ſect* was; he ſuppoſes they might be
'the *Family of love*, or *David George*'s
'*ſect*; but theſe conjectures of his have
'no good foundation. I am perſuaded
'this *ſect* was no other than ſome good
'honeſt *Diſſenters*, who having been grie-
'ved to ſee ſo much of *Popery* ſtill retained,
'attempted a further Reformation them-
'ſelves, which would be a very diſpleaſing
'thing to our *biſhops*, who expect all men
'ſhould wait their leiſure. Now this I
'ground upon a Story which Mr. *Fox*
'immediately ſubjoins to what I juſt now
'mentioned from him.

'MUCH ſuch another inſtance is report-
'ed concerning *Humphry Middleton* (who
'was

'was afterwards burnt in Queen *Mary's* 'days.) That when he, with ſome others, 'had been kept priſoners in the laſt year 'of King *Edward*, by the archbiſhop, and 'had been dreadfully teazed by him, 'and the reſt in commiſſion with him, 'were now juſt upon being condemned 'in open court, he ſaid unto him, *Well,* 'reverend Sir, *paſs what ſentence you think* 'fit upon us: but that you may not ſay you 'was not fore-warned, I teſtify that your 'own turn will be next. And accordingly it came to paſs; for a little while after 'King *Edward* died, upon which they 'were ſet at liberty, and the *biſhops* caſt 'in priſon. This *Middleton* was afterwards, 'in Queen *Mary*'s days, burnt at *Canter-*'*bury*; ſo that the *commiſſion* which Mr. '*Strype* mentions, agrees in time and place 'with this ſtory.' Thus far Mr. *Pierce.*

MR. *Hugh Latimer*, in his Lent-Sermons preach'd before King *Edward* VI. ſays [e],

'THE *Anabaptiſts*, that were burnt here 'in divers towns in *England*, as I heard 'of credible men, I ſaw them not myſelf, 'went to their death even intrepid, as ye 'will ſay, without any fear in the world, 'chearfully.'

IN the ſaid ſermon, he further ſaith,

'I SHOULD have told you here of a 'certain *ſect* of *Hereticks* that ſpeak againſt 'this order and doctrine; they will have no 'magiſtrates, no judges on earth; here I

[e] Pag. 56.

'have

'have to tell you, what I have heard of late, 'by the relation of a credible perſon, and 'worſhipful man, of a town of this realm 'of *England*, that hath above five [hun-'dred] hereticks of this erroneous opi-'nion in it, as he ſaid.

The marginal note in the Edit. in 1607, *ſays here he meaneth* Anabaptiſts, *this is one of their errors, fol.* 51.

THAT the *Baptiſts* were very numerous at this time, is without controverſy: and no doubt, many of the *Martyrs* in Queen *Mary*'s days were ſuch, though hiſtorians ſeem to be ſilent with reſpect to the opinion of the *Martyrs* about baptiſm; neither can it be imagined, that the *Papiſts* would in the leaſt favour any of that *denomination* which they ſo much deteſted and abhorred: For in the examination of Mr. *Woodman*, before the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the church of St. *Mary Overies*, *Southwark*, the biſhop ſaid, '[d] Hold him a book, if he 'refuſe to ſwear, he is an *Anabaptiſt*, and 'ſhall be excommunicated.'

2. Mary An. Dom. 1553.

An. Dom. 1555.

AGAIN, in the examination of Mr. *Philpot* before the lords of Queen *Mary*'s council, *Nov.* 6, 1555. *Rich* ſaith unto him, '[e] All *Hereticks* do boaſt of the ſpirit 'of God, and every one would have a 'church by himſelf; as *Joan* of *Kent*, 'and the *Anabaptiſts*.'

ANOTHER inſtance of their hatred and cruelty towards the *Anabaptiſts*, *Spanhe-*

An. Dom. 1556.

[d] *Fox*, p. 1578. *firſt Edit.*
[e] *Ibib.* p. 1407.

mius

mius gives us an account of. *David George*, of *Delph* in *Holland*, being driven from his own country by perſecution, fled to the city of *Bazil*, where he lived for ſome time in great reputation, and by his modeſt dreſs, liberal table, honeſt attendance, and prudent converſation, gained the favour both of high and low: He died in the year 1556, and was honourably buried in St. *Laurence* church. Some time after his death, it was diſcovered, that he was an *Anabaptiſt*; upon which his houſe, and thoſe of his followers were ſearched, a certain number of *Divines* and *Lawyers* appointed to examine them, his opinions were condemned by an ordinance, his picture carried about and burnt, and his corps taken up three years after buried, and burnt, *&c.*

David George *burnt three years after his death.*

DURING the life of this bloody Queen, which was but ſhort, two hundred and eighty four perſons were put to moſt cruel kinds of death for religion: but he that wrote the Preface to biſhop *Ridley*'s book *de Cœna Domini*, ſays, That in the two firſt years of the Queen's perſecution, there were above eight hundred perſons put to death for religion: So that Mr. *Fox* has come very ſhort in his account, as biſhop *Burnet* obſerved.

Supposed to be Grindal *afterwards archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

2. Elizabeth. An. Dom. 1558.

WE come now to the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; who, upon her acceſſion to the crown, ordered all that were impriſoned on

on the account of religion to be ſet at liberty. Upon which, 'd one, ſays biſhop 'Burnet, that uſed to talk pleaſantly, told 'her the four *Evangeliſts* continued ſtill 'priſoners, and that the people longed much 'to ſee them at liberty. She anſwered ſhe 'would talk with *themſelves*, and know 'their own mind.'

SIR *Francis Walſingham* wrote a long letter to a *Frenchman*, given him an account of all the ſeverities of the Queen's government, both againſt *Papiſts* and *Puritans*. The ſubſtance of which is, ſays biſhop *Burnet*, 'e That the Queen laid down two 'maxims of ſtate: the one was, *not to force* '*conſciences*; the other was, *not to let* '*factious practices go unpuniſhed*, becauſe 'they were covered with the pretences of 'conſcience. At firſt ſhe did not revive 'thoſe ſevere laws paſt in her father's time, 'by which the refuſal of the oath of *Supre-* 'macy was made *treaſon*; but left her peo- 'to the freedom of their thoughts, and 'made it only penal to extol a foreign 'juriſdiction. She alſo laid aſide the word '*ſupreme head*; and the refuſers of the 'oath were only diſabled from holding 'benefices or charges during their refuſal. 'Upon *Pius* the Vth's excommunicating 'her, though the rebellion in the north

Sir Francis Walſingham's *letter*.

d *Abridgment*, lib. iv. p. 340.
e *Ibid.* p. 382.

'was chiefly occaſioned by that, ſhe only 'made a law againſt the bringing over, or 'publiſhing of *Bulls*, and the venting of '*Agnus Dei's*, or ſuch other love-tokens, 'which were ſent from *Rome* on deſign 'to draw the hearts of her people from 'her, which were no eſſential parts of 'that religion; ſo that this could hurt 'none of their conſciences. But after the '20th year of her reign, it appeared that 'the king of *Spain* deſigned to invade 'her dominions, and that the *Prieſts* that 'were ſent over from the *Seminaries* beyond 'ſea, were generally employed to cor-'rupt her *Subjects* in their allegiance; by 'which treaſon was carried in the clouds, 'and infuſed ſecretly in confeſſion. Then 'pecuniary puniſhments were inflicted on 'ſuch as withdrew from the church; and 'in concluſion, ſhe was forced to make 'laws of greater rigour, but did often mi-'tigate the ſeverity of them to all that 'would promiſe to adhere to her in caſe 'of a foreign invaſion. As for the *Pu-'ritans*, as long as they only inveighed 'againſt ſome abuſes, as pluralities, non-'reſidence or the like, it was not their 'zeal againſt thoſe, but their violence, that 'was condemned. When they refuſed to 'comply with ſome *ceremonies*, and queſ-'tioned the ſuperiority of the *biſhops*, and 'declared for a *democracy* in the church, 'they were connived at with great gentle-

'neſs:

'neſs: but it was obſerved, that they 'affected popularity much, and the me-'thods they took to compaſs their ends 'were judged dangerous, and they made 'ſuch uſe of the averſion the nation had 'to *popery*, that it was viſible they were 'in a hazard of running from one ex-'treme to another. They ſet up a new 'model of *church-diſcipline*, which was 'like to prove no leſs dangerous to the 'liberties of private men, than to the ſo-'vereign power of the prince. Yet all 'this was born with, as long as they pro-'ceeded with thoſe expreſſions of duty 'which became *ſubjects*. But afterwards, 'when they reſolved to carry on their 'deſigns, without waiting for the conſent 'of the *magiſtrate*, and entred into com-'binations; when they began to defame 'the government, by ridiculous *paſquils*, 'and boaſted of their number and ſtrength, 'and in ſome places break out into tu-'mults; then it appeared that it was *fac-'tion*, and not *zeal*, that animated them. 'Upon that the Queen found it neceſſary 'to reſtrain them more than ſhe had done 'formerly. Yet ſhe did it with all the '*moderation* that could conſiſt with the 'peace of the church and ſtate. And thus 'from this letter, ſays *Burnet*, an idea 'of this whole reign may be juſtly 'formed.'

THE ſhare the *Baptiſts* had in the ſeverities of this reign, will appear by the following inſtances. Dr. *Wall* ſays, 'f About the 16th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, 'a congregation of *Dutch Antipædobaptiſts* 'was diſcovered without *Aldgate* in *London*, whereof twenty ſeven were taken and 'impriſoned. And the next month one '*Dutchman* and ten women were con-'demned.' *Marius de Aſſigny* tells us, An. Dom. 1575. g That it was at *Eaſter*, *An. Dom.* 1575. which muſt have been the 17th of *Elizabeth*, that four of the former recanted at St. *Paul*'s croſs, the 25th of *May*; and that the reſt were baniſhed.

Their abjuration was in theſe words:

An abjuration of ſome Anabaptiſts. 'WHEREAS, we being ſeduced by 'the devil, the ſpirit of errror, and 'by falſe teachers, have fallen into theſe 'moſt damnable and deteſtable errors, that 'Chriſt took not fleſh of the ſubſtance 'of the Virgin *Mary*; that the *infants* of 'the faithful ought not to be baptized; 'that a chriſtian man may not be a *ma-'giſtrate*, or bear the ſword and office 'of authority; and that it is not lawful 'for a chriſtian man to take an *oath*: 'Now, by the grace of God, and by the 'aſſiſtance of good and learned *miniſters*

f *Hiſt. Bap.* lib. ii. p. 212.

g *Myſtery of Anabaptiſm*, p. 368.

'of

'of Chriſt's church, I underſtand the ſame 'to be moſt damnable and deteſtable he- 'reſies; and do aſk God, before his church, 'mercy for my ſaid former errors, and 'do forſake, recant, and renounce them; 'and I abjure them from the bottom of 'my heart, proteſting I certainly believe 'the contrary. And further, I confeſs, 'that the whole doctrine, eſtabliſhed and 'publiſhed in the church of *England*, 'and alſo that is received in the *Dutch* 'church in *London*, is found true and 'according to God's word: Whereunto 'in all things I ſubmit myſelf, and will 'be moſt gladly a member of the ſaid '*Dutch* church; from henceforth utterly 'abandoning and forſaking all and every '*anabaptiſtical* error.'

THIS abjuration was taken from theſe *Walloon Anabaptiſts* by Dr. *De Laune*, who was then miniſter of the *Dutch* church in *Auguſtin Friars* in *London*. In the 18th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *An. Dom.* 1575. Mr. *Fuller* ſaith, 'h Now began the *Ana-* '*baptiſts* wonderfully to encreaſe in the '*land*; and as we are ſorry that *any* '*countrymen* ſhould be ſeduced with that 'opinion, ſo we are glad that the *Eng-* '*liſh* as yet were free from that infection. 'For on *Eaſter-Day* was diſcloſed a *con-* '*gregation* of *Dutch Anabaptiſts*, without

h *Ch. Hiſt.* cent. xvi. p. 104.

'*Aldgate* in *London*, whereof ſeven and 'twenty were taken and impriſoned, and 'four bearing faggots at *Paul*'s *Croſs*, ſo-'lemnly recanted their dangerous opinions. 'Next month, one *Dutchman* and ten wo-'men were condemned; of whom one '*woman* was converted, to renounce her 'errors; eight were baniſhed the land; '*two* more ſo obſtinate, that command 'was iſſued out for their burning in *Smith-'field*. But to reprieve them from ſo cruel 'a death, a *grave divine* ſent the follow-'ing letter to Queen *Elizabeth*. The let-ter was wrote in *Latin*, I ſhall give only the *Engliſh* tranſlation thereof.

Mr. Fox's letter to Queen Elizabeth.

MOST ſerene and happy princeſs, moſt illuſtrious Queen, the honour of our country, and ornament of the age. As nothing hath been further from my thoughts and expectation, than ever to diſturb your moſt excellent majeſty by my troubleſome interruption; ſo it grieves me very much, that I muſt break that ſilence which has hitherto been the reſult of my mind. But ſo it now happens, by I know not what infelicity, that the preſent time obliges me, contrary to my hope and opinion, to that which of all things in the world I leaſt de-ſired, and tho' hitherto I have been trouble-ſome to no body, I am now contrary to my inclination, conſtrained to be importunate,

even

even with my princeſs; not in any matter or cauſe of my own, but thro' the calamity brought upon others; and by how much the more ſharp and lamentable that is, by ſo much the more I am ſpurred on to deprecate it. I underſtand there are ſome here in *England*, tho' not *Engliſh*, but come hither from *Holland*, I ſuppoſe both men and women, who having been tried according to law, publickly declared their repentance, are happily reclaimed. Many others are condemned to exile; a right ſentence in my opinion. But I hear there is one or two of theſe, who are appointed to the moſt ſevere of puniſhments, *viz. burning*, except your clemency prevent. Now in this one affair I conceive there are two things to be conſidered; the one is the wickneſs of their errors, the other, the ſharpedneſs of their puniſhment. As to their errors indeed, no man of ſenſe can deny that they are moſt abſurd: And I wonder that ſuch monſtrous opinions could come into the mind of any *Chriſtian*; but ſuch is the ſtate of human weakneſs, if we are left never ſo little a while deſtitute of the divine light, whither is it we do not fall; and we have great reaſon to give God thanks on this account, that I hear not of any *Engliſhman*, that is inclined to this madneſs. As to theſe fanatical *ſects* therefore, it is certain, they are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth, but

in my opinion ought to be ſuppreſſed by proper correction. But to *roaſt alive* the bodies of poor wretches, that offend rather through blindneſs of judgment, than perverſeneſs of will, in *fire* and *flames*, raging with *pitch* and *brimſtone*, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the *Romaniſts*, than the cuſtom of the *Goſpellers*; yea, is evidently of the ſame kind, as if it had flowed from the *Romiſh Prieſts*, from the firſt author of ſuch cruelty, *Innocent* the third. Oh! that none had ever brought ſuch a *Phalarian Bull* into the meek church of Chriſt! I do not ſpeak theſe things, becauſe I am pleaſed with their wickedneſs, or favour the errors of any men; but ſeeing I my ſelf am a man, I muſt therefore favour the life of man; not that he ſhould err, but that he might repent. Nay my pity extends not only to the life of man, but even to the beaſts.

FOR ſo it is perhaps a folly in me; but I ſpeak the truth, that I can hardly paſs by a ſlaughter-houſe where cattle are killing, but my mind ſhrinks back, with a ſecret ſenſe of their pains. And truly, I greatly admire the clemency of God in this, who had ſuch reſpect to the mean brute creatures, formerly prepared for ſacrifices, that they muſt not be committed to the *flames*, before their blood had been poured out at the foot of the altar. Whence we may gather

gather, that in inflicting of punishments, tho' just, we must not be over rigorous, but temper the sharpness of rigour with clemency. Wherefore if I may be so bold with the majesty of so great a princess, I humbly beg of your royal highness, for the sake of Christ, who was consecrated to suffer for the lives of many, this favour at my request, which even the divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be, and what cannot your authority do in these cases, these miserable wretches may be spared; at least that a stop may be put to the horrour, by changing their punishment into some other kind. There are excommunications, and close imprisonment; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg; that the piles and flames in *Smithfield*, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived: That if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greatest earnestness, that out of your great pity you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will give them grace to turn from their dangerous errors; lest with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin.

Confirmed by Fuller.

AFTER this, *Fuller* goes on and ſaith, 'This letter was written by Mr. *John Fox*, 'from whoſe own hand I tranſcribed it; 'very loth that *Smithfield*, formerly con-'ſecrated with *martyrs aſhes*, ſhould now 'be profan'd with *hereticks*; and deſirous 'that the *Papiſts* might enjoy their own '*monopoly* of cruelty, in *burning con-'demn'd Perſons*.

'BUT tho' Queen *Elizabeth* conſtantly 'called him her *Father Fox*; yet herein 'ſhe was no *dutiful daughter*, giving him 'a flat denial [k]. Indeed damnable were their 'impieties, and ſhe neceſſitated to this ſe-'verity, who having formerly puniſhed ſome '*traitors*, if now ſparing theſe *blaſphemers*, 'the world would condemn her as being 'more earneſt in aſſerting her own ſafety, 'than God's honour. Hereupon the writ '*De hæretico comburendo*, (which for ſe-'venteen years had hung only up *in ter-'rorem*) was now taken down, and put in 'execution, and the two *Anabaptiſts* burnt July 22. 'in *Smithfield*, died in great horror, with 'crying and roaring.'

GREAT were the hardſhips and ſuffer-ings of the *Puritans* (of whom it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that ſome of them were *Baptiſts*, tho' they had not as yet form'd themſelves into diſtinct ſocieties) by

[k] *As to the ſaving of their lives, if after a month's re-prieve and conference with divines, they would not recant their errors*, à *Stow*, ut prius.

the

the cruelty of the *biſhops*, inſtigated by the Queen's hatred of them. 'She had high 'notions of the ſovereign power of princes, 'and of her own abſolute ſupremacy in 'church-affairs; and being of opinion that 'all methods of ſeverity were lawful to 'bring her ſubjects to an outward unifor-'mity, ſhe countenanced all the engines of 'perſecution, as *ſpiritual courts*, *high com-'miſſion*[1], *and ſtar-chamber*, and ſtretch'd 'her prerogative to ſupport them beyond 'the laws, and againſt the ſenſe of the na-'tion.'

THAT the *Baptiſts* had no ſmall ſhare in the ſufferings of theſe times, we may gather from the ſupplication of the juſtices of the peace of the county of *Norfolk*, who upon complaint made to them of the cruelty of the biſhop of *Norwich*, with reſpect to the long and illegal impriſonment of ſome of the *Browniſts*, their worſhips were pleaſed to move the biſhop in their favour; with which his lordſhip was ſo diſſatisfied, that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment againſt the *juſtices* themſelves, and cauſed them to be ſummoned before the Queen and Council to anſwer for their *miſdemeanours*. Notwithſtanding his lordſhip's citation of them before the council, they writ again to their honours, praying to interpoſe in behalf of the injuries that were offer'd to divers godly miniſters. And

Supplication of the juſtices of Norfolk.

[1] *Neal's Hiſt. Puritans*, p. 602. vol. I.

in

in their ſupplication they ſay, 'We ſerve 'her Majeſty and the country as *magiſtrates* 'and *juſtices* of peace, according to law; 'we reverence the law and law-maker; 'when the law ſpeaks we keep not ſilence; 'when it commandeth we obey; by law we 'proceed againſt all *offenders* [m]; we touch 'none that the law ſpareth, and ſpare none 'that the law toucheth; we allow not of '*Papiſts*, of the *Family of Love*, of *Ana-* 'baptiſts or *Browniſts*: No, we puniſh all 'theſe; and yet we are chriſtned with the 'odious name of *Puritans*, a term com- 'pounded of the *hereſies* above-mention'd, 'which we diſclaim.'

Anno 1589.

IN the year 1589, Dr. *Some*, a man of great note in thoſe times, writ a treatiſe againſt *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, *Penry*, and others of the *puritan* ſect; wherein he endeavour'd to ſhew what agreement there was between the opinions of the *Engliſh Anabaptiſts* and theſe men.

Dr. Some's *account of the* Baptiſts.

HIS method is firſt to ſhew, what was the opinion of the *Anabaptiſtical Recuſants*, as he terms them; then wherein theſe men did agree with, or differ from them; and then undertakes to confute their ſuppoſed errors.

THE opinions he charges the *Anabaptiſts* with, when they are ſtripp'd of his dreſs, are only to this purpoſe:

[m] *Neal's Hiſt. Purit.* p. 388. v. I.

THAT

THAT the *miniſters* of the goſpel ought to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people:

THAT the civil power has no right to make and impoſe eccleſiaſtical laws:

THAT people ought to have the right of chuſing their own *miniſters:*

THAT the high-commiſſion court was an antichriſtian uſurpation:

THAT thoſe who are qualify'd to preach, ought not to be hinder'd by the civil power:

THAT tho' the Lord's-prayer be a rule and foundation of prayer, yet not to be uſed as a form; and that no forms of prayer ought to be impoſed on the church:

THAT the baptiſm adminiſtred in the church of *Rome* is invalid:

THAT a true conſtitution and diſcipline is eſſential to a true church; and that the worſhip of God in the church of *England* is in many things defective.

HE touches but briefly on their opinion of *baptizing believers* only; and brings up the rear with ſaying, they count it blaſphemy for any man to arrogate to himſelf the title of *Doctor of Divinity*; that is, as he explains it, to be called *Rabbi*, or *lord* and *maſter* of other mens faith.

HE acknowledges, that there were ſeveral *anabaptiſtical conventicles* in *London*, and other places; that ſome of this ſort, as well as the *Papiſts*, had been bred at our univerſities; and tells a ſtory of one *T. L.* who

who at a conventicle in *London*, took upon him to expound the ſcriptures, conceive long prayers on a ſudden, and to excommunicate two perſons, who were formerly of that brotherhood, but had now left them.

Remarks thereon.

IF this be what their *adverſaries* had chiefly to charge them with; what account might we have expected, had they been allowed to publiſh their own *faith*, and to tranſmit their own *hiſtory* down to poſterity? And tho' this *gentleman* ſeems to deal more favourably with this *ſect* than many *others*, yet he uſes the unfair method which I ſuppoſe they thought lawful, in writing againſt *hereticks*; that is, to aſſert they hold ſuch *opinions*, without producing any proof of it, or referring to any of their *works*, leſt they ſhould publiſh them, and people ſhould have opportunity to enquire what they ſay for themſelves.

HE likewiſe diſcovers too much of the ſpirit of *perſecution*, that reigned in theſe times, and endeavours to excite the *civil power* to be more ſevere againſt the *ſectaries*. 'If, ſays he, every particular con-'gregation in *England* might ſet up and 'put down at their pleaſure, *popiſh* and '*anabaptiſtical fancies* would overflow this 'land; the conſequence would be dan-'gerous, *viz.* the diſhonour of God, the 'contempt of her majeſty, the overthrow

'of

'of the church and univerſities, and the 'utter confuſion of this noble kingdom. 'Queen *Elizabeth*, and her honourable 'Councellours do ſee, and will prevent 'this miſchief; it is more than time to 'look unto it.'

WITH ſuch falſe repreſentations as theſe, the *clergy* have been uſed to frighten the *court* into the practice of perſecution.

BUT to cloſe this reign, Queen *Elizabeth* having by her proclamation commanded all *Anabaptiſts* and other *Hereticks* to depart the *land*, whether they were *natives* or *foreigners*, under the penalties of *impriſonment* or loſs of *goods*; all that were of this *opinion* were obliged either to conceal their principles, or fly into ſome other country, where they might enjoy the liberty of their religion.

Q. Elizabeth *baniſhes the* Anabaptiſts.

UPON which many of the *diſſenters* went over to *Holland*: Among whom there were not a few *Baptiſts*, as well *Engliſh* as *Dutch*; ſo that there was now no great number of *Diſſenters* of any denomination, that dared openly to appear. '[n] Queen '*Elizabeth* however, with all her blemiſh-'es, ſays Mr. *Neal*, ſtands upon record, 'as a wiſe and politick princeſs; for deli-'vering the kingdom from the difficul-'ties in which it was involved at her Ac-'ceſſion; for preſerving the proteſtant re-

Queen Elizabeth's *character.*

[n] *Hiſt. Puritans*, p. 602. vol I.

'formation

'formation againſt the potent attempts of 'the *Pope*, the *Emperor*, and king of 'Spain abroad, and the Queen of *Scots* 'and her *popiſh* ſubjects at home; and for 'advancing the renown of the *Engliſh Na-* 'tion beyond any of her predeceſſors. 'Her majeſty held the ballance of *Europe*; 'and was in high eſteem with all foreign 'princes, the greateſt part of her reign: 'And tho' her *proteſtant* ſubjects were di- 'vided about church affairs, they all diſ- 'covered a high veneration for her royal 'perſon and government; on which ac- 'count ſhe was the glory of the age in 'which ſhe lived, and will be the ad- 'miration of poſterity.'

CHAP. II.

From the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, *to the end of the reign of King* James I.

King James I. An. Dom. 1602.

KING *James* the firſt next aſcends the throne. 'a He was born of *Ro-* 'man Catholick parents; but being taken 'from his mother in his infancy, had been

[a] *Rapin*, book xviii. p. 159.

'edu-

educated in the proteſtant religion, and
‘ always profeſſed it. On the other hand,
‘ the religion he had been brought up in,
‘ tho' proteſtant, differed a little from the
‘ religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, if not in
‘ doctrine, at leaſt in diſcipline, and ſome
‘ other points of external worſhip, which
‘ were conſidered by the two churches as
‘ very important. In a word, it was the
‘ *preſbyterian* or *puritanical* religion. In
‘ fine, this prince had ſhewn on num-
‘ berleſs occaſions, that he was far from
‘ being an enemy to the *Romiſh* religion.
‘ All this formed a certian contraſt, which
‘ bred an univerſal ſuſpenſe. The *Catholicks*
‘ hoped to meet under his government
‘ with gentler treatment, and more indul-
‘ gence, than under *Elizabeth*; nay, they
‘ carried their expectation much farther.
‘ The *Preſbyterians* flattered themſelves,
‘ that *James*, who had been educated in
‘ their religion, would promote the re-
‘ forming of the church of *England* upon the
‘ plan of that of *Scotland*; and hoped ſhortly
‘ to ſee the downfal of the *eccleſiaſtical hi-*
‘ *rarchy*. Finally, the *Church-of-England-*
‘ *men* thought to have reaſon to expect
‘ that the new king would conform to their
‘ religion, ſince it was eſtabliſhed by law.
‘ But after all, the hopes of the three *par-*
‘ *ties* could not but be mixed with fears,
‘ ſince the king had not yet declared.

'HE muſt, ſays *Rapin*, at the time 'I am now ſpeaking of, have conceiv-'ed a larger notion than had been hi-'therto formed of the power of an *Engliſh* 'king; ſince when he came to *Newark*, 'he ordered a *cut-purſe* to be hanged, by 'his ſole warrant, and without trial.'

IT cannot be expected I ſhould be very particular with reſpect to the ſufferings of the *Baptiſts* during this reign and the former part of the next, becauſe they were involved in all the perſecutions that befel the *Nonconformiſts*, under the general name of *Puritans*: For thoſe who refuſed to conform to the church of *England*, were counted among the *Puritans*. Thoſe who have read the correſpondence that paſſed between our *biſhops* and the foreign *Proteſtant* divines, may obſerve a great deal of good temper and good judgment in their deſires to have had the church reformed from all remains and footſteps of *Popery*, and ſatisfaction given to ſcrupulous and tender conſciences; but the ſtiffneſs of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that fondneſs for pomp and magnificence in worſhip among the generality, hindred the reformation from going any farther.

An. Dom. 1604. CALDERWOOD tells us, that on the 12th of *Jan.* 1604. [k] The *Biſhops* were called 'upon by his Majeſty, and were gravely

[k] *Hiſt. of the Reform. Scot.* p. 474.

'de-

'desired to advise upon all corruptions in 'doctrine, ceremonies and discipline, as 'they will answer it to God in conscience, or to his majesty upon their obedience; that they should return the third 'day. On that day they returned, and 'answered, they found all well; and when 'his majesty with great fervency brought 'instances to the contrary, they with great 'earnestness, upon their knees, craved 'that nothing might be altered, lest *Romish* 'recusants, punished by the statutes for 'their disobedience, and *Puritans*, punished by deprivation from callings and livings 'for *Nonconformity*, should say, they had 'cause to insult them, as men who had 'travailed to bind them to that, which 'by their own mouths was now confessed 'to be erroneous. Thus, by a most dishonourable resolution, they prefer their 'own fame and reputation to the peace 'of the church; and because they have 'once oppressed them, will always do 'so, rather than seem to own themselves 'fallible men [c].'

The bishops against any alteration in the church-

Now what could be expected from such men, who had drawn a weak king over to their interest, and who were resolved to continue in their errors rather than confess themselves fallible? And what *Christian*, or what *Englishman*, can, with-

[c] *Hist. account of further attempts for reformation*, p. 34.

out the utmoſt concern and reſentment, read the *hiſtories* of thoſe times, and obſerve the cruel uſage, great hardſhips and ſufferings of not a few, but a great multitude; who for their firmneſs in the propagation of a rational religion, their conſtancy in piety, and all chriſtian virtue, and their averſion to all methods of cruelty and uncharitableneſs, have been branded with the names of *Puritans*, *Preſbyterians*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. whereby the unthinking multitude have been ſpirited up to hatred againſt all perſons under thoſe denominations, and more particularly to thoſe of the laſt denomination.

WHEN king *James* firſt came into *England*, he not only went over to the church of *England*, but even laboured to force the *Puritans* to conform, to be revenged on them for what the *Preſbyterian* ſynods had made him ſuffer in *Scotland*.

The Puritans *petition for a toleration.*

THE *Puritans* preſented a petition to him, not only for a *toleration*, but alſo to pray him, that ſundry articles of the church of *England*, with which they could not comply, might be reformed.

The biſhops oppoſe it.

THE *Biſhops* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this petition, and entreated the king to leave religion as he found it at his acceſſion to the crown, without any innovation. The king, not to appear at firſt too partial, and to make believe he would not be determined without hearing the arguments on both

both ſides, appointed a conference between the two *parties*, wherein he would be moderator himſelf; and publiſhed a proclamation, commanding both ſides to be quiet, till matters were regulated as he ſhould judge proper. This conference was held at *Hampton-Court*, in the year 1604, and laſted three days. The *Puritans* ſoon ſaw what they were to expect.

A conference held at Hampton-Court.

DR. *Wellwood* ſays[d], 'This conference 'was but a blind to introduce epiſcopacy 'in *Scotland*; all the *Scotch* noblemen then 'at court being deſign'd to be preſent, and 'others, both *noblemen* and *miniſters*, be-'ing called up from *Scotland* by the king's 'letter to aſſiſt at it.'

THE King's conduct was ſo agreeable to the *biſhops* and their friends, that beſides other palpable flatteries, *Whitgift*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, unwilling to miſs ſo fair an opportunity to flatter him, ſaid[e], 'He verily believed the king ſpoke by the 'Spirit of God.'

Whitgift flatters the King.

IN concluſion, both *parties* being preſent, the king ſaid[f], 'For the *biſhops* I 'will anſwer, that it is not their purpoſe 'preſently and out of hand to enforce obe-'dience, but by fatherly admonitions and 'conferences to induce ſuch as are diſaf-

The King yields to the biſhops.

[d] *Notes on* Wilſon, *p.* 665. *Comp. Hiſt. Notes on* Rapin, *p.* 162.
[e] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 162.
[f] *Ibidem*, p. 162.

'fected: But if any be of an oppoſite 'and turbulent Spirit, I will have them 'enforced to a conformity ---- I will --- 'that a time be limited by the *biſhops* of 'every *dioceſe* to ſuch, and they that will 'not yield, whatſoever they are, let them 'be removed; for we muſt not prefer the 'credit of a few private men to the ge-'neral peace of the church.'

Whitgift dies, and Bancroft *ſucceeds him, a great enemy to the* Puritans.

SOON after this, *Whitgift* died, and was ſucceeded by *Richard Bancroft*, a prelate who never ceaſed to incenſe the king againſt the *Puritans*, and do them all the miſchief he could. Herein he was but too cloſely imitated by the reſt of the *biſhops*, who found a double advantage in deſtroying the *Puritans*. In the firſt *firſt* place, they made their court to the king, who hated them mortally. 2*dly*, They preſerv'd their *hierarchy*, which the *Puritans* were deſirous to overthrow.

THE perſecution which the *Puritans* ſuffer'd whilſt *Bancroft* was at the head of the *clergy*, induced many families to withdraw from the kingdom, to enjoy elſewhere liberty of conſcience, deny'd them at home. A proclamation is now publiſhed by the king, commanding all *Jeſuits* and other *Prieſts*, having orders from any foreign power, to depart the kingdom: which was ſoon followed by another, enjoining the *Puritans* to conform to the worſhip of the eſtabliſh'd church.

A proclamation baniſhing all jeſuits and prieſts, another, enjoining the Puritans *to conform.*

'THERE

'THERE was not seen here, says *Raping*, 'the same care to justify the king's con- 'duct, with respect to this sort of perse- 'cution. The king intimated in the first, 'that he would have regard to the tender 'consciences of such *Catholicks* as could 'not comply with the received doctrines of 'the church of *England*; but in this 'there was not the least indulgence for the 'tender consciences of the *Puritans*. These 'were all a set of obstinate people, who 'deserved to have no favour shewn them.' Rapin's *remarks thereupon.*

BISHOP *Burnet* observes [h], 'that from 'the year 1606. to his dying-day, he con- 'tinued always writing and talking against 'popery, but acting for it.'

THE persecution growing still more violent against the *Puritans*, great numbers of them resolved to go and settle in *Virginia*. Accordingly some departed for that country: But *Bancroft*, seeing many more ready to take the same voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the king's express license. The court was apprehensive this *sect* would in the end become too numerous and powerful in *America*; and was not so well affected to the *Puritans*, as to the *Papists*. *The* Puritans *settle in* Virginia.

THE *Puritans* were consider'd as enemies to the king, and to monarchy; but the *Papists* as hearty wishers, that the king

[g] *Hist. of England*, vol. II. p. 163.
[h] *History of his own time*, vol. I. p. 12.

might meet with no oppoſition to his will. This was ſufficient to induce the court to countenance the *latter*, and cauſe the *former* to endure continual mortifications.

An. Dom. 1608. Enoch Clapham *writes againſt the ſeveral ſects.*

IN the year 1608, one *Enoch Clapham* writ a ſmall piece * againſt the ſeveral *ſects* of the *Proteſtants* in thoſe times. In which he repreſents, by way of dialogue, the opinions that each ſect held, and ſomewhat of their ſtate and condition at that time. He takes notice of their flying out of their own nation, to plant a church among the people of another language; and that they alledged in their defence, *Elias*'s flying in time of perſecution, and our Saviour's advice to his diſciples, *if they were perſecuted in one city, to fly into another*; and complain of thoſe who remained in *England* for leaving the publick aſſemblies, and running into woods and meadows, and meeting in bye ſtables, barns, and haylofts, for ſervice.

HE diſtinguiſhes the *Anabaptiſts* from *Puritans* and *Browniſts* on the one hand, and from the *Arians* and *Socinians* on the other; and makes all theſe zealous oppoſers of each other.

He gives a particular account of the Anabaptiſts.

THE *Anabaptiſts*, according to his account, held, that repentance and faith muſt precede baptiſm; that the baptiſm both of the church of *England* and of the *Puritans* was invalid, and that the true baptiſm was amongſt them. He ſays further, that they complained

* *Errors on the right-hand.*

complained againſt the term *Anabaptiſt*, as a name of *reproach* unjuſtly caſt upon them. He alſo takes notice, that ſome of this opinion were *Dutchmen*, who, beſides the denial of *Infant-baptiſm*, held, that it was unlawful to bear arms: That Chriſt did not receive his human nature of the virgin, but brought it down with him from heaven; and agreed with the *Roman Catholicks* in the doctrines of reprobation, free-will, and juſtification. That there were others who went under this denomination that were *Engliſhmen*, to whom he does not ſo directly charge the former opinions, only the denial of their firſt *baptiſm*, and ſeparating both from the eſtabliſh'd *church*, and other *Diſſenters*; and ſays, that they came out from the *Browniſts*, and that there was a congregation of them in *Holland*.

WHEN the *Anabaptiſt* is aſked what religion he is of, he is made to anſwer; *Of the true religion, commonly termed Anabaptiſm, from our baptizing.*

WHEN he is aſked concerning the church or congregation he was joined to in *Holland*; he anſwers, *There be certain* Engliſh *people of us that came out from the* Browniſts.

WHEN the *Arian* ſays, I am of the mind that there is no true baptiſm upon earth; the *Anabaptiſt* replies, *I pray thee, ſon, ſay not ſo; the congregation I am of can, and doth adminiſter true baptiſm.*

WHEN

WHEN an enquirer after Truth offers, upon his proving what he has ſaid, to leave his old religion; the *Anabaptiſt* anſwers; *You may ſay, if God will give thee grace to leave it; for it is a peculiar grace to leave* Sodom *and* Egypt, *ſpiritually ſo called.*

WHEN the ſame perſon offers to join with them, and firmly betake himſelf to their faith; the *Anabaptiſt* replies: *The dew of heaven come upon you; to-morrow I will bring you into our ſacred congregation, that ſo you may come to be informed in the faith, and after that to be purely baptized.*

NOW this account being given by one that writ againſt them, may be the better depended upon. And he aſſures the reader, in his preface to theſe dialogues, that the characters which he gives of each *ſect*, were not without ſundry years experience had of them all.

THE *Diſſenters* that were driven into *Holland* by the ſeverity of the perſecutions in *England*, having their liberty there, ſet up ſeveral churches, which they formed as they thought moſt agreeable to the word of God.

THERE was one church of *Engliſh* exiles at *Leyden*, whereof Mr. *John Robinſon* was paſtor; another at *Amſterdam*, which had Mr. *Ainſworth* for their paſtor; and ſoon after theſe were ſet up, Mr. *Johnſon*'s and Mr. *John Smith*'s churches, the latter of which went under the name of *Anabaptiſts*;

A church of Engliſh *Baptiſts in* Holland.

baptiſts: ſo that to do juſtice to the *hiſtory*, we muſt now follow them into thoſe parts; but I ſhall confine myſelf to the *Engliſh* only. *Mr. John Smith, their pa-ſtor.*

IT was in the beginning of this reign, that the aforeſaid Mr. *John Smith* left *Enggland.* He had been for ſome time a miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church; but diſliking ſeveral things both in her diſcipline and ceremonies, he went over into *Holland*, and joined himſelf to the *Engliſh* church of *Browniſts* at *Amſterdam*, of which Mr. *Ainſworth* was then the miniſter; and ſo greatly was he eſteemed for his piety and learning, that he was accounted *one of the grandees of the ſeparation* i. *Some account of him.*

BUT when his ſearch after truth, and reſolution to reform religion according to the primitive conſtitution and practice, had led him to entertain ſome principles different from his brethren, particularly that of baptizing believers only, they ſet themſelves violently to oppoſe him, they caſt him out of the church, repreſenting him as one that had proclaimed open war againſt God's everlaſting covenant, and that would murder the ſouls of babes and ſucklings, by depriving them of the viſible ſeal of ſalvation; they publiſh'd ſeveral books, wherein they endeavoured to expoſe both him and his principles to the world. *The Engliſh exiles there oppoſe him,*

i *Pagit's Hereſiography*, p. 62.

MR.

MR. *Ainſworth* wrote two books; the one called *A Defence of Scripture*; the other, *A Cenſure of a Dialogue of the* Anabaptiſts.

MR. *Johnſon*, who ſtiles himſelf paſtor of the antient *Engliſh* church ſojourning at *Amſterdam*, writ a third, entitled *A Chriſtian Plea.*

MR. *Robinſon*, miniſter of the *Engliſh* congregation at *Leyden*, publiſhed a fourth. But his moſt violent *adverſaries* were Mr. *Clifton* and Mr. *Jeſſop*. The one writ an anſwer to one of his books, which was called, *The Chriſtian Plea*; the other, who acknowledges he ſometime walked with them, publiſhed a piece againſt him, entitled, *A Diſcovery of the errors of the* Engliſh *Anabaptiſts*; which he preſented to king *James*; and 'tis eaſy to gueſs with what deſign that was done. In theſe they lay ſeveral accuſations againſt him: As that he ſought to deprive the church of the uſe of the holy Scriptures; that he look'd upon no tranſlation of the Bible to be properly the word of God, the original only being ſo in his opinion; that upon renouncing his *Infant-Baptiſm*, he baptized himſelf, ſuppoſing there was no true adminiſtrator of baptiſm to be found. But they wrote againſt him with ſo much warmth, and appearance of prejudice, that it greatly diſcredits what they ſay [k]. They call him a man of a woolviſh nature, one whom God had ſtruck with

and charge him with baptizing himſelf.

[k] *Wall's baptiſm anatomized*, p. 109. 111.

blind-

blindneſs, a brute beaſt, and the like. But in theſe things they expos'd *themſelves* more than Mr. *Smith*, and brought the whole body of *Diſſenters* under reproach.

I CANNOT forbear obſerving, what improvement a certain *author*, who wrote againſt the Separatiſts quickly after, made of ſuch perſecuting meaſures, tho' he was as great an adverſary to the *Anabaptiſts* as they could be. 'Let us, I beſeech you, ſays he, 'look among the ſeparated congregations, 'and conſider their manifold diviſions, both 'in *judgment* and *practice*; and there we 'cannot but ſee even a babel of confuſion, 'ſeparating each from other, even for ſome 'ſmall differences in judgment, excom-'municating holier and better men than 'themſelves, yea, even ſuch as they can-'not legally tax either with *fornication*, '*covetouſneſs*, *idolatry*, *railing*, *drunkenneſs*, '*extortion*, or the like; and that only for 'not ſubmitting in every thing to their 'judgments, contrary to the *Apoſtles* di-'rection [m].'

MR. *Smith* writ ſeveral defences of himſelf and his opinions; as his *Character of the Beaſt*, his *Reply to Mr.* Clifton, his *Dialogue of Baptiſm*, &c. none of which have I yet been able to obtain, but by the quotations that his opponents take out of *He defends himſelf.*

[l] *Preface, Anabaptiſts myſtery of iniquity unmasked*, 1623. By I. P.

[m] 1 Cor. v. 11.

them,

them, which were certainly the worſt part, he does not appear to have been a man of ſuch enthuſiaſm and odd opinions, as they would repreſent him.

His adverſaries divide among themſelves.

THE *Browniſts* in thoſe parts fell into diviſions amongſt themſelves a little after; and writ with as much bitterneſs and ſharp reflections againſt one another, as they had done againſt him. And whereas they could only charge him with *miſtaken opinions*, they themſelves were charged with groſs *immoralities*; ſome of which were proved upon oath before the *magiſtrates* at *Amſterdam:* as may be ſeen in Mr. *White*'s *diſcovery of Browniſm* and *Pagit*'s *Hereſiography*.

Are charged with groſs Immoralities.

Mr. Smith's *opinions prevailed much.*

HOWEVER it was, Mr. *Smith*'s opinions prevailed greatly, eſpecially that of denying *infant-baptiſm*; and he ſoon had *proſelytes* enough to form a diſtinct church of that perſuaſion, even among the *Engliſh* exiles.

MR. *Johnſon*, the paſtor of the *Engliſh* church, at the ſame place and time, was one of the firſt that writ againſt him. His book was publiſhed in the year 1617. And he, having ſpoken largely in defence of infant-baptiſm, apologizes for his ſo doing in theſe words: 'Of which point, and of ſundry 'objections thereabout, I have treated the 'more largely, conſidering how great the 'error is in the denial thereof, and how great-'ly it ſpreadeth both in theſe parts, and 'of

'of late in our own country, that is 'England.'

MR. *Pagit* says[n], 'that Mr. *Smith* and 'his *disciples* do at once, as it were, swallow up all the separation besides.'

A particular enquiry into the charge of baptizing himself.

BUT the business of his baptizing himself, and the reasons of it, if he did so, must be more particularly enquired into; because the *Pædobaptists* make great improvement of it, and would from hence render all the baptizings among the *English Baptists* to be invalid, supposing them to be his successors, and that he was the first administrator of it among them. Upon the revival of their opinion in these latter times, Mr. *Thomas Wall* calls[o] him *the beginner of baptism by dipping*, and *the captain of this and other errors:* And saith[p], 'that when the *Ana-* 'baptists had framed so many devices to 'deny all infants *baptism*, they were con- 'founded in themselves, what to do, to 'begin baptizing in their way of bap- 'tizing adult persons only----but one *John* 'Smith----being more desperately wicked 'than others, baptized himself, and then 'he baptized others, and from this man 'the *English Anabaptists* have successively 'received their new administration of bap- 'tism on men and women only.'

'

[n] *Heresiography*, p. 64.
[o] *Plain discovery*, p. 44. *and* preface.
[p] *Baptism anatomized*, p. 107.

THE

THE ſame *author* [q] alſo aſſerts, that he heard when he lived in *London*, that one Mr. *Spilſbury* ſhould go to *Holland*, to be baptized of this *Smith*; ſo he brought it into *England*. And, ſays he, 'If you can 'find no better an adminiſtrator, your miniſ-'try will be found to come out of the bot-'tomleſs pit, as *Rome*'s miniſtry did.'

The controverſy about a proper adminiſtrator.

'TIS certain, that when ſome of the *Engliſh Proteſtants* were for reviving the antient practice of *immerſion*, they had ſeveral difficulties thrown in their way about a proper *adminiſtrator*, to begin that method of baptizing.

THOSE who rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, at the beginning of the reformation in *England*, had the ſame objection made againſt them; as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves [r].

'One thing, ſays he, was obſerved, that 'the whole world in that age, having been 'baptized in their *infancy*, if that *baptiſm* 'was nothing, then there was none truly '*baptized* in being, but all were in the 'ſtate of mere nature. Now it did not 'ſeem reaſonable, that men who were not '*baptized* themſelves, ſhould go and bap-'tize others; and therefore the firſt heads 'of that *ſect*, not being rightly *baptized* 'themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any 'authority, when they went to *baptize* 'others.'

[q] *Plain diſcovery*, p. 45.
[r] *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. II. part ii. p. 113.

Im-

IN the like manner did they now argue againſt the reviving of the practice of *immerſion*, which had for ſome time been diſuſed: If *immerſion* be the eſſential form of that ordinance, then there is none truly *baptized*: and can an *unbaptized* perſon be a proper *adminiſtrator*; or can a man be ſuppoſed to give that to another, which he has not firſt received himſelf?

THIS difficulty did not a little perplex them; and they were divided in their opinions how to act in this matter, ſo as not to be guilty of any diſorder or ſelf-contradiction. Some indeed were of opinion, that the firſt *adminiſtrator* ſhould baptize himſelf, and then proceed to the baptizing of others. Others were for ſending to thoſe foreign *Proteſtants* that had uſed *immerſion* for ſome time, that ſo they might receive it from them. And others again thought it neceſſary to *baptiſm*, that the *adminiſtrator* be himſelf baptized, at leaſt in an extraordinary caſe; but that whoever ſaw ſuch a reformation neceſſary, might from the authority of Scripture lawfully begin it. *Did not a little perplex the* Engliſh *Baptiſts.*

I do not find any *Engliſhman* among the firſt *reſtorers* of *immerſion* in this latter age accuſed of *baptizing himſelf*, but only the ſaid *John Smith*; and there is ground to queſtion the truth of that alſo.

MR. *Ainſworth*, Mr. *Jeſſop*, and ſome others, do indeed charge him with it;

The charge of Mr. Smith's baptizing himself conſider'd.

but they writ, as has been already obſerved, with ſo much paſſion and reſentment, that it is not unlikely ſuch men might take up a report againſt him upon ſlender evidence, and after one had publiſhed it, the others might take it from him without any enquiry into the truth of it.

THE defences which he wrote for himſelf are not to be met with; and in the large quotations that his *adverſaries* take out of them, I do not find one paſſage, wherein he acknowledges himſelf to have done any ſuch thing, or attempts to juſtify ſuch a practice; which ſurely, had there been any ſuch, would not have eſcaped their notice.

THERE is one paſſage [s] indeed which Mr. *Clifton* quotes from a treatiſe of Mr. *Smith*'s, which ſome would make a proof out of his own mouth that he baptized himſelf: but being examined, it rather confirms the contrary. He is juſtifying, to the *Browniſts*, his authority to begin a new form of baptizing, from the ſame principles by which they juſtified their beginning of new churches. And his words, according to their quotations, are theſe: 'There is as good warrant for a man 'churching himſelf; for two men ſingly 'are no church, jointly they are a church; 'ſo two men may put baptiſm on them-

[s] Wall's *Baptiſm anatomiſed, p.* 111, 112.

'ſelves.

'ſelves. Again, ſaith Mr. *Smith*, a man 'cannot baptize others into a church, him-'ſelf being out of the church, or being 'no member.'

HERE are two *principles* laid down by Mr. *Smith*, which contradict the account they give of him: That upon the ſuppoſition of the true *baptiſm*'s being loſt for ſome time, through the diſuſe of it, 'tis neceſſary there ſhould be two *perſons* who muſt unite in the revival of it, in order to begin the adminiſtration thereof: And that the firſt *adminiſtrator* be a member of ſome church, who ſhall call and impower him to adminiſter it to the members thereof.

NOW it is reaſonable to conclude, that his practice was conformable to this. And I find mention made of one Mr. *Helwiſſe*, and Mr. *John Morton*, that were of Mr. *Smith*'s opinion, and joined with him in this reformation of baptiſm; and according to the rules he lays down, their method muſt be this: That firſt they formed a church of their *opinion* in the point of *baptiſm*; then the church appoints two of theſe *miniſters* to begin the adminiſtration of it, by baptizing each other; after this one, or both theſe, baptize the reſt of the congregation.

BUT enough of this. If he were guilty of what they charge him with, 'tis no blemiſh on the *Engliſh Baptiſts*; who neither approved of any ſuch method,

nor did they receive their *baptiſm* from him.

The methods taken by the Engliſh *Baptiſts at the reviwal of immerſion.*

THE two other methods that I mentioned, were indeed both taken by the *Baptiſts*, at their revival of *immerſion* in *England*; as I find it acknowledged and juſtify'd in their writings.

THE former of theſe was, to ſend over to the foreign *Anabaptiſts*, who deſcended from the antient *Waldenſes* in *France* or *Germany*, that ſo one or more receiving *baptiſm* from them, might become proper *adminiſtrators* of it to others. Some thought this the beſt way; and acted accordingly; as appears from Mr. *Hutchinſon*'s account, in the epiſtle of his treatiſe of the *Covenant and Baptiſm*, where he ſays,

Mr. Hutcheſon's *account thereof.*

'WHEN the profeſſors of theſe nations 'had been a long time wearied with the 'yoke of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, traditions of men, and corrupt mixtures in 'the worſhip and ſervice of God; it pleaſed the Lord to break theſe yokes, and 'by a very ſtrong impulſe of his Spirit 'upon the hearts of his people, to convince 'them of the neceſſity of reformation. 'Divers pious and very gracious people, 'having often ſought the Lord by faſting 'and prayer, that he would ſhew them 'the pattern of his houſe, the goings-out 'and comings-in thereof, *&c.* reſolved, by 'the grace of God, not to receive or practiſe any piece of poſitive worſhip, which

'had

'had not *precept* or *example* from the 'word of God. *Infant-baptiſm* coming 'of courſe under conſideration, after long 'ſearch and many debates, it was found 'to have no footing in the Scriptures, 'the only rule and ſtandard to try doc-'trines by; but on the contrary a mere 'innovation, yea, the profanation of an 'ordinance of God. And though it was 'purpoſed to be laid aſide, yet what 'fears, tremblings, and temptations did 'attend them, leſt they ſhould be miſ-'taken, conſidering how many learned and 'godly men were of an oppoſite per-'ſuaſion? How gladly would they have 'had the reſt of their brethren gone along 'with them? But when there was no 'hopes, they concluded, that a chriſtian's 'faith muſt not *ſtand in the wiſdom of 'men*; and that *every one muſt give an ac-'count of himſelf to God*; and ſo reſolved to 'practiſe according to their light. The great 'objection was, the want of an *adminiſtra-'tor*; which, as I have heard, ſays he, was 'remov'd, by ſending certain meſſengers to '*Holland*, whence they were ſupplied.'

THIS agrees with an account given of the matter in an antient manuſcript, ſaid to be written by Mr. *William Kiffin*, who lived in thoſe times, and was a leader among thoſe of that perſuaſion. *Mr.* William Kiffin's *account thereof.*

THIS relates, that ſeveral ſober and pious perſons belonging to the congregations

of the *diſſenters* about *London*, were convinced that *believers* were the only proper ſubjects of *baptiſm*, and that it ought to be adminiſtred by *immerſion*, or *dipping* the whole body into the water, in reſemblance of a *burial* and *reſurrection*, according to 2 *Coloſ.* ii. 12. and *Rom.* vi. 4. That they often met together to pray and confer about this matter, and conſult what methods they ſhould take to enjoy this ordinance in its primitive purity: That they could not be ſatisfyed about any *adminiſtrator* in *England* to begin this practice; becauſe tho' ſome in this nation rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, yet they had not, as they knew of, revived the antient cuſtom of *immerſion:* But hearing that ſome in the *Netherlands* practis'd it, they agreed to ſend over one Mr. *Richard Blount*, who underſtood the *Dutch* Language: That he went accordingly, carrying letters of recommendation with him, and was kindly received both by the church there, and Mr. *John Batte* their teacher: That upon his return, he baptized Mr. *Samuel Blacklock*, a miniſter, and theſe two baptized the reſt of their company, whoſe names are in the manuſcript, to the number of fifty three.

So that thoſe who follow'd this *ſcheme* did not derive their *baptiſm* from the aforeſaid Mr. *Smith*, or his congregation at *Amſterdam*, it being an antient congregation of foreign

foreign *Baptiſts* in the *Low Countries* to whom they ſent.

BUT the greateſt number of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, and the more judicious, looked upon all this as needleſs trouble, and what proceeded from the old *Popiſh Doctrine of right to adminiſter ſacraments by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion*, which neither the church of *Rome*, nor the church of *England*, much leſs the modern *Diſſenters*, could prove to be with them. They affirmed [t] therefore, and practiſed accordingly, that after a general corruption of *baptiſm*, an unbaptized perſon might warrantably baptize, and ſo begin a reformation.

Mr. Spilſbury's *opinion about a proper adminiſtrator.*

MR. *Spilsbury*, who was falſly reported to have gone over to *Holland* to receive *baptiſm* from *John Smith*, declares expreſly againſt a man's baptizing himſelf, and judges it to be far from any rule in the goſpel ſo to do; but obſerves, that where there is a beginning, ſome one muſt be firſt. 'And 'becauſe, ſays he [u], ſome make it ſuch an 'error, and ſo, far from any rule or ex-'ample, for a man to baptize others, who 'is himſelf unbaptized, and ſo think there-'by to ſhut up the *ordinance* of God in 'ſuch a ſtrait, that none can come by it 'but thro' the authoity of the *Popedom of* '*Rome*; let the reader conſider who baptiz'd '*John the Baptiſt* before he baptized others.

[t] *Perſecution for rsligion judg'd and condemn'd, p.* 41.
[u] *Treatiſe of baptiſm, p.* 63, 65, 66.

'and if no man did, then whether he did 'not baptize others, he himſelf being un- 'baptized. We are taught by this what to 'do upon the like occaſions.'

'FURTHER, ſays he, I fear men put 'more than is of right due to it, that ſo 'prefer it above the church, and all other '*ordinances* beſides; for they can aſſume 'and erect a church, take in and caſt out '*members*, elect and ordain *officers*, and 'adminiſter the *ſupper*, and all a-new, 'without any looking after *ſucceſſion*, any 'further than the ſcriptures: But as for '*baptiſm*, they muſt have that ſucceſſively 'from the *Apoſtles*, tho' it comes thro' the 'hands of pope *Joan*. What is the cauſe 'of this, that men can do all from the 'word but only *baptiſm*?'

Now is it probable that this man ſhould go over ſea to find an *adminiſtrator* of *baptiſm*, or receive it from the hands of one who *baptized himſelf*?

Mr. Tombes's *defends it.*

THE learned Mr. *Tombes* does very excellently defend this laſt method of reſtoring the true *baptiſm*. 'If, ſays he [x], no con- 'tinuance of adult *baptiſm* can be proved, 'and *baptiſm* by ſuch perſons is wanting, 'yet I conceive what many *proteſtant wri- 'ters* do yield, when they are preſſed by the '*Papiſts* to ſhew the calling of the firſt *re- 'formers*; that after an univerſal corrup- 'tion, the neceſſity of the thing doth juſtify

[x] *Add. to Apo.* p. 10.

'the

'the perſons that reform, tho' wanting an 'ordinary regular calling, will juſtify in 'ſuch a caſe, both the lawfulneſs of the '*miniſter's baptizing*, that hath not been 'rightly baptized himſelf, and the ſufficiency of that *baptiſm* to the perſon ſo baptized. And this very thing, ſays he, that 'in a caſe where a *baptized miniſter* cannot be had, it is lawful for an unbaptized 'perſon to baptize, and his *baptiſm* is valid, is both the reſolution of *Aquinas*, and 'of *Zanchius*, an eminent proteſtant. *Quæritur an is poſſit baptizare eos, quos ad Chriſtum convertit, ut ipſe ab alio ex illis a ſe converſis baptizetur. Ratio eſt, quia miniſter eſt verbi, à Chriſto extraordinem excitatus, eoque ut talis miniſter poteſt cum illius eccleſiolæ conſenſu, ſymmiſtam conſtituere, & ab eo, ut baptizetur curare.* Whereby, ſays Mr. *Tombes*, you may perceive that this is no new truth; 'that an unbaptized perſon may in ſome 'caſe baptize another, and he baptize him, 'being baptized of him.'

I WILL only add farther what is ſaid on this head by the honourable *Henry Laurence* Eſq; another learned *Baptiſt*, who has excellently defended the true *baptiſm*, and the manner of reviving it in theſe later times. 'It cannot reaſonably be objected, ſays he [y], 'that he that baptizeth ſhould neceſſarily 'be himſelf a baptized perſon: For tho'

Eſq; Laurence *alſo defends the ſame.*

[y] *Treatiſe of Baptiſm*, p. 407.

'ordi-

'ordinarily it will be ſo, yet it is not neceſ-
'ſary to the ordinance; for not the perſonal
'*baptiſm* of him that adminiſters, but the
'due commiſſion he hath for baptizing, is
'alone conſiderable to make him a true
'*miniſter* of *baptiſm*. And here that ex-
'preſſion holds not, *One cannot give what*
'*he hath not*, as a man cannot teach me,
'that wants knowledge himſelf; becauſe
'no man gives his own *baptiſm*, but con-
'veys, as a publick perſon, that which is
'given us by Chriſt. A *poor man*, that
'hath nothing of his own, may give me
'*gold*, that is, the *money* of another man,
'by virtue of being ſent for that purpoſe.
'So if a man can ſhew his *commiſſion*, the
'writing and ſeal of him that ſent it, it is
'enough here. Elſe what would become
'of the *great baptizer*, *John the Baptiſt*,
'who had a fair commiſſion to baptize, but
'was not himſelf baptized that we read of:
'Or if he ſhould be, which cannot be af-
'firmed; yet the firſt *baptizer*, whoever he
'was, muſt at the time of his firſt *admi-*
'*niſtration* of that *ordinance* be *unbaptized*.'

THO' theſe things were publiſhed at different times, I have put them together, to end this matter at once. It was a point much diſputed for ſome years. The *Bapiſts* were not a little uneaſy about it at firſt; and the *Pædobaptiſts* thought to render all the baptizings among them invalid, for want of a proper *adminiſtrator* to begin their practice: But

But by the excellent reaſonings of theſe and other learned men, we ſee their beginning was well defended, upon the ſame *principles* on which all other *proteſtants* built their *reformation*.

KING *James*, to ſhew his zeal againſt hereſy, had now an opportunity to exerciſe it upon two of his own ſubjects; who, in the year 1611, were *burnt alive* in *Smithfield* for heretical opinions.

ONE was *Bartholomew Legate*, of the county of *Eſſex*, of whom Mr. *Fuller* gives this character [z]. That he was a man of a bold ſpirit, and fluent tongue, excellently ſkill'd in the ſcriptures, and of an unblameable converſation: But ſhewing his diſlike of the *Nicene* and *Athanaſius*'s creeds, and denying the plurality of perſons in the Godhead, and the divinity of Chriſt, was for theſe errors frequently ſummoned before the *biſhops* in their conſiſtory, and kept priſoner ſome time in *Newgate*. He very boldly defended his opinions, and would not be brought to deſiſt from it, tho' the king himſelf had him often brought before him, and endeavoured to recover him. At length, in an aſſembly of *biſhops* he was condemn'd as a contumacious and incorrigible *heretick*. This was on the 3d of *March*, and on the 18th of the ſame month, about noon, he was brought to *Smithfield*, and there burnt to aſhes before a vaſt number of ſpectators.

Bartholomew Legate *burnt in* Smithfield.

[z] *Book* x. *p.* 63.

THE

Edward Wightman *burnt at* Litchfield.

[a]THE other was one *Edward Wightman*, a *Baptiſt*, of the town of *Burton* upon *Trent*; who on the 14th day of *December* was convicted of divers hereſies before the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and being deliver'd up to the ſecular power, was *burnt* at *Litchfield* the 11th of *April* following.

The hereſies he is charg'd with by his perſecutors.

MANY of the hereſies they charge upon him are ſo fooliſh and inconſiſtent, that it very much diſcredits what they ſay. If he really held ſuch *opinions*, he muſt either be an *ideot* or a *madman*, and ought rather to have had their prayers and aſſiſtance, than be put to ſuch a cruel death [b].

THAT they may be ſure to accuſe him with enough, he is condemn'd for holding the wicked hereſies of the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, *Manes*, *Manichæus*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptiſts*: And leſt all theſe hard names ſhould not comprehend every error held by him, 'tis added, *and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard-of opinions.* From this general account of his *hereſies*, they proceed to mention fifteen *particulars.* In one they make him ſay, That Chriſt is not the true natural Son of God in reſpect of his Godhead: In another, That he is only man, and a mere

[a] Fuller, *book* x. *p.* 64.

[b] Vid. *Commiſſion and Warrant for his burning, in the Appendix*, N° I.

creature;

creature; and yet, in the next, He took not human flesh of the substance of his mother. One while he is represented as making himself to be Christ; at another time saying, That God had ordain'd and sent him to perform his part in the work of the salvation of the world, by his teaching; as Christ was ordained and sent to save the world, and by his death to deliver it from sin, and reconcile it to God.

THREE of the articles are such, that I cannot but wonder to find them amongst those *heresies* for which a man is *burnt alive* by *Protestants*, *viz.* That the baptizing of *infants* is an abominable custom: That the *Lord's-Supper* and *Baptism* are not to be celebrated as they are now practised in the church of *England:* That *Christianity* is not wholly professed and preached in the church of *England*, but only in part.

THE first who was put to this cruel death in *England* was *William Sawtre*, supposed upon very probable grounds to have denied *infant-baptism*; and this man, the last who was honoured with this kind of martyrdom, was expresly condemn'd for that *opinion:* so that this *sect* had the honour both of leading the way, and bringing up the rear of all the *martyrs* who were *burnt alive* in *England*, as well as that a great number of those who suffer'd this death for their religion in the two hundred years betwixt, were of this *denomination.* *Remark.*

THIS

THIS burning of *hereticks* did much ſtartle the common people. Mr. *Fox*, in his excellent *Martyrology*, had ſo expoſed the *Papiſts* for this kind of *cruelty*, that it was generally diſliked and condemn'd, and thought unaccountable that *Proteſtants* ſhould be guilty of the ſame practice. The barbarity of the puniſhment moved compaſſion towards the ſufferers; and to ſee men with ſo much firmneſs and conſtancy ſeal their opinions with their blood, rather promoted their doctrines, than put a ſtop to them.

KING *James* choſe therefore for the future only to ſeize their eſtates, and waſte away their lives privately in naſty priſons, rather than honour them with ſuch a publick *martyrdom*, which would unavoidably go under the name of perſecution.

An. Dom. 1614. *Some Diſſenters go to* New-England, *and ſettle there, among them ſome* Engliſh Baptiſts.

IN the Spring, *Anno* 1614. ſome *Preſbyterian* families reſolved to go and ſettle in *New-England*, to enjoy there that peace they could not find at home. 'The author, ſays *Rapin*[c], I juſt mention'd concerning the Earl of *Northampton*, ſays, 'Theſe *people* were notorious *Schiſmaticks* 'of ſeveral *ſects*, known by the general 'name of *Puritans*. As it was not impoſſible, by the increaſe of *Preſbyterian* 'families, the *Engliſh* plantations might become nurſeries for *Nonconformiſts*, the

[c] *Hiſt.* Engl. *vol.* II. *p.* 185.

'court

'court gave orders not to let them depart; 'but afterwards ſuch as deſired to remove 'beyond ſea, being examined, ſome were 'allowed to purſue their voyage, and others 'were detained as ſureties for thoſe that 'went away.'

THAT ſome of theſe were *Baptiſts*, appears from Mr. *Cotton Mather* [d], where I find the firſt ſettlement of the *Engliſh* in this part of *America* was in the year 1620. They were certain pious *Nonconformiſts*, who had left their native country to avoid perſecution, and dwelt for ſome time in *Holland*, being members of the *Engliſh* church at *Leyden*, of which Mr. *John Robinſon* was paſtor; but not liking that country, obtained leave of king *James* to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his majeſty's dominions, and the intereſt of the goſpel. They ſet ſail from *Southampton* in *England*, *Auguſt* 5. 1620. and arrived at *Cape-Cod* about the 9th of *November* following. Among theſe ſome few were *Antipædobaptiſts*. So that *Antipædobaptiſm* is as antient in thoſe parts as *Chriſtianity* itſelf.

LEAVING then *England* at preſent, let us follow theſe *Baptiſts*, and ſee how it fared with them there.

[d] *Eccl. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* i. *c.* 2.

MR.

Cotton Mather's *account of them.*

MR. *Cotton Mather* ſays thus[e]: 'Having done with the *Quakers*, let it not be 'miſinterpreted, if into the ſame chapter 'we put the inconveniences which the 'churches of *New-England* have alſo ſuffer'd from the *Anabaptiſts*; albeit they 'have infinitely more of *Chriſtianity* a'mong them than the *Quakers*, and have 'indeed been uſeful defenders of *Chriſtia'nity* againſt the aſſaults of the *Quakers*. 'Yea, we are willing to acknowledge for 'our brethren as many of them as are 'willing to be ſo acknowledged.—All the 'world knows, ſays he, that the moſt e'minent *reformers*, writing againſt the *A'nabaptiſts*, have not been able to forbear 'making their treatiſes like what *Jerom* 'ſays of *Tertullian*'s polemical treatiſes, '*Quot verba, tot Fulmina.* And the no'ble martyr *Philpot* expreſs'd the mind of 'them all, when he ſaid, 'The *Anabap'tiſts* are an inordinate kind of men, ſtir'red up by the devil to the deſtruction of 'the goſpel, having neither ſcripture, nor 'antiquity, nor any thing elſe for them, 'but lies and new imaginations, feigning 'the baptiſm of children to be the Pope's 'commandment. Nevertheleſs it is well 'known, that of later time there have 'been a great many *Antipædobaptiſts* who 'have never deſerved ſo hard a character

[e] *Eccl. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* vii. *p.* 26.

'among

'among the churches of God. *Infant-*
'*baptiſm* hath been ſcrupled by *multitudes*
'in our days, who have been in other
'points moſt worthy *Chriſtians*, and as
'holy, watchful, fruitful and heavenly peo-
'ple as perhaps any in the world. Some
'few of theſe people have been among the
'*planters* in *New-England* from the be-
'ginning, and have been welcome to the
'communion of our churches, which they
'have enjoy'd, reſerving their particular
'opinion unto themſelves.

'BUT at length it came to paſs, that
'while ſome of our *churches* uſed it may
'be a little too much of *cogency* towards
'the *brethren*, which would weakly turn
'their backs when *infants* were brought
'forth to be *baptized* in the congregation,
'there were ſome of theſe *brethren* who
'in a day of temptation broke forth into
'ſchiſmatical practices, that were juſtly of-
'fenſive unto all the churches in this wil-
'derneſs.

'OUR *Anabaptiſts*, when ſomewhat of
'exaſperation was begun, formed a church
'at *Boſton*, on *May* 28. 1665. beſides one
'which they had before at *Swanzey*. Now
'they declared our *infant-baptiſm* to be a
'mere nullity; and they arrogate unto them-
'ſelves the title of *Baptiſts*, as if none were
'baptized but themſelves.

'THE General Court, ſays Mr. *Ma-*
'*ther*, were ſo afraid leſt matters might

The Engliſh *Baptiſts are perſecuted there.*

'at laſt, from ſmall beginnings, grow into a new *Munſter* tragedy, that they enacted ſome laws for the reſtraint of *Anabaptiſtical* exorbitances[f]: Which laws, 'tho' never executed unto the extremity 'of them, yet were ſoon laid by, as to 'any execution of them at all. There 'were in this unhappy *ſchiſm* ſeveral truly '*godly men*, whom it was thought a very 'uncomfortable thing to proſecute with ſe'vere *impriſonments*, on theſe controverſies. 'And there came alſo a letter from *Lon*'*don*, to the governour of the *Maſſachu*'*ſet*'s colony, ſubſcribed by no leſs perſons 'than Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, 'Mr. *Caryl*, and nine other very reverend 'miniſters, wherein were theſe among o'ther paſſages.

A letter from the moſt eminent of the London *miniſters thereupon.*

'WE ſhall not here undertake in the 'leaſt to make any apology for the per'ſons, opinions, and practices of thoſe who 'are cenſured amongſt you.—You know 'our judgment and practice to be contra'ry unto theirs, even as your's, wherein, 'God aſſiſting, we ſhall continue to the 'end: neither ſhall we return any anſwer 'to the reaſon of the Rev. Elders for the 'juſtification of your proceedings, as not 'being willing to engage in the manage'ment of any the leaſt difference with per'ſons whom we ſo much love and honour

[f] *Euſeb. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* vii. *p.* 27.

'in

'in the Lord.—But the ſum of all which 'at preſent we ſhall offer to you, is, That 'tho' the *court* might apprehend that they 'had grounds in general, warranting their 'proceedure in ſuch caſes, in the way 'wherein they have proceeded; yet that 'they have any rule or command, render-'ing their ſo proceeding indiſpenſably ne-'ceſſary under all circumſtances of fines 'or places, we are altogether unſatisfy'd. 'And we need not repreſent unto you how 'the caſe ſtands with ourſelves, and all 'your *brethren* and *companions* in the ſer-'vices of theſe latter days in theſe nations. 'We are ſure you would be unwilling to 'put an advantage into the hands of ſome 'who ſeek pretences and occaſions againſt 'our liberty, and to reinforce the former 'rigour. Now we cannot deny, but this 'hath already in ſome meaſure been done, 'in that it hath been * vogued, that per-'ſons of our way, principles, and ſpirit, 'cannot bear with diſſenters from them. 'And as this greatly reflects on us, ſo ſome 'of us have obſerved how already it has 'turned unto your own diſadvantage.

* *Sic origine.*

'WE leave it to your wiſdom to deter-'mine, whether under all theſe circum-'ſtances, and ſundry others of the like 'nature that might be added, it be not 'adviſeable at preſent to put an end unto 'the ſufferings and confinements of the 'perſons cenſured, and to reſtore them to

'their former liberty. You have the advantage of truth and order; you have the gifts and learning of an able ministry to manage and defend them; you have the care and vigilancy of a very worthy *magiſtracy* to countenance and protect them, and to preſerve the peace; and above all, you have a bleſſed Lord and maſter, *who hath the keys of* David, *who openeth and no man ſhutteth*, living for ever, to take care of his own concernments among his ſaints: and aſſuredly you need not be diſquieted, tho' ſome few *perſons*, through their own infirmity and weakneſs, or through their ignorance, darkneſs and prejudices, ſhould to their diſadvantage turn out of the way in ſome leſſer matters, into by-paths of their own. We only make it our hearty requeſt to you, that you would truſt God with his truths and ways, ſo far as to ſuſpend all rigorous proceedings, in corporal reſtraints or puniſhments, on perſons that diſſent from you, and practiſe the principles of their diſſent without danger or diſturbance to the civil peace of the place.'

Dated March 25. 1669.

'I CANNOT ſay, ſays Mr. *Mather*, that this excellent letter had immediately all the effect which it ſhould have had; however at length it has had its effect.'

ONE

§ ONE *Roger Williams*, a preacher, who arrived in *New-England* about the year 1630. was firſt an aſſiſtant in the church of *Salem*, and afterwards paſtor. This man, a difference happening between the government and him, cauſed a great deal of trouble and vexation. At length the *magiſtrates* paſſed the ſentence of *baniſhment* upon him; upon which he removed with a few of his own *ſect*, and ſettled at a place called *Providence*. 'There they proceeded, ſays Mr. *Mather*, 'not only unto the *ga-* 'thering of a thing like a *church*, but un- 'to the *renouncing* their *infant-baptiſm*.' After this, he ſays [h], he turned *Seeker* and *Familiſt*, and the church came to nothing; yet acknowledges, that after all this, 'he 'was very inſtrumental in obtaining a 'charter for the government of *Rhode-* 'iſland, which lay near and with his town 'of *Providence*, and was by the people 'ſometimes choſen governour, and in ma- 'ny things acquitted himſelf ſo laudably, 'that many judicious perſons judged him 'to have had the root of the matter in 'him: That he uſed many commendable 'endeavours to chriſtianiſe the *Indians* in 'his neighbourhood, and printed a relation 'of their language, tempers, and manners: 'That he alſo with much vigour main- 'tain'd the main principles of the *Pro-*

Roger Williams *baniſhed.*

Some account of him.

[g] *Eccl. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *p.* 7.
[h] *Ibid. p.* 9.

'*teſtant Religion* againſt the *Quakers*, of 'which he has publiſhed a large account 'in a book entitled, *George Fox digged out* '*of his burrows*. Mr. *Mather* alſo acknow-'ledges that there was a good correſpon-'dence always held between him and ma-'ny worthy and pious people in the *colo-*'*ny* from whence he had been baniſhed; 'and that ſome of the *Engliſh nobility* had 'writ letters in his commendation.'

MR. *Baxter* calls this man *the Father of the Seekers in* London [i].

Some Indians *converted.*

SEVERAL of the *Indians* bordering upon the *Engliſh colonies* in *New-England*, were, by the endeavours of ſeveral pious miniſters, brought to receive the Chriſtian faith, and had the bible tranſlated into their language, and ſeveral churches gather'd among them. Mr. *John Gardiner*, in his letter, giving an account of the *Chriſtian Indians* of *Nantucket*, ſays, 'There are 'three ſocieties or churches, two *congrega-*'*tional*, and one of the *Baptiſts*; but their 'number is ſmall.'

Manuſcript penes me.

MR. *Benjamin Keach* was uſed frequently to ſay, 'That when the *Indians* had em-'braced *Chriſtianity*, and got the New 'Teſtament tranſlated into their language, 'they were ſurprized that they found no 'directions there to baptize children, nor 'any inſtance of ſuch a practice, therefore

[i] *Plain Script.* pr 146

'en-

'enquired of the *Engliſh* the ground of that 'practice, whereupon they rejected it as 'an human invention.'

THE *controverſy* about the *baptiſm* of *children*, and the care that was to be taken of them afterwards, grew to ſuch an height[k], that an aſſembly of the principal and moſt able *miniſters* of both *colonies* was called by the *magiſtrates* on *June* 4. 1657. to anſwer the queſtions that were in agitation about theſe matters; who accordingly preſented their elaborate anſwer to twenty one queſtions relating to this affair, which was afterwards printed in *London*, under the title of, *A diſputation concerning church-members, and their children.* But this did not put an end to the controverſy; therefore a ſynod was convened at *Boſton* in the year 1662. in which this was the firſt and chief queſtion to be determined, *Who are the ſubjects of baptiſm?*

The controverſy of infant-baptiſm revived.

An aſſembly of miniſters called.

'THERE have at ſeveral times, ſays 'Mr. *Mather*[l], arrived in this country more 'than a ſcore of *miniſters* from other parts 'of the world, who proved either ſo erroneous in their principles, or ſo ſcandalous in their practices, or ſo diſagreeable 'to the church-order, for which the country was planted, that I cannot well croud 'them into the company of our *worthies*. 'I confeſs there were ſome of thoſe per-

[k] Mather's *Eccl. Hiſt.* New-Engl. *lib.* v. *p.* 63.
[l] *Ibid. lib.* iii. *p.* 7.

'sons whose names deserve to live in our 'book for their piety, altho' their particular opinions were such, as to be differviceable unto the declared and supposed 'interests of our churches. Of these there 'were some godly *Anabaptists*; as namely, Cotton Mather's *character of* Hanserd Knollys *and Mr.* Miles. 'Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*, of *Dover*, who afterwards removing back to *London*, lately died there, a good man in a good old 'age; and Mr. *Miles* of *Swanzey*, who 'afterwards came to *Boston*, and is now 'gone to his rest. Both of these have a 'respectful character in the churches of this 'wilderness.'

HAVING mentioned the several congregational churches at *Boston*, he adds[m]: 'And 'besides these, there is another small congre'gation of *Antipædobaptists*, wherein Mr. '*Emlin* is the settled minister.'

And of a Baptist church in New-Plymouth *colony.* IN his account of *New-Plymouth Colony*, he says[n]: 'Moreover there has been among 'them one church that have question'd 'and omitted the use of infant-baptism; 'nevertheless, there being many good men 'among those, that have been of this per'suasion, I do not know that they have 'been *persecuted* with any harder means, 'than those of kind conferences to reclaim 'them.'

THE learned Mr. *John Tombes*, being acquainted with a law made in *New-Eng-*

[m] *Lib.* i. *p.* 27.
[n] *Ib. p.* 14.

land,

land, and the proceedings againſt thoſe that deny'd the *baptiſm* of *infants*, was prevailed upon to ſend a copy of his *examen* before it was printed, thither, deſigning thereby to put them upon the ſtudy of this matter more exactly, and to allay the vehemency of their ſpirits and proceedings againſt thoſe that diſſented from them; and therewith he ſent this ſhort epiſtle [o].

Mr. Tombes's epiſtle, with his examen ſent to New-England.

To all the elders of the churches of Chriſt in New-England, *and to each in particular by name: To the paſtor and teacher of the church of God at* Boſton, *there, theſe preſent.*

Reverend Brethren,

'UNderſtanding that there is ſome diſquiet in your churches about *pædobaptiſm*, and being moved by ſome that honour you much in the Lord, and deſire your comfortable account at the day of Chriſt, that I would yield that a copy of my *examen* of maſter *Marſhall* his ſermon of *infant-baptiſm* might be tranſcribed, to be ſent to you; I have conſented thereto, and do commend it to your examination, in like manner, as you may perceive by the reading of it, I did to maſter *Marſhall*. Not doubting but that you

[o] *Apology*, p. 13.

will,

'will, as in God's presence, and account-
'table to Christ Jesus, weigh the thing;
'remembering that of our Lord Christ,
'John vii. 24. *Judge not according to the*
'*appearance, but judge righteous judgment.*
'To the blessing of him who is your God
'and our God, your judge and our judge,
'I leave you, and the flock of God over
'which the Holy Ghost hath made you
'overseers, and rest,

Your brother and fellow-servant in the work of Christ,

From my study at the *Temple* in *London*, *May* 25th, 1645.

JOHN TOMBES.

An account of the Baptist *churches in* Pensilvania.

THAT the *Baptists* have very much increased in those parts since they have enjoyed tranquillity, I find by a letter from *Philadelphia* in the province of *Pensilvania*, wrote by Mr. *Abel Morgan*, pastor of a *Baptist church* there, giving an account of the state and number of the *Baptized churches* in that *province*, *Aug.* 12, 1714. wherein he says, 'We are now *nine* churches, having
'for the better assisting one the other, *four*
'general meetings. *1st* At *Welsh Tract*,
'where all the *Pensilvania* churches resort
'to in *May*. The *2d* is at *Cohansy*, for con-
'veniency of those parts, where *Philadel-*
'*phia*

'*phia* aſſiſts. The 3*d* is at *Middleton*, where 'alſo *Philadelphia* aſſiſts. The 4*th* is at '*Philadelphia*, in the month of *September*, 'where all do reſort, and where moſt of 'the publick matters are ſettled to be deci-'ded by meſſengers from every *particular* 'church.

'IN theſe churches, ſays he, there are 'above five hundred members, but greatly 'ſcattered on this main land; our mini-'ſters are neceſſitated to labour with both 'hands. We hope, if it pleaſe God to ſup-'ply us with more help, we ſhall be more 'churches in a little time. Moſt churches 'adminiſter the ſacrament once a month; 'the miniſters are all ſound in the faith, and 'we practiſe moſt things like the *Britiſh* '*churches*.'

TO return to *England*: *Bancroft* was ſucceeded by Dr. *George Abbot*, biſhop of *London*; 'a divine, ſays Mr. *Neale* [c], of 'a quite different ſpirit from his *predeceſſor*: 'He was a ſound *Proteſtant*, a thorough '*Calviniſt*, an avowed enemy to *Popery*, 'and even ſuſpected of *Puritaniſm*, be-'cauſe he relaxed the penal laws; where-'by, ſays lord *Clarendon*, he unravelled all 'that his *predeceſſor* had been doing for 'many years. *Dr.* Geo. Abbot, *ſome account of him.*

'IF *Abbot*'s moderate meaſures, ſays Mr. '*Neal*, had been purſued, the liberties of '*England* had been ſecured, *Popery* diſ-

[c] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II p. 93. 'coun-

'countenanced, and the church prevented 'from running into thoſe exceſſes which 'afterwards proved its ruin.'

An. Dom. 1615. *Anno* 1615. The more moderate or orthodox *Baptiſts* publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe *, wherein they endeavour'd to juſtify their ſeparation from the church of *England*, and to prove, that every man has a right to judge for himſelf in matters of religion; and that to perſecute any on that account, is illegal and antichriſtian, contrary to the laws of God, as well as to ſeveral declarations of the king's majeſty. They alſo aſſert their opinion concerning *Baptiſm*, and ſhew the invalidity of that *Baptiſm* which was adminiſtred either in the eſtabliſh'd *church*, or among the other *Diſſenters*, and clear themſelves of ſeveral *errors* unjuſtly caſt upon them. It appears to be written, or at leaſt approved of, by the whole body of *Baptiſts* who then remain'd in *England*; becauſe at the end of the preface they ſubſcribe themſelves Chriſt's unworthy *miniſters*, and his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, commonly, but moſt falſly called *Anabaptiſts*.

* *Perſecution judged, and condemned.*

The Baptiſts *account of themſelves.*

FROM hence therefore we may know what was in general the *opinions* of that *denomination*, from themſelves; which is certainly the faireſt way of judging.

THEY acknowledge *magiſtracy* to be God's ordinance; and that kings, and ſuch

? *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 49.

as

as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in all civil matters, *not only for fear, but alſo for conſcience-ſake* [q].

THEY allow the taking of an *oath* to be lawful; and declare, that all of their profeſſion were willing, in faithfulneſs and truth, to ſubſcribe the *oath* of *allegiance* [r].

THEY proteſt againſt the doctrine of the *Papiſts*, that princes excommunicated by the *pope* may be depoſed or murdered by their *ſubjects*; calling it a damnable and accurſed *doctrine*, which their *ſouls* abhor; and alſo againſt the error of the *Familiſts*, who to avoid perſecution, can comply with any external form of religion.

THEY confeſs, that Chriſt took his fleſh of the virgin *Mary*; and for their orthodoxy in theſe and other points, refer the reader to their *confeſſion of faith*, publiſh'd four years before this, which muſt be in the year 1611.

THEY acknowledged, that many call'd *Anabaptiſts*, held ſeveral ſtrange opinions contrary to them; but lament it, and clear themſelves from deſerving any cenſure upon that account, by ſhewing that it was ſo in the primitive church, and yet Chriſt did not condemn all for the errors of ſome.

BUT that which they chiefly inveigh againſt, is the pride, luxury, and oppreſſion of the lord *biſhops*, or pretended ſpi-

[q] *Perſecut. judg'd and condemn'd*, p. 5. [r] Ibid. p. 23.

ritual

ritual power, whereby they were expoſed to great hardſhips and cruel perſecutions [s].

IN their preface, having mentioned that text, *The kings of the earth ſhall give their power unto the beaſt*; 'If it be granted, ſay 'they, that the kings of this nation for- 'merly have given their power to the *Ro- 'miſh beaſt*, it ſhall evidently appear, that 'our lord the king, and all magiſtrates 'under him, do give their power unto the 'ſame beaſt, tho' the beaſt be in another 'ſhape.'—And preſently after; 'Our moſt 'humble deſire of our lord the king is, 'that he would not give his power to 'force his faithful *ſubjects* to diſſemble, to 'believe as he believes, in the leaſt mea- 'ſure of perſecution; tho' it is no ſmall 'perſecution to lie many years in filthy pri- 'ſons, in hunger, cold, idleneſs, divided 'from wife, family, calling, left in con- 'tinual miſeries and temptations, ſo as 'death would be to many leſs perſecu- 'tion.'

AGAIN, ſhewing how near the prela- tical power and uſurpation came to the bloody ſpiritual power of the *Roman Ca- tholicks*, they ſay: 'How many, only for 'ſeeking reformation in religion, have been 'put to death by your power in the days 'of Q. *Elizabeth?* and how many, both 'then and ſince, have been conſumed to

[s] *Perſecution judged*, &c. p. 27.

'death

'death in priſons? Yea, ſince that ſpiri-
'tual power hath been ſet up, hath not
'hanging, burning, exile, impriſonments,
'and all manner of contempt been uſed,
'and all for religion, altho' ſome for griev-
'ous errors, and yet you ſee not this to
'be a bloody religion!'

'LET, ſay they in another place, Mr. *Fox*,
'or any others who have deſcribed the ſpi-
'ritual power of *Rome*, let but their deſcrip-
'tion thereof be compared with the ſpiri-
'tual power, in all their laws, courts, titles,
'pomp, pride, and cruelty, and you ſhall
'ſee them very little differ, except in their
'*cruelties*, which, glory be to God, the
'King's Majeſty, who thirſteth not after
'blood, hath ſomewhat reſtrained. Al-
'tho' it is moſt grievous cruelty to lie di-
'vers years in moſt noiſome and filthy
'priſons, and continual temptations of
'want, their eſtates overthrown, and ne-
'ver coming out, many of them till
'death; let it be well-weighed, and it is
'little inferior to the cruel ſudden death
'in times of the *Romiſh power* in this na-
'tion.'

BUT after all this, they conclude with an hearty prayer for their enemies, 'That 'the Lord would give them repentance, 'that their ſins may not be laid to their 'charge, even for Chriſt's ſake.'

NOTWITHSTANDING this, their ſufferings were rather encreaſed than leſſen'd: They

They were not only railed againſt in the pulpits under the names of *Hereticks*, *Schiſmaticks*, and *Anabaptiſts*, and harraſſed in the ſpiritual courts; but the temporal ſword was uſed againſt them; their goods ſeized, their perſons confined for many years in ſtinking goals, where they were depriv'd of their wives, children, and friends, till the Divine Majeſty was pleaſed to releaſe ſeveral of them by death.

An. Dom. 1618.

IN the year 1618. there came forth a book, vindicating the principles of the *Baptiſts**. This was tranſlated from the *Dutch*, and is thought to be the firſt that was publiſhed in *Engliſh* againſt the baptizing of infants. The argument of this book is laid down in the following eight propoſitions:

The firſt book in Engliſh *publiſhed againſt infant-baptiſm.*

'1. THAT Chriſt commanded his *apoſtles*, and ſervants of the Holy Ghoſt, 'firſt of all to preach the *goſpel*, and make '*diſciples*, and afterwards to *baptize* thoſe 'that were inſtructed in the faith, in call-'ing upon and confeſſing the name of 'God.

'2. THAT the *apoſtles* and *ſervants* of 'the Holy Ghoſt have, according to the 'commandment of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'firſt of all *taught*, and then afterwards 'thoſe that were inſtructed in the myſte-'ries of the kingdom of God were *bap-'tized*, upon the confeſſing of their faith.

* *A plain and well-grounded treatiſe concerning baptiſm.*

'3. THAT

'3. THAT after the *apoſtle*'s time, by 'the antient *fathers* in the primitive church, 'who obſerved and followed the *ordinance* 'of Chriſt, and the example of the *apo-* 'ſtles, the people were commonly inſtruc- 'ted in the myſteries of faith; and after 'that they were *taught*, they were *bap-* 'tized upon confeſſion of the ſame.

'4. THAT by the antient *fathers* in the 'primitive church, the children both of 'the faithful and others, were commonly '*firſt inſtructed* in the faith, and afterwards, 'upon acknowledging and confeſſing of 'the ſame, they were *baptized*.

'5. THAT according to the inſtitution 'of the Lord Chriſt, and the *apoſtles* and 'antient *fathers* right uſe, the teachers re- 'quired *faith* with *baptiſm*, and that he that 'was *baptized* muſt himſelf acknowledge 'and confeſs the ſame, and call upon the 'name of the Lord.

'6. THAT Chriſt neither gave com- 'mandment for *baptizing* of *children*, nor 'inſtituted the ſame; and that the *apoſtles* 'never *baptized* any *infants*.

'7. THAT the *baptiſm* of *infants* and '*ſucklings* is a *ceremony* and *ordinance* of 'man, brought into the church by teachers 'after the *apoſtle*'s time, and inſtituted and 'commanded by *councils*, *popes*, and *em-* 'perors.

'8. THAT young *children* or *infants* 'ought not to be *baptized*; and that none

'ought to be brought, driven, or compell'd 'thereunto.'

ALL which the *author* endeavours to prove, either from ſeveral paſſages of *Scripture*, or large quotations out of the fathers.

I DO not find that this book receiv'd any anſwer till about thirty years after. Then Mr. *Thomas Cobbet*, of *New-England*, publiſhed *A vindication of childrens church-memberſhip, and right to baptiſm.*

I DO ſuppoſe the book was concealed as much as poſſible, till the civil wars produced liberty of conſcience; which occaſioned it to go ſo long unanſwered.

THOSE who diſſented from the eſtabliſh'd church at this time, were proſecuted by the laws made in this and the former reign againſt them; and thoſe deemed *Anabaptiſts* had of all others the leaſt favour ſhewn them, *fines* and *impriſonments* being uſually their lot.

An. Dom. 1620. *The Baptiſts preſent their humble ſupplication to K.* James.

IN the year 1620. they preſented an humble ſupplication to K. *James*, the parliament then ſitting; wherein they firſt acknowledge their obligation, by virtue of a divine command, *to pray for kings, and all that are in authority*; and appeal to God that it was their conſtant practice ſo to do. They ſet forth, that their miſeries were not only the taking away of their *goods*, but alſo long and lingering *impriſonments* for many years, in divers *counties* in *England*, in which many have died, leaving their *widows* and

and ſeveral ſmall children behind them, and all becauſe they dared not join in ſuch worſhip as they did not believe to be according to the will of God.

THEY challenge their *enemies* to accuſe them of any diſloyalty to his Majeſty, or of doing any injury to their neighbours; and declare their readineſs to be obedient to all the *laws* that were or ſhould be made for the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon, and ſecurity of his government in all civil or temporal things: but that further than this they could not go, becauſe God was the Lord of mens conſciences, and only lawgiver in matters of religion.

THAT if they were in *error*, theſe cruel proceedings did no ways become the charity and goodneſs of the Chriſtian religion; but were the marks of *Antichriſt*, for what they themſelves condemned in the *Papiſts*.

THAT ſuch methods might indeed tempt men to become *hypocrites*; but that it was not in their power to command belief, or compel the heart.

AND therefore they humbly beſeech his Majeſty, his nobles and parliament, to conſider their caſe, and that according to the direction of God's word, they would *let the wheat and tares grow together in the world, until the harveſt*.

TO this they ſubjoin ten ſhort chapters; wherein they endeavour to prove, that the ſacred ſcriptures are the rule of our faith,

and not any *church*, *council*, or *potentate* whatſoever:

THAT the moſt neceſſary doctrines therein contained are ſufficiently plain, ſo that every one that ſearches with a ſincere and obedient mind may underſtand them:

THAT the knowledge of God's will, and practiſe of true religion, has commonly been found among thoſe that have been poor and deſpiſed in this world, while the great and learned have been in *error*, and the chief *perſecutors* both of the truth and its profeſſors:

THAT to perſecute men for their conſcience-ſake, is contrary to the law of Chriſt, as well as to ſeveral declarations that had been made by the king's majeſty, and other famous princes:

THAT both antient and modern writers, both *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, do condemn it as a great iniquity; and that to grant men liberty in matters of religion, can be no prejudice to any *commonwealth*, neither does it deprive *princes* of any power given them of God.

AND then they conclude the whole with prayer for the king's majeſty, for his royal highneſs the prince, and the honourable aſſembly of *parliament*; calling God, the ſearcher of all hearts to witneſs, that they were loyal *ſubjects* to his majeſty, *not for fear only, but for conſcience-ſake*; ſubſcribing themſelves, thoſe who are *unjuſtly called Anabaptiſts*.

BUT

BUT notwithſtanding the odium caſt upon them, and the ſeverities uſed againſt them, they kept up their ſeparate meetings, and had many *diſciples* who embraced their opinion, as is declared by thoſe who writ againſt them.

AMONG the many *proſelytes* which they had at this time, there was one at *London*, who being ſeverely reflected upon for his ſeparating from the church, and divers falſe reaſons for his ſo doing being reported, thought fit to write a letter to his *friends*, to acquaint them with the real occaſion of it; and that he might recommend his preſent *principle* and *practice* to them with the more advantage, he got one of the elders of the *Baptiſts* to draw it up for him. But before this letter came to the perſons deſigned, it fell into the hands of *one* in the communion of the church of *England*, who immediately publiſhed it, together with an anſwer thereto.

THIS letter, diſcovering ſomething of the principles and ſpirit of the *Baptiſts* of thoſe times, and the arguments by which they did then maintain their opinions; I ſhall here inſert the copy thereof [t].

Beloved Friends,

'THE antient love that I have had towards you, provoketh me to

[t] *Anabap. Myſtery of Iniquity unmasked, by* J. P. An. 1623.

'teſtify that I have not forgotten you,
'but am deſirous ſtill to ſhew my unfeign-
'ed love to you in any thing I may. I
'make no queſtion but you have heard
'divers falſe reports of me, altho' among
'the ſame ſome truths; and that you may
'be truly informed of my ſtate, I thought
'good to write a few words unto you,
'hoping you will not ſpeak evil of that
'you know not, nor condemn a man un-
'heard. The thing wherein I differ from
'the church of *England*, is, they ſay at
'their *waſhing* or *baptizing* their *infants*,
'they are members, children of God, and
'inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.
'This I dare not believe, for the Scriptures
1 Cor. xv. 'of God declare, that neither fleſh, nor
'waſhing the fleſh, can ſave. *Fleſh and*
John iii. 5. 'blood cannot enter into the kingdom of God;
John i. 12. 'for *that which is fleſh is fleſh*; and *we*
'cannot enter into the kingdom of God, ex-
'cept we be born again. They that have
1 Pet. iii. 21. 'prerogative to be the ſons of God, muſt
Gal. vi. 15. 'be *born of God*, even believe in his name;
Matt. xxviii. 19. 'and *the waſhing off the filth of the fleſh* is
'not *the baptiſm that ſaveth*; but a *good*
'*conſcience* maketh requeſts to God. *If*
Mar. xvi. 15, 16. '*any man be in Chriſt, he is a new creature.*
'The conſequence of this is, that *infants*
'are not to be baptized, nor can be *Chri-*
'*ſtians*; but ſuch only as confeſs their faith,
'as theſe Scriptures teach. There is nei-
'ther command, example, or juſt conſe-
'quence

'quence for *infants baptiſm*, but for the baptizing of *believers*. There is beſides, of the church of God, to be conſider'd what it is; it will plainly appear, that *infants* cannot be of it; they that know the language from whence the word *church* is taken, can witneſs that it ſignifieth *a people called out*, and ſo the church of Chriſt is a company called out of their former eſtate, wherein they were by nature; out of *Babylon*, wherein they have been in ſpiritual bondage to the power of Antichriſt, and from having fellowſhip in ſpiritual worſhip with unbelievers and ungodly men: From all, whoſoever cometh out, they are fit timber for his ſpiritual building, which is *a habitation of God by the Spirit*, and *the houſhold of faith*. Thoſe thus come out of nature, *Egyptian* bondage, and the fellowſhip of the children of *Belial*, being *new creatures*, and ſo *holy brethren*, are made *God's houſe*, or *church*, through being knit together by the Spirit of God, and baptized into *his body*, *which is the church*. This being undeniable the church of Chriſt, *infants* cannot be of it, for they cannot be called out, as aforeſaid. Known wicked men cannot be of it, becauſe they are not called out, nor antichriſts ſpiritual bondage cannot be of it, becauſe that is *a habitation of devils*, and all God's people muſt go out of that.

Acts ii. 38, 41. — viii. 12, 37. — ix. 18. — x. 47. — xvi. 31. — xviii. 8. — xix. 3.

Rev. xviii. 4.

2 Cor. vi. 14.

1 Pet. i. 5. Eph. ii. 22.

Gal. ii. 10.

Heb. iii. 6.

1 Cor. xii. 13. Eph. i. 22, 23.

Rev. xviii. 2. 4.

Gal. iii. 26. 2 Cor. v. 17. Gal. vi. 15. John viii. 3. Gen. xvii. *Read* Gal. iv. 22. *and consider it in the fear of God.* Heb. ix. 9, 10. Rom. iv. 8, 19. Heb. xii. 28.

'WHAT can be objected againſt this? 'Are not all *the ſons of God by faith?* If 'any be in Chriſt, or a Chriſtian, muſt he 'not be a *new creature?* I pray you, do 'not take up that uſual objection which 'the *Antichriſtians* have learned of the '*Jews*, "What telleſt thou us of being "made *Chriſtians* only by faith in the Son, "and ſo being made free? we are the "children of *Abraham*, and of believers; "we are under the promiſe, I will be the "God of thee and thy ſeed: Thus are we "and our children made free, whenas "they neither do nor can believe in the "Son." This is a *Jewiſh* antichriſtian fable. For *Abraham* had two ſons, which 'were types of the two ſeeds, to the which 'two covenants are made: The one *born 'after the fleſh*, typing out the fleſhly *Iſ-'raelites*, which were the inhabitants of 'material *Jeruſalem*, where was the ma-'terial temple, and the performance of 'thoſe carnal rites which endured unto the 'time of reformation: The other *by faith*, 'typing out the children of the faith of '*Abraham*, which are the inhabitants of 'the ſpiritual *Jeruſalem*, the New Teſta-'ment, in which is the ſpiritual temple, 'the church of the living God, and the 'performance of all thoſe ſpiritual ordi-'nances which Chriſt Jeſus, as prophet and 'king thereof, hath appointed, which re-'mains, and cannot be ſhaken or alter'd.

'NOW

'Now if the old covenant be abolished, Heb. viii.
'and all the appertainings thereof, as it is, 13.
'as being similitudes of heavenly things; —ix. 19,
'even the covenant written in the book, 24.
'the people, the tabernacle or temple, and
'all the ministring vessels; and a better
'covenant, establish'd upon better promises, —viii. 6.
'and better temple and ministring vessels
'came instead thereof, procured and pur-
'chased by the blood of Jesus Christ, who
'is the new and living way: *let us draw* —x. 19,
'*near with a true heart, in assurance of* 24.
'*faith, sprinkled in our hearts from an evil*
'*conscience, and baptized in our bodies with*
'*pure water: let us keep this profession of*
'*hope without wavering, and have no con-*
'*fidence in the flesh*, to reap justification or
'christianity thereby; but let us cast it a-
'way as dung and dross: for if ever any
'might plead privilege of being the child
'of the faithful, the Apostle *Paul* might, as Phil. iii. 3.
'he saith; —*read the place*—but it was no-
'thing till he had the righteousness of God Acts ix.
'through faith, then was he *baptized* into 18.
'Christ Jesus for the remission of his sins.

'THIS covenant, that we as children of
'*Abraham* challenge, is the covenant of
'life and salvation by Jesus Christ, made
'to all the children of *Abraham*, as it Rom. iv.
'is made to *Abraham* himself; *to them* 24.
'*that believe in him that raised up Je-*
'*sus our Lord from the dead.* As also,
'the children of the flesh are not they;

'they

Acts xiii. 26, 32, 39. Rom. ix. 8. Gal. iv. 30. Rom. iv. 14, 16. Gal. iii. 7, 9, 29. —iii. 16, 29.

'they must be put out, and must not be heirs with the faithful: *If they that are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect. Therefore it is by faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be sure to all the seed that are of the faith of* Abraham, *who is the father of all the faithful.* They are his children; the promise of salvation is not made with both *Abraham*'s seeds, but with *his own seed, they that are of the faith of* Abraham.'

Eph. iv. 18. Hos. viii. 12. 1 Cor. iii. 21.

'THESE things may be strange to those that are *strangers from the life of God, thro' the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardness of their hearts.* God hath written them as the great things of his law; but they are counted of many as a strange thing: *but wisdom is justified of all her children*, and they that set their hearts to seek wisdom as silver, and search for her as for treasure, they shall see the righteousness of those things as the light, and the evidence of them as the noon-day. They that be wise will try these things by the true touchstone of the holy scriptures, and leave off rejoicing in men, to hang their faith and profession on them; the which I fear not to supplicate God day and night on the behalf of you all. To whose gracious direction I commit you, with a remembrance of my hearty love to every one; desiring but this favour,

'vour, that for requital I may receive your
'loving anſwer.

Lond. 10 May, 1622.

'*Your's to be commanded al-*
'*ways in any Chriſtian*
'*ſervice,*

H. H.

'*P. S.* I have ſent to my friends a te-
'ſtimony of my love; one book to Ma-
'ſter *Stroud*, one to Goodman *Ball*, one
'to Mrs. *Fountaine*, one to *Roger Seely*,
'one to *Samuel Quaſh*, and one to your
'ſelf. I beſeech you read, conſider, and
'*the Lord give you underſtanding in all*
'*things.*'

THE perſon who publiſhed this letter, with an anſwer thereto, obſerves, That they ſeparated from the church, and writ many books in defence of their principles, and had multitudes of diſciples [u]: That it was their cuſtom to produce a great number of ſcriptures to prove their doctrines [x]: That they were in appearance more holy than thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church [y]: That they diſſuaded their *diſciples* from reading the churchmens books, hearing in their aſſemblies, or conferring with their learned

[u] *Anabapt. Myſtery of iniquity unveil'd, p.* 61.
[x] *Advertiſement to the reader.*
[y] *Unmaſking the man of ſin,* p. 113.

men:

men [z]: That beſides the denyal of *infant-baptiſm*, they denied alſo the doctrine of predeſtination, reprobation, final perſeverance, and other truths; but of their oppoſing theſe he gives no expreſs proof, but ſays [a], 'Tho' their letter queſtion them not, 'yet I ſuppoſe their ſeeds are ſown among 'you, ſo well by their *apoſtles* as books.'

THIS indeed has ordinarily been their treatment, to be accuſed only upon ſuppoſition, and have their whole *party* branded with the errors or miſcarriages of a few.

THE ſaid author further obſerves from this letter [b], that the *Baptiſts* do allow of juſt conſequences from ſcripture as a ſound way of arguing: And as for expreſs command or example for *baptizing* of *infants*, he does not pretend to bring any; but rather attempts to juſtify that practice from *human* authority.

HE reckons that the age in which a perſon is to be baptized, the place of waſhing, whether in a river or an artificial font; the manner of waſhing, whether the whole body, or but a part; whether by ſprinkling, or rubbing with the hand; and whether after waſhing, to wipe the body with a cloth, *&c.* are things which Chriſt hath left to the diſpoſing of the church [c].

[z] *Advert. to the reader.*
[a] *Anabapt. Myſt. p.* 42, 65.
[b] *Ibid. p.* 38.
[c] *Ibid. p.* 136.

HE

HE ſays, moreover, in his *advertiſement to the reader*, 'if there were not a warrant in holy ſcripture, in direct words, or plain conſequence, for baptizing *infants*; yet inſomuch, as it is an *ordinance of man*, which croſſeth not any command of God, it is to be obeyed by Chriſtians, and that by command of God: for he that is not againſt Chriſt, is for Chriſt.' It muſt however be granted, that this *controverſy* is ſet in a much clearer light, and managed after a more accurate manner on both ſides, in the preſent age, than it was in thoſe times.

IN the year 1624. there came forth much greater *champions* in defence of *infant-baptiſm*. An. Dom. 1624.

THE famous *Dod* and *Cleaver* [d] united their ſtrength, and joined together in publiſhing a ſmall treatiſe againſt the erroneous poſitions of the *Anabaptiſts*, as they term'd them.

IN the *preface* they apologize for their ingaging in this *controverſy*, by alledging, that thoſe of the contrary opinion were very induſtrious, and took great pains to propagate their doctrine: That divers perſons of good note for piety had been prevailed upon by them: That ſeveral had entreated their help and aſſiſtance, and that they had been engaged already in private debates about this matter.

[d] *The patrimony of Chriſtian children.*

THIS

THIS *pamphlet* being ſcarce, very few have or can now obtain a ſight of it; I ſhall therefore obſerve two or three things in it that are uncommon.

IN the *preface* they repreſent the *Baptiſts* of thoſe times as agreeing with the *Arminians* only in ſome opinions.

WHEN they anſwer the objections of the *Baptiſts*, which they ſay [e] are recited out of their own books *verbatim*, they politickly conceal both the names of the *authors*, and the *titles* of the books, except one; which if it was done to prevent examining the truth of their quotations, keep the knowlege of ſuch writings from the world, hinder perſons from reading their arguments at length, and with their connection, or that they might the better charge the whole party with the opinion of ſome particular perſons; all theſe muſt be owned very unfair in diſputants.

THEY charge it upon the *Baptiſts* as a great error held by them, that no *infants* dying in infancy are damned with the wicked in hell, which ſalvation they have by the merits of Chriſt [f].

WHEN they alſo charge upon them, the denial of *original ſin*, as the occaſion of their error in *baptiſm*, they themſelves run into as great an error, to avoid the force of the others arguments, *viz.* that the ſoul of

[e] Page 22.
[f] Page 49.

man

man is by propagation; affirming, that *Adam* was the father of men, in reſpect of their ſouls as well as their bodies; that as other creatures beget the whole of their offſpring, ſo do men; and that when God is called *the father of ſpirits*, and men *the fathers of our fleſh*, it does not denote any different original of ſoul and body[g]. Beſides theſe, I do not find any thing but what is common upon the controverſy.

BUT to cloſe this reign, Mr. *Neal* ſays[h], 'That it is hard to make any judgment of 'King *James*'s religion: For one while he 'was a *Puritan*, and then a zealous *Church-man*; at firſt a *Calviniſt* and *Preſbyterian*, 'afterwards a *Remonſtrant* or *Arminian*; 'and at laſt a half, if not an entire doctrinal *Papiſt*.'

Rapin ſays[i], 'he was neither a ſound '*Proteſtant*, nor a good *Catholick*; but 'had form'd a plan of uniting both 'churches, which muſt effectually have 'ruin'd the *proteſtant* intereſt; for which 'indeed he never expreſſed any real concern.'

[g] Page 73, 74.
[h] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 151.
[i] *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. II. p. 236.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the end of the reign of King James I. *to the reſtoration of King* Charles II.

Charles I. An. Dom. 1625.

KING *Charles* I. ſucceeded his father, and being tinctur'd from his infancy with the principles concerning the regal authority and prerogative royal, ſo much improved by the deceaſed king during his life[a], kept the ſame *favourite*, the ſame *council*, the ſame *miniſters*, and all the places at court, and in the kingdom, ſtill continued in the hands of the duke of *Buckingham*'s creatures; ſo that the ſufferings and hardſhips of the *Puritans* were ſtill continued: For, like the king his father, he was very fond of *arbitrary power* and had no *favourites* or *miniſters* but what were of the ſame principles.

The privy-council.

HIS *privy-council* became by degrees an abſolute court, which thought itſelf above the laws.

Star-chamber.

The *ſtar-chamber* was another court, the moſt rigorous that ever was; the

[a] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 237.

ſeve-

ſeverity whereof fell chiefly upon thoſe who pretended to diſpute the prerogative royal. The *high-commiſſion-court* perfectly ſeconded the *council* and *ſtar-chamber*; and under a colour of putting a ſtop to *ſchiſm*, oppreſſed as *Puritans* thoſe that refuſed to ſubmit to a deſpotick power. *Laud* had almoſt the ſole direction of this *high-commiſſion-court*, after the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was excluded on account of *Sibthorp*'s ſermon. He ſo managed therefore, to prevent the growth of *Preſbyterianiſm*, that the king ſent certain *inſtructions* to the archbiſhops, with a command to impart them to the *biſhops* of their *provinces*, in order to their being obſerved. The chief ends of theſe *inſtructions* were, to hinder any *Preſbyterian* from creeping into the church of *England*, and to diſcover the careleſs obſervers of the rites preſcribed by the canons.

High-commiſſion court.

Oppreſs the Puritans.

WE do not find in the principles and doctrines of the church of *England*, any thing repugnant to charity, or tending to violence; but it was wholly owing to the character and deſigns of the *court-prelates*, of the king's *miniſters* and *counſellors*, who meant to carry the royal authority to the higheſt degree [c]. They thought nothing could more conduce to that end, than the humbling, or rather the utter ruin of the

[b] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 285.
[c] *Ibid*, p. 287.

Puritans, and unfortunately conſidered as ſuch, all that oppoſed their deſign.

THE *Preſbyterian* party, tho' very numerous, as plainly appeared afterwards, laboured then under great oppreſſions. They had againſt them the *king*, the *miniſters*, the *council*, the *ſtar-chamber*, the *high-commiſſion*, the principal heads of the church of *England*, the *Arminians*, the *Papiſts*, the *lord-lieutenants* of the *counties*, the *judges* of the realm, and all the *magiſtrates* in general; notwithſtanding all which, they daily gained ground.

Yet they gain ground.

'THIS would ſeem, ſays *Rapin*[d], incre-
'dible, if it was not conſidered, that the
'court themſelves were the chief cauſe of
'their increaſe. The court looked upon
'as *Puritans* all who did not ſhew ſub-
'miſſion enough to the king, or would not
'allow ſufficient extent to the prerogative-
'royal; and by oppreſſing them as ſuch,
'or by refuſing them all kinds of employ-
'ments, engaged them unavoidably to turn
'to the *Preſbyterians*. As the king's pre-
'tenſions, with regard to government, were
'not approved by the majority of the na-
'tion; it happen'd by degrees, that almoſt
'all *England* became *Preſbyterian*, accord-
'ing to the ſenſe given by the court to that
'term.'

[d] *Hiſt.* England, vol. II. p. 292.

Sir

SIR *Benjamin Rudyard*, a member of the houſe of *commons*, to intimate that there was a ſettled deſign to bring in *popery* and arbitrary power in *England*, expreſſed himſelf in the *houſe* after this manner [e]. 'They 'have ſo brought it to paſs, that under the 'name of *Puritans* all our religion is bran-'ded: ---- whoſoever ſquares his actions by 'any rule, either divine or human, he is 'a *Puritan*; --- he that will not do what-'ſoever other men would have him do, he 'is a *Puritan*, *&c.*" *Sir* Benj. Rudyard's *ſpeech.*

IN ſhort, the reign of K. *Charles* I. was more violent in perſecuting the *Puritans*, than that of his father *James*: *Laud* being made biſhop of *London*, and afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and one of the prime miniſters, uſed all his induſtry and credit to humble the *Puritan party*; that is, not only the *Preſbyterian*, but alſo the *Calviniſts*, and ſuch as would not patiently bear the yoke of ſervitude.

Matthew Wren, biſhop of *Norwich*, the biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Coſins*, prebendary of *Durham*, being all of the ſame principles, ſeconded him in his deſign.

IN the year 1633, the *Baptiſts*, who had hitherto been intermixed among other *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, without diſtinction, and ſo conſequently ſhared with the *Puritans* in all the *perſecutions* of thoſe times, began now to ſeparate themſelves, and form diſtinct *ſo-* An. Dom. 1633. *The* Baptiſts *begin to form diſtinct ſocieties.*

[e] *Rapin Hiſt.* England, vol. II. p. 353.

cieties of thoſe of their own perſuaſion. Concerning the firſt of which I find the following account collected from a manuſcript of Mr. *William Kiffin.*

'THERE was a congregation of Pro-
'teſtant *Diſſenters* of the *independant* Per-
'ſuaſion in *London*, gather'd in the year
'1616, whereof Mr. *Henry Jacob* was
'the firſt paſtor; and after him ſucceeded
'Mr. *John Lathorp*, who was their mi-
'niſter at this time. In this ſociety ſeve-
'ral perſons, finding that the congrega-
'tion kept not to their firſt principles of
'ſeparation, and being alſo convinced that
'*baptiſm* was not to be adminiſtred to *in-*
'*fants*, but ſuch only as profeſſed faith in
'Chriſt, deſired that they might be diſ-
'miſſed from that communion, and al-
'lowed to form a diſtinct congregation, in
'ſuch order as was moſt agreeable to their
'own ſentiments.

'THE church, conſidering that they
'were now grown very numerous, and ſo
'more than could in theſe times of perſe-
'cution conveniently meet together, and
'believing alſo that thoſe perſons acted
'from a principle of conſcience, and not
'obſtinacy, agreed to allow them the li-
'berty they deſired, and that they ſhould
'be conſtituted a diſtinct church; which
'was perform'd the 12th of *Sept.* 1633.
'And as they believed that *baptiſm* was
'not rightly adminiſtred to *infants*, ſo they
look'd

'look'd upon the *baptiſm* they had receiv'd 'in that age as invalid: whereupon moſt 'or all of them received a new *baptiſm*. 'Their miniſter was Mr. *John Spilſbury*. 'What number they were is uncertain, be- *Records of* 'cauſe in the mentioning of the names of *that* 'about twenty men and women, it is ad- *church.* 'ded, *with divers others.*

'IN the year 1638, Mr. *William Kiffin*, An. Dom. 'Mr. *Thomas Wilſon*, and others, being of 1638. 'the ſame judgment, were upon their re- 'queſt, diſmiſſed to the ſaid Mr. *Spilſbury*'s 'congregation.

'IN the year 1639, another congrega- 'tion of *Bapiſts* was formed, whoſe place 'of meeting was in *Crutched-Fryars*; the 'chief promoters of which were Mr. *Green*, 'Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, and Captain *Spencer*.'

IN the beginning of the year 1640, a An. Dom. 1640. war againſt the *Scots* was reſolved on, and *A parlia-* thought ſo reaſonable and neceſſary to the *ment ſum-* King's honour, that it might be ventured *moned,* with an *Engliſh* Parliament. Which being *and diſ-* laid before the council, was chearfully a- *ſolved.* greed to, and after twelve years interval, a parliament was ſummoned to meet *April* 13. and being met, inſtead of beginning with the ſupply, appointed *committees* for *religion* and *grievances*; which diſobliged the King ſo much, that after ſeveral fruit- leſs attempts to perſuade them to begin with the ſubſidy bill, he diſſolved them

in anger, without paſſing a ſingle act, after they had ſat about three weeks.

The convocation continues ſitting,

'THE convocation that ſat with this 'parliament, was opened *April* 14. with 'more ſplendor and magnificence [f], ſays 'Mr. *Neal*, than the ſituation of affairs 'required.'

THO' the convocation, according to antient cuſtom, ſhould have broke up at the ſame time with the parliament, yet they continued ſitting, and paſſed ſeventeen canons, approved by the privy council, and ſubſcribed by as many of both houſes of convocation as were preſent. That the canon againſt *ſectaries*, may be better underſtood, it will be neceſſary to tranſcribe an abſtract of that againſt *Popery*, *viz.* 'All eccleſiaſtical perſons, with-

and paſs ſeventeen canons.

Canon 3. 'in their ſeveral pariſhes or juriſdictions, 'ſhall confer privately with *popiſh recuſants*; [g] but if private conference prevail 'not, the church muſt and ſhall come 'to her cenſures; and to make way for 'them, ſuch perſons ſhall be preſented at 'the next viſitation, who come not to 'church, and refuſe to receive the holy 'euchariſt, or who either ſay or hear 'maſs, and if they remain obſtinate after 'citation, they ſhall be excommunicated. 'But if neither conference nor cenſures 'prevail, the church ſhall then complain of

[f] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 342.
[g] *Ibid.* p. 347.

'them

'them to the civil power, and this sacred 'synod does earnestly entreat the reverend '*justices* of assize to be careful in exe- 'cuting the laws as they will answer it to 'God.

'THE synod decrees, that the canon *Canon* 5. 'above mentioned against *Papists*, shall be in 'full force against all *Anabaptists*, *Brown- 'ists Separatists*, and other *Sectaries*, as 'far they are applicable.'

WHEN the canons of this arbitrary (who call themselves sacred) synod were made publick, they were generally disliked; and had not the execution of them been suspended by the prevailing of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* with the king at *York*, *Laud* might have been more famous (or rather infamous) than even *Bonner* himself in the *Marian* days.

IN the year 1641. one Mr. *Edward Barber* put forth a small piece in defence of immersion; intituled, *A treatise of baptism or dipping; wherein is clearly shewed, that our Lord Christ ordained dipping; and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; and also the invalidity of those arguments that are commonly brought to justify that practice.* *Anno Dom.* 1641. Edward Barber.

IN the year following another treatise came forth, written by *A. R.* intituled, *the vanity of childrens baptism.* This *author* attempts to prove these two points against the established church, *viz.* that *dip-*

dipping is neceſſary to the right adminiſtration of *baptiſm*, and that this ſacrament is not to be given to *infants*.

Mr. Francis Cornwell *proſelyted to the* Baptiſts.

ABOUT this time there was a conſiderable proſelyte made to the opinion of the *Baptiſts*; namely, Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, *M. A.* and ſometime ſtudent of *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*. Whether he received his conviction from the treatiſes abovenamed, or whether he was only by them put upon examination of the *controverſy*, and upon ſearch of the *ſcripture*, and firſt *fathers* of the church, found the truth to be on their ſide, I cannot ſay; but this is evident, when he had found out the truth himſelf, he was willing to help others to do ſo likewiſe; and therefore publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, dedicated to the houſe of commons, intituled *the vindication of the royal commiſſion of king Jeſus*. Wherein he lays down ſeveral arguments to prove, that the practice of *chriſtening children* oppoſes the commiſſion granted by our Lord and Saviour; that it is a *Romiſh* or *Antichriſtian* cuſtom, and was eſtabliſhed by pope *Innocent* III. who made a decree, that the *baptiſm* of *infants* of believers ſhould ſucceed *circumciſion*.

A diſpute between Dr. Featly *and four* Anabaptiſts *in* Southwark.

THIS year alſo, in the month of *October*, was that diſpute between Dr. *Featly* (the favourite *author* of the reverend Mr. *Neal*) and four *Anabaptiſts* in *Southwark*; of which ſome have made ſo great a noiſe ſince,

ſince, and Mr. *Neal* ſeems willing ſhould not be buried in oblivion.

I DO not find that any have publiſhed an account of this *diſputation* but the Doctor himſelf, or that there was any *amanuenſis* to take down perfectly what was ſpoken at that time; but only ſhort notes taken by himſelf, or one of his friends, which the Doctor filled up according to his own memory. And he did not publiſh it neither, till about two years after, when beſides his fixed prejudice againſt the *Diſſenters*, he was put out of humour, by being deprived of two livings, which he enjoyed before the unhappy difference between the King and parliament. And he tells the *Reader* in his *dedication*, that he could hardly dip his pen in any thing but gall. How fair and impartial an account ſuch a man was like to give, and what credit Mr. *Neal* has got to himſelf by becoming his *diſciple*, let the reader judge. For after all, by the Doctor's own account of this *diſputation*, his antagoniſts do not appear ſo very deſpicable; nor did he gain any great advantage of them. An indifferent reader will clearly ſee the force and ſimplicity of the argument on the one hand, and the art and ſhuffling that was uſed on the other.

ONE of the *Anabaptiſts*, whom he calls a *Scotchman*, began the diſcourſe after this humble and modeſt manner.

'MASTER

'MASTER doctor, we come to diſpute 'with you at this time, not for conten- 'tion ſake, but to receive ſatisfaction: 'We hold that the *baptiſm* of *infants* can- 'not be proved lawful by the teſtimony of '*ſcripture*, or by *apoſtolical* tradition. If 'you therefore can prove the ſame either 'way, we ſhall willingly ſubmit unto 'you.'

THE doctor preſently breaks forth into *exclamations:* Are you then *Anabaptiſts?* and inſults over them as *Hereticks*, who were *mechanic* and *illiterate* men, by whoſe habit he could judge they were not fit to diſpute; that they could not diſpute on *authority*, becauſe they underſtood not the *original*; nor by *reaſon*, becauſe ſuch muſt underſtand how to conclude *ſyllogiſtically* in mood and figure; with abundance of ſuch *pedantick* ſtuff, that ſavoured of nothing but pride and a bad cauſe.

HE that will take the pains to read his own account of this *diſputation*, will eaſily perceive how the *Doctor* endeavours through the whole to fly from the argument propoſed, thereby to entangle the innocent men, and eſcape giving good proof for the points. One while he propoſes difficulties to them about the *doctrine* of the *Trinity*; then again about the form of a true church: preſently, he goes about to prove, that *magiſtrates* have power to impoſe religion; afterwards, that we ought to uſe forms of prayer;

prayer; anon, that none ought to preach without epiſcopal ordination; with a many other impertinent digreſſions.

HE that would have an account of his *fooliſh pictures*, may ſee a book which came out preſently after the Doctor's, intitled, *Brief conſiderations on Dr.* Featly's *book*, by *Samuel Richardſon*.

ABOUT this time it was, that the pious Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, who had been forced to fly to *New-England* to eſcape the perſecution of the high-commiſſion-court, returned back again to *London*; where by his plain and faithful way of preaching, there was ſoon gathered a congregation of chriſtians *baptized* upon the profeſſion of their faith, over whom he was alſo ordained paſtor, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more as we go on.

THE King's affairs being now brought to the utmoſt extremity, and he finding it impoſſible to carry on the war againſt the *Scots*, appointed commiſſioners to treat with them at *Rippon*; who agreed for a ceſſation of *arms* for two months, and the treaty to be adjourned to *London*, where a free parliament was immediately to be called. *The long parliament.*

'SAD and melancholly, ſays Mr. *Neal* [h], 'was the condition of the *prime miniſters*, 'when they ſaw themſelves reduced to 'the neceſſity of ſubmitting their conduct

[h] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 357.

to

'to the examination of an *Engliſh par-*
'*liament*, ſupported by an army from *Scot-*
'*land*, and the general diſcontents of the
'people. Several of the *courtiers* began to
'ſhift for themſelves; ſome withdrew
'from the ſtorm, and others having been
'concerned in one illegal project or other,
'deſerted their maſters, and made their
'peace, by diſcovering the King's counſels
'to the leading members of *parliament*;
'which diſabled the junto from making
'any conſiderable efforts for their ſafety.
'All men had a veneration for the perſon
'of the King, tho' his majeſty had loſt
'ground in their affections by his ill uſage
'of his *parliaments*, and by taking the
'faults of his *miniſters* upon himſelf.

'BUT the queen was in no manner of
'eſteem with them, who had the *Proteſtant*
'*religion* and the liberties of their coun-
'try at heart.

'THE *biſhops* had ſunk their character
'by their high behaviour in the ſpiritual
'courts; ſo that they had nothing to expect
'but that their wings ſhould be clipp'd. And
'the *judges* were deſpiſed and hated for
'abandoning the laws of their country,
'and giving a ſanction to the illegal pro-
'ceedings of the *council* and *ſtar-chamber*.
'As his Majeſty had but few friends of cre-
'dit or intereſt among the people at home,
'ſo he had nothing to expect from abroad.
'*France* and *Spain* were pleaſed with his
'diſtreſs,

'distreſs. The foreign *Proteſtants* wiſhed 'well to the oppreſſed people of *England*. 'They publiſhed their reſentments againſt 'the *biſhops* for their hard uſage of the *Dutch* 'and *French* congregations; and gave it as 'their opinion, that a *Proteſtant* king that 'countenanc'd *Papiſts*, and at the ſame 'time drove his *Proteſtant* ſubjects out of 'the kingdom, was not worthy the aſſiſt-'ance of the reformed churches, eſpecially 'after he had renounced communion with 'them, and declared openly that the reli-'gion of the church of *England* was not 'the ſame with that of the foreign *Pro-'teſtants*.'

MR. *Whitelock* obſerves[i], that tho' the court labour'd to bring in their friends, yet thoſe who had moſt favour with them, had leaſt in the country: And it was not a little ſtrange to ſee what a ſpirit of oppoſition to the court-proceedings was in the hearts and actions of moſt of the people; ſo that very few of that *party* had the favour of being choſen *members* of this *parliament*.

The earl of *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of this *parliament*, admits that there were many great and worthy patriots in the houſe, and as eminent as any age had ever produced, men of gravity, of wiſdom, of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been ſatisfy'd with ſome few amend- Clarendon's *account of them*.

[i] *Pag.* 37.

ments

ments in church and ſtate. As to their religion, ſays this noble *hiſtorian*[k], 'They 'were all members of the eſtabliſh'd *church*, 'and almoſt to a man for epiſcopal govern-'ment; tho' they were undevoted enough 'to the *court*, they had all imaginable du-'ty for the king, and affection for the go-'vernment eſtabliſh'd by law or antient 'cuſtom; and without doubt the majority 'of that body were perſons of gravity and 'wiſdom, who being poſſeſſed of great and 'plentiful fortunes, had no mind to break 'the peace of the kingdom, or to make 'any conſiderable alterations in the govern-'ment of the church or ſtate.'

DR. *Welwood* affirms[l], that no age produced greater men than thoſe that ſat in this parliament.

And Lewis Du Moulin.

DR. *Lewis du Moulin*, who lived thro' theſe times ſays: 'That both lords and com-'mons were moſt, if not all, peaceable, 'orthodox church of *England* men; all con-'forming to the rites and ceremonies of '*epiſcopacy*, but greatly averſe to *Popery* 'and *Tyranny*, and to the corrupt part of 'the church, that inclined towards *Rome*.'

'THIS is further evident, ſays Mr. *Neal*[m], 'from their own order of *Nov.* 20, 1640. 'that none ſhould ſit in their houſe but 'ſuch as would receive the communion ac-

[k] *Vol.* I. p. 184.
[l] *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 42.

'cording

'cording to the uſage of the church of 'England.'

THE difference between the king and this parliament put a ſtop to the hot perſecution which had hitherto been carry'd on againſt the *Diſſenters*; ſo that men might now judge freely in matters of religion, and every one purſued the ſentiments of his own mind without danger. *Perſecution abated.*

Antipædobaptiſm had not been without its *proſelytes* in the worſt of times, but now it began very much to prevail; and thoſe of that *perſuaſion* having ſeparated themſelves, and formed diſtinct ſocieties, were become ſeveral churches of this opinion in *London*, beſides thoſe that continued in communion with *Pædobaptiſts*.

IT ſeems to have been about this time, that Mr. *Baxter* became firſt acquainted with any of this opinion; of whom he gives an account in theſe words [n], *viz.* Baxter's *firſt acquaintance with the* Baptiſts.

'WHILST I was at *Glouceſter*, I ſaw 'the firſt contentions between the *Mini-* 'ſters and *Anabaptiſts*, that ever I was ac- 'quainted with; for theſe were the firſt 'Anabaptiſts that ever I had ſeen in any 'country, and I heard but of few more in 'thoſe parts of *England*. About a dozen 'young men, or more, of conſiderable 'parts, had received the opinion againſt 'infant-baptiſm, and were re-baptized, and

[m] *Hiſt. Purit.* vol. II. p. 362.
[n] *Life and Time*, p. 41. Part I.

'laboured

'laboured to draw others after them, not 'far from *Glouceſter*, and the miniſter of 'the place, Mr. *Winnel*, being hot and 'impatient with them, harden'd them the 'more: He wrote a conſiderable book a-'gainſt them at that time; but *England* 'having then no great experience of the 'tendency and conſequence of *Anabap-'tiſtry*, the people that were not of their 'opinion did but pity them, and think it 'was a conceit that had no great harm in 'it, and blamed Mr. *Winnel* for his vio-'lence and aſperity towards them.'

Dr. Featley's *account of them.*

THE great increaſe of the *Baptiſts* about this time, is acknowledged and bewailed by their adverſaries. Dr. *Featly* ſays [o], 'This 'fire in the reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and 'King *James*, and our gracious ſovereign, 'till now was cover'd in *England* under the 'aſhes; or if it brake out at any time, by 'the care of the eccleſiaſtical and civil *ma-'giſtrates* it was ſoon put out. But of 'late, ſince the unhappy diſtractions which 'our ſins have brought upon us, the tem-'poral ſword being other ways employed, 'and the ſpiritual lock'd up faſt in the 'ſcabbard, this *ſect*, among others, hath 'ſo far preſumed upon the patience of the 'ſtate, that it hath held weekly conven-'ticles, re-baptized hundreds of men and 'women together in the twilight, in *ri-*

[o] *Dippers dipp'd, pr face.*

vulets

'*vulets* and ſome arms of the *Thames*, and 'elſewhere, dipping them over head and 'ears. It hath printed divers pamphlets in 'defence of their hereſy; yea, and chal-'lenged ſome of our *preachers* to diſpu-'tation.'

IT was, ſays Dr. *Wall* [p], 'During the 'rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. and the 'uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwel*, that this 'opinion began to have any great number 'of converts to it. In thoſe times of ſtirs 'they boaſted in their books, that that pro-'phecy was fulfilled, *Many ſhall run to and* Dan. xiii. 4. '*fro, and knowledge ſhall be increaſed.*' *Dr.* Wall's *account of them.*

Jan. 18. 1640-1, ſays Mr. *Fuller* [q], 'This 'day happen'd the firſt fruits of *Anabap-* 'tiſtical inſolence; when eighty of that 'ſect meeting at a houſe in St. *Saviours* in 'Southwark, preached, that the ſtatute in 'the 35th of *Elizabeth*, for the admini-'ſtration of the *Common-prayer*, was no 'good law, becauſe made by *biſhops*; that 'the king cannot make a good law, be-'cauſe not perfectly *regenerate*; that he 'was only to be obeyed in civil matters. 'Being brought before the *lords*, they con-'feſſed the articles, but no penalty was in-'flicted upon them.' But this is a very imperfect and partial account of this mat- Fuller's *account of them.*

[p] *Hiſt. Bap.* vol. II. p. 214.
[q] *Church Hiſt. Book* XI. p. 172

ter, as appears by the church-book, or journal kept by this people.

IT was not an *Anabaptiſt* but an *Independent* congregation, tho' there might be ſome few among them holding that opinion. They met in *Deadman's-place*, having at that time one Mr. *Stephen More* for their paſtor; and being aſſembled on the Lord's-day, for religious worſhip as uſual, tho' not with their former ſecrecy, they were diſcovered and taken, and by Sir *John Lenthal*, the marſhal of the *King's-bench*, committed to the *Clink* priſon.

THE next morning ſix or ſeven of the men were by an order from above, carried up to the houſe of Lords. It was alledged againſt them, as *Fuller* ſays, that they had preached againſt the King's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters, and againſt the Statute of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, that eſtabliſhes the Common-prayer, and forbids all aſſembling for religious worſhip, where it is not uſed.

THE lords examined them ſtrictly concerning their principles; and they as freely acknowledged, that they owned no other head of the church but Jeſus Chriſt; that no prince had power to make laws to bind the conſciences of men; and that laws made contrary to the law of God were of no force.

As things now ſtood, the lords could by no means diſcountenance theſe principles; and therefore, inſtead of inflicting any penalty, they treated them with a great deal of reſpect and civility: and ſome of the houſe enquired, where the place of their meeting was, and intimated, that they would come and hear them. And accordingly three or four of the *Peers* did go to their meeting on the Lord's-day following, to the great ſurprize and wonder of many. The people went on in their uſual method, having two ſermons; in both which they treated of thoſe principles for which they had been accuſed, grounding their diſcourſes on the words of our Saviour, *All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth.* After this they received the Lord's-ſupper, and then made a collection for the *poor*; to which the lords contributed liberally with them; and at their departure ſignify'd their ſatisfaction in what they had heard and ſeen, and their inclination to come again. But this made too much noiſe, and gave too great an alarm to the mob, for them to venture a ſecond time. And perhaps this was the firſt diſſenting meeting, that ever had ſo great an honour done it. Matth. xxviii. 18.

THIS church, as appears by their records, was conſtituted about the year 1621. The firſt paſtor thereof was one Mr. *Hubbard*, or *Herbert*, a learned man, of epiſcopal or-

dination; who having left the church of *England*, took upon him the paſtoral care of this church, and with them went into *Ireland*, and there died. They returned again into *England*, and ſettled about *London*; and choſe Mr. *John Canne* (famous for filling up a bible with marginal notes, much valued to this day) to be their paſtor; who attended that ſervice for ſome time, and at length, with ſome of the members, left the church, and went to *Amſterdam*, and there continued with the *Engliſh* church many years: and tho' he came into *England* afterwards, yet he returned to *Amſterdam*, and there died. After his deceaſe, the church here choſe Mr. *Samuel How*, who was a *Baptiſt*, tho' his predeceſſors were not; for this church ſeems from the beginning, or at leaſt very early, to have kept mix'd communion.

HE ſerved in this miniſtration about ſeven years, and died very much lamented. In his time they were perſecuted beyond meaſure by the clergy and biſhops courts; and he dying under the ſentence of excommunication, chriſtian burial, as it was termed, was denied him; and a conſtable's guard ſecured the pariſh ground at *Shoreditch*, to prevent his being buried there. At length he was buried at *Aſgars-le-dore*; and ſeveral of his members, according to their deſire, were afterwards interred there alſo. He wrote that little book ſo often printed, called

called *How*'s *Sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching*, &c. and was very famous for his vindication of the doctrines of ſeparation; and both he and his people were much haraſſed for it by their enemies, and were forc'd to meet together in fields and woods to avoid them. It was ſome conſiderable time after his deceaſe, that the church choſe Mr. *Stephen Moore*; who was their paſtor when the diſturbance happened which is mentioned by *Fuller*. He ſeems to have been a *Pædobaptiſt*; had been a deacon of their church, as appears by their records; was well gifted for the work of the miniſtry, and a man of good reputation, and poſſeſſed of an eſtate.

Some famous writers ſpeak favourably of the Engliſh Baptiſts.

IT contributed not a little to the increaſe of *Antipædobaptiſm* in theſe times, that ſome of the greateſt writers for reformation ſpoke favourably of that opinion, and the reaſonableneſs of granting liberty to thoſe that held it.

The right honourable Robert *lord* Brook.

THE right honourable *Robert* lord *Brook*, wrote a treatiſe [r] about this time, wherein he gives this favourable account of the *Anabaptiſts* and their opinion.

I MUST confeſs, ſays he, I begin to ‘ think, there may be perhaps ſomewhat ‘ more of God in theſe which they call ‘ *new ſchiſms*, than appears at firſt glimpſe.

[r] *Epiſcopacy*, p. 96.

'I will not, I cannot, take on me to de-
'fend that which men uſually call *Ana-*
'*baptiſm*; yet I conceive, that *ſect* is two-
'fold: ſome of them hold free-will, com-
'munity of all things, deny magiſtracy,
'and refuſe to baptize their children; theſe
'truly are ſuch *hereticks* or *atheiſts*, that
'I queſtion whether any divine ſhould
'honour them ſo much as to diſpute with
'them: Much rather ſure ſhould *Alexan-*
'*der*'s ſword determine here, as of old at
'the gordian knot, where it required this
'motto, *Quæ ſolvere non poſſum, diſſe-*
'*cabo*; what I cannot untie, I will cut
'aſunder.

'THERE is another ſort of them who
'only deny baptiſm to their children till they
'come to the years of diſcretion, and then
'they baptize them; but in other things
'they agree with the church of *England*.
'Truly theſe men are much to be pitied,
'and I could heartily wiſh, that before they
'are ſtigmatized with the opprobrious brand
'of *ſchiſmaticks*, the truth might be clear'd
'to them; for I conceive, to thoſe that
'hold we may go no further than Scrip-
'ture, for doctrine or diſcipline, it may
'be very eaſy to err in this point now in
'hand, ſince the Scripture ſeems not to
'have clearly determined in this matter.

'THE analogy which baptiſm now hath
'with circumciſion in the old law, ſays
'this

'this *noble lord*[s], is a fine rational argument 'to illuſtrate a point well proved before; 'but I ſomewhat doubt whether it be 'proof enough for that which ſome 'would prove by it, ſince beſides the vaſt 'difference in the ordinance, the perſons 'to be circumciſed, are ſtated by a poſitive 'law, ſo expreſs, that it leaves no place for 'ſcruple; but it is far otherwiſe in bap-'tiſm, where all the deſignation of per-'ſons fit to be partakers, for ought I 'know, is only ſuch as believe, for this is 'the qualification which with exacteſt 'ſearch I find the Scripture requires in per-'ſons to be baptized; and this it ſeems to 'require in all ſuch perſons. Now how 'infants can properly be ſaid to believe, 'I am not yet fully reſolved.'

Mr. Daniel Rogers.

MR. *Daniel Rogers*, a divine of very great fame in theſe times, made a publick confeſſion to the world, in his book of the *Sacrament*[t], that he was yet unconvinced by any demonſtration of Scripture, for *infant baptiſm*.

Biſhop Taylor.

DR. *Jeremy Taylor*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, was another who very much promoted the opinion of *Antipædobaptiſm*, by this method. He wrote a treatiſe, when religion was in this unſettled ſtate, called the *Liberty of propheſying*; wherein he ſhews

[s] *Danvers*, p. 176.

[t] Part I. p. 79.

the unreaſonableneſs of preſcribing to other mens faith, and the iniquity of perſecuting differing opinions. For the church clergy were againſt *perſecution*, when it came to be their turn to bear it.

AMONG many other excellent arguments to this purpoſe, he makes uſe of this, *viz.*

THAT many opinions, condemned as erroneous, had a great probability of truth on their ſide; at leaſt ſo much might be ſaid for them, as to ſway the conſcience of many honeſt enquirers after truth, and abate the edge of their fury, who ſuppoſe they are deceived.

FOR this purpoſe, he particularly conſiders the opinion of *Antipædobaptiſm*; and under a pretence of reciting what may be ſaid for that error, as he calls it, draws up a very elaborate ſyſtem of arguments againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and ſets it forth with ſuch advantage of ſtyle, that he was thought to have ſaid more for the *Baptiſts* than they were able to ſay for themſelves.

The Pædobaptiſts *diſpleaſed therewith.*

DR. *Hammond* declared to the world [u] 'That it is the moſt diligent collection 'and the moſt exact ſcheme of the arguments againſt *infant-baptiſm*, that he 'had ever met with; and that he has therein 'in ſuch manner repreſented the arguments

[u] *Six caſes Infant-baptiſm, ſect.* 49. 139.
[w] *Wall's Inf. Bap.* vol. II. p. 16.

'for

'for and againſt, that the latter have 'ſeemed to many to be ſucceſsful and 'victorious.'

x OTHERS ſuſpect him of being a real favourer of that opinion, and deſigning to promote it, and therefore call upon him, in the words of *Joſhua* to the man with his drawn ſword: *Art thou for us, or for our adverſaries?* Joſhua v. 13.

SO much were the advocates of *Infant-Baptiſm* alarmed and enraged at this performance, that they compared him to an unfaithful ſubject, who for private ends and intereſt carries arms and ammunition to known and profeſſed enemies; and they complained of it in the words of the prophet, *Thus was I wounded in the houſe of my friends.* Nay, a batchelor in divinity has the aſſurance to call ſo great and learned a man to repentance and recantation.

'y WHAT this *author*'s counſel was, 'thus to write, that which himſelf con-'demns, ——I know not; but do heartily 'wiſh, that if he have not yet *repented* 'of digging this pit, whereinto divers have 'fallen, not without great and apparent 'hazard to their ſouls, he timely may. If 'he have come to ſome ſecond better 'thoughts, he may do commendably to 'cover it with ſome ſeaſonable endeavour

x *Readings antidotes pref.*

y *Ibid. id.*

'that

'that no more may fall by the ſtumbling-'block which he hath laid before them.'

SOME of the greateſt divines of thoſe times ſet themſelves to anſwer him; but ſuſpecting the inſufficiency of all other anſwers, would not let the learned biſhop reſt, till he had anſwered himſelf alſo. Yet it is the opinion of ſome, he could never remove the difficulties which he had advanced.

An. Dom. 1643. *The Baptiſts publiſh a Confeſſion of faith.*

THERE were ſeveral books wrote about this time by the *Baptiſts* themſelves, in defence of their principles; and in the year 1643. they publiſhed a *confeſſion of their faith*, becauſe it was the conſtant practice of their oppoſers to repreſent them as a people that held moſt dangerous errors, beſides their denial of *infant-baptiſm*; and they were frequently termed both from the pulpit and preſs, *Pelagians*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Soul-ſleepers*, and the like.

BUT in this they clear themſelves fully of all theſe erroneous *tenets*, and ſhew their near agreement with all other chriſtians and proteſtants, in the fundamental points of religion. It is the firſt that was ever publiſhed by the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, and contains fifty two articles; the which you may find in the *appendix* N° 2. The *Baptiſts* never did any thing that more effectually cleared them from the charge of being dangerous *hereticks*, than this did. There were ſeveral *editions* publiſhed in

1644.

1644. and 1646. one of which was licenſed by authority, dedicated to the high court of parliament, and put into the hands of ſeveral members[z].

THEIR greateſt *adverſaries* were forc'd to acknowledge it was in general an *orthodox confeſſion*, and could object little againſt it, except the denial of *infant-baptiſm*, and making *immerſion* neceſſary to the right adminiſtration of that ordinance. *Is acknowledged to be orthodox*

DR. *Featly*, who writ with no ſmall prejudice againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, ſays [a], 'If we 'give credit to this *confeſſion*, and the *pre-* 'face thereof, thoſe who among us are 'branded with that title, are neither *Here-* 'ticks nor *Schiſmaticks*, but tender-hearted 'Chriſtians, upon whom, thro' falſe ſug- 'geſtions, the hand of authority fell heavy 'whilſt the *hierarchy* ſtood; for they nei- 'ther teach free-will, nor falling-away 'from grace, with the *Arminians*; nor 'deny original ſin, with the *Pelagians*; nor 'diſclaim magiſtracy, with the *Jeſuits*; 'nor maintain plurality of wives, with the 'Polygamiſts; nor community of goods, with 'the *Apoſtolici*; nor going naked, with the 'Adamites; much leſs aver the mortality 'of the ſoul, with *Epicures* and *Pſychopan-* 'nychiſts.' *By Dr.* Featly,

MR. *John Marſhall*, one of the aſſembly of divines, and a great oppoſer of the *Bap-* *Mr.* Marſhal.

[z] *Edwards's Gangræna*, part I. p. 184.
[a] *Dippers dipp'd*, p. 177.

tiſts in thoſe times, ſays of this confeſſion[b], 'I acknowledge it the moſt orthodox of any 'Anabaptiſt confeſſion I ever read.' And we may very well believe him; for the *Engliſh Baptiſts* never had the liberty of publiſhing their faith before; and thoſe in foreign parts are indeed repreſented as very *heterodox* by their enemies. He tells a ſtory, in order to diſſuade his *readers* from believing the *Baptiſts* in this confeſſion of their faith, which I have not met with in any other *author*, and deſerves our notice. The ſtory is as follows:

[c] 'THAT the *Anabaptiſts* of *Munſter*, 'in the beginning of their ſchiſm, ſet 'forth a confeſſion of faith every way as 'orthodox as that which you * mention of 'the ſeven churches of the *Anabaptiſts* 'of *London*, as I am credibly inform'd by a 'reverend and learned divine, who hath 'many years ago both ſeen and read it 'in *Germany*;' and in the margin puts the name of Mr. *Dury*.

* *Mr.* Tombes.

Remarks. WELL then, when the *Anabaptiſts* in *Germany* had the liberty to publiſh their own faith, they appear'd a very *orthodox* people; but after they had been driven to great hardſhips, and at length conquer'd in war, their triumphant enemies deſcribe them to be a wicked and erroneous ſect.

[b] *Defence infant-baptiſm*, p. 76.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 74.

BUT

BUT ſuppoſe they were guilty of all thoſe errors or mad pranks that were charg'd upon them after this *orthodox confeſſion*; muſt no others then be believed, when they make a ſolemn confeſſion of their faith. The *Engliſh Baptiſts* have not only kept to this firſt confeſſion of their faith, but have rather improved both in their faith and piety; ſo that now theſe inſinuations are confuted by fact.

IT may be proper to obſerve here, that there have been two *parties* of the *Engliſh Baptiſts* in *England* ever ſince the beginning of the reformation; thoſe that have followed the *Calviniſtical* ſcheme of doctrines, and from the principal point therein, *perſonal election*, have been termed *Particular Baptiſts:* And thoſe that have profeſſed the *Arminian* or remonſtrant tenets; and have alſo from the chief of thoſe doctrines, *univerſal redemption*, been called *General Baptiſts.*

I SHALL not trouble myſelf to enquire into the reaſons for their thus diſtinguiſhing themſelves, ſo as to hold diſtinct communities thereupon; the ſame differing principiples being common to all the denominations of Chriſtians as well as them. But thus much I think fit to declare, that I am fully perſuaded, and clearly of opinion, that this difference in opinion is not a ſufficient or reaſonable ground of renouncing chri-

chriſtian communion with one another, and therefore have not in the courſe of this hiſtory, lean'd either to one ſide or the other, but have taken facts as they came to my hands, without regarding to which of the parties they were peculiar. And I know that there are ſeveral churches, miniſters, and many particular perſons, among the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, who deſire not to go under the name either of *Generals* or *Particulars*, nor indeed can juſtly *be ranked under either of theſe heads*; *becauſe they* receive what they think to be truth, without regarding with what human ſchemes it agrees or diſagrees.

THAT worthy judge and excellent divine Sir *Matthew Hale*, Knt. lord chief juſtice of the *King's-bench*, treating of the great work of our redemption, what it is, how effected, and for whom; concludes thus: 'Now, ſays he [d], concerning thoſe 'ſeveral places in holy ſcripture, that ſeem 'to infer the univerſality of an intended 'redemption, *John* iii. 17. *John* xii. 47. '1 *John* ii. 2. 1 *Tim.* ii. 6. 1 *Tim.* ii. 4. '1 *Cor.* xv. 21. it may be conſiderable 'whether the intention of thoſe places be, 'that the price was ſufficient for all the 'world; ſo that whoſoever ſhall reject the 'offered mercy, ſhall never have this ex-'cuſe, that there was not a ſufficiency left 'for him: Or whether it be meant, that 'Chriſt by his death did fully expiate for

[d] *Knowledge of God*, &c. p. 230.

all

'all that original guilt, which was contracted by the fall of *Adam* upon all mankind, but for the actual offences only of such as believed; that so, as the voluntary sin of *Adam* had, without the actual consent of his posterity, made them liable to guilt, so the satisfaction of Christ, without any application of him, should discharge all mankind from that originally contracted guilt. These disquisitions, says he, tho' fit, yet are not necessary to be known; it is enough for me to know, that if *I believe on him, I shall not perish, but have everlasting life*, John iii. 16. and that all are invited, and none excluded, but such as first exclude themselves.'

BUT to come to the persecution that was practised in these times upon those who were termed *Anabaptists*. It is a subject, I am sensible, will be ungrateful to the ears of many, and perhaps very ill improved by others. I could willingly have ended here, but, however, it is the duty of an *historian* to give a true account of things, and let the blame of them fall on whom it will; and this work would be very defective, if I should not take notice of the hardships and sufferings that the *Baptists* underwent in those times, even under those who both before and since have been their *brethren* in dissenting from the established church, and suffering for it also. Nor can this be any just Reflection on the present

An. Dom. 1644. *Persecution of the Baptists.*

Pres-

Preſbyterians, who do as much diſlike, and deteſt ſuch principles and practices as we can ourſelves.

Preſbyterians againſt liberty of conſcience, and a toleration.

NOTHING is more evident than this, that the moſt noted divines of the *Preſbyterian* perſuaſion, when they had the aſcendant, did both preach and write zealouſly againſt *liberty* of *conſcience*, or a *toleration* of different opinions in matters of religion; and that at the ſame time that they endeavoured to eſtabliſh *Preſbytery*, they were for uſing the *civil power* to ſuppreſs all who diſſented from them.

SEVERAL paſſages to this purpoſe are collected by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, in his treatiſe entitled, *The Diſſenters Sayings*, and by a late pamphlet entitled, *Schiſm tried and condemn'd by the ſentiments of the moſt eminent writers among the Diſſenters.*

Mr. Calamy declares againſt it.

THERE was hardly a divine of greater fame in thoſe days, than Mr. *Calamy* of *Aldermanbury:* And he in a ſermon before the houſe of commons, *Oct.* 22. 1644. ſays to them thus[e], 'If you do not labour 'according to your duty and power to ſuppreſs the *errors* and *hereſies* that are ſpread 'in the kingdom, all theſe *errors* are your 'errors, and theſe *hereſies* are your *hereſies*; 'they are your ſins, and God calls for a parliamentary repentance from you for them 'this day. You are the *Anabaptiſts*, you 'are the *Antinomians*, and 'tis you that

[e] *Schiſm try'd and condemn'd*, p. 9.

'hold

'hold that all religions are to be tole-
'rated, *&c.*'

DR. *Burgeſs* to the commons, *Apr.* 30. 1645. after he had admoniſhed them to beware of compliances with, and indulgences to all ſorts of *ſects* and *ſchiſms* then pleaded for, ſays[f]: *Alſo Dr.* Burgeſs. An. Dom. 1645.

'AND is it perſecution and antichriſtianiſm to engage all to *unity* and *uniformity*? Doth *Paul* bid the *Philippians* to *beware of the conciſion*? doth he beſeech the *Romans to mark thoſe which cauſe diviſion and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had received, and avoid them*, &c. doth he, writing to the *Galatians*, wiſh, *I would they were cut off that trouble you*; and is it ſuch an heinous offence now, for the faithful ſervants of Chriſt to adviſe you to the ſame courſe? *Oh heavens!*' Phil. iii. 2. Gal. v. 12.

THE famous Mr. *Baxter*, tho' more moderate than many, yet was not wholly free in this point. *And Mr.* Baxter.

IN his firſt book againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, he ſays[g]: 'The diviſions and havock of the 'church is our calamity; we intended not 'to dig down the banks, or to pull up the 'hedge, and lay all waſte and common, 'when we deſired the *prelates tyranny* 'might ceaſe.

[f] *Ibidem*, p. 12, 13.
[g] *Plain Scrip. Proof*, p. 151.

'[h] AGAIN, my judgment in that much 'debated point of *liberty* of religion, I have 'always freely made known, *I abhor un-* 'limited liberty, or *toleration of all.*

AND in his cure of church-diviſions, he ſays; 'We muſt either tolerate all men 'to do what they will, which they will 'make a matter of conſcience or religion; 'and then ſome may offer their *children* in 'ſacrifice to the *devil*, and ſome may think 'they do God ſervice in killing his ſervants, '*&c.* or elſe you muſt tolerate no *error* or '*fault* in religion; and then you muſt ad- 'viſe what meaſure of *penalty* you will in- 'flict.'

Mr. Prynn. MORE plain ſtill was Mr. *Prynn*, who in his anſwer to *John Goodwin* ſays:

'IF the parliament and ſynod ſhall by 'publick conſent eſtabliſh a *Preſbyterial* 'church-government, as moſt conſonant to 'God's word; *Independents* and all others 'are bound in *conſcience* to ſubmit unto it, 'under the pain of obſtinacy, ſingularity, '*&c.*'

Mr. *Edwards.* MR. *Edwards*, lecturer at *Chriſt-Church*, a moſt inveterate enemy to the *ſectarians*, as he terms them, directs both *miniſters* and *magiſtrates* how they ſhould act to eſtabliſh *Preſbytery* without liberty of conſcience to others: and as if he had the pen

[h] *Page* 246.
[i] *Diſſenters Sayings*, Part II. p. 2.
[k] *Ibidem*, p. 5.

of

of an inſpired writer, predicts the conſequences of granting a *toleration*. All which is now confuted by fact, and he appears to have been a lying prophet; for the experience which theſe nations have had is argument ſufficient, that *toleration* of different opinions is ſo far from diſturbing the publick peace, or deſtroying the intereſts of princes and commonwealths, that it does advantage to the publick, and ſecures peace. This author in the epiſtle dedicatory to his book, entitled *Gangrena*, calls upon the higher powers to rain down all their vengeance on the *ſectaries:* And to ſhew his malice againſt them, he ſays[1]; 'That *miniſters* in our times may be a means to 'prevent and ſuppreſs *errors*, *hereſies*, and '*ſchiſms*, they muſt not only often preach 'againſt them, but they ſhould ſet themſelves againſt all the ways by which *errors* are come in, and are further coming 'in upon us, and oppoſe them by preaching and writing; as laymens preaching, 'the gathering of churches, and above all 'a *toleration*; for that would be an open 'door at which all kinds of *hereſies* would 'come in, and no man could keep them 'out: And therefore if *miniſters* will witneſs for truth, and againſt errors, they 'muſt ſet themſelves in a ſpecial manner 'againſt a *toleration*, as the principal inlet to

[1] *Gangræna*, Part I. p. 85.

'all *hereſy* and *error:* And if a *toleration* 'be granted, all preaching will not keep 'them out. If a *toleration* be granted, the 'devil will be too hard for us, though we 'preach never ſo much againſt them. A '*toleration* will undo all; firſt bring in 'ſcepticiſm in doctrine and looſeneſs of life, 'and afterwards all atheiſm. The patrons 'of *error*, becauſe they cannot at firſt plead 'for ſuch and ſuch doctrines, *in terminis*, 'and yet hold them, and would have them 'propagated, therefore they plead for a '*toleration*; which once being granted, 'they will come in then of courſe: O let 'the *miniſters* therefore oppoſe *toleration*, 'as being that by which the devil would 'at once lay a foundation for his kingdom 'to all generations! witneſs againſt it in 'all places; poſſeſs the *magiſtrates* of the 'evil of it; yea, and the people too; ſhew-'ing them, how if a *toleration* were grant-'ed, they ſhould never have peace in their 'families more, or ever after have com-'mand of wives, children, ſervants, but 'they and their poſterities after them, are 'like to live in diſcontent and unquiet-'neſs of mind all their days. 'Tis the 'ſaying of *Luther*, ſays he, that *miniſters* '*firſt care ought to be the name of God*, '*and the next, of the ſalvation of others.* '*When any thing is done, by which of neceſ-*'*ſity either of theſe muſt ſuffer, and fall to* '*the ground*; *let the Pope periſh, let wicked*

magi-

'*magiſtrates periſh, let the patrons of wick-*
'*ed opinions periſh, let the whole world pe-*
'*riſh, and let God's glory, his word, his*
'*church, his worſhip be ſaved*, Amen. Now
'neither of theſe can be ſafe, ſays Mr. *Ed-*
'*wards*, if there ſhould be a *toleration*; for
'a *toleration* is very deſtructive to the glory
'of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls; and
'therefore whoſoever ſhould be for a *tole-*
'*ration*, *miniſters* ought to be againſt it:
'if the parliament, city, yea, all the peo-
'ple were for a *toleration* of all the *ſects*,
'*Anabaptiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Seekers*, *Brown-*
'*iſts*, *Independents* (which I ſpeak, not to
'caſt the leaſt aſperſion upon them, as if
'they would be, for I believe the contrary)
'but ſuppoſing it; yet *miniſters* ought to
'preſent their reaſons againſt it, preach
'and cry out of the evil of it, never conſent
'to it, but proteſt againſt and withſtand it,
'by all lawful ways and means, within our
'callings and places, venturing the loſs of
'liberties, eſtates, lives, and all, in that
'cauſe, and to inflame us with zeal againſt
'a TOLERATION, the great *Diana* of the
'*ſectaries*.

'Now, ſays he [m], the oppoſing the *ſects* of
'theſe times, and that great deſire of a *tole-*
'*ration* of all religions, pleaded for ſo much
'by many, are points will bear us out be-
'fore God; and all who come after us (if

[m] *Ibid.* p. 92.

'ever a *toleration* ſhould be granted) will ſay, 'when they ſee and feel the miſchiefs of a '*toleration*, theſe were good and wiſe men, 'that had their eyes in their heads, and 'look'd afar off. As often as new evils 'ariſe in the kingdom upon a *toleration*, 'this which they have done againſt a *tole-* 'ration will be ſpoken with honour of 'them throughout all generations, and in 'other chriſtian kingdoms.

'[n] *Miniſters* muſt pray much to God, 'and call upon him night and day, that he 'would prevent and caſt out of his church 'all the *errors*, *hereſies*, *roots of bitterneſs*, '*poiſonous principles* got in among us, and 'to give a miſcarrying womb to the *ſecta-* '*ries*, that they may never bring forth that 'miſhappen baſtard-monſter of a TOLE- 'RATION.'

HE directs the *magiſtrates*, and tells them, '[o] They ſhould execute ſome exemplary pu- 'niſhment upon ſome of the moſt notorious '*ſectaries* and ſeducers, and upon the wil- 'ful abettors of theſe abominable errors; 'namely, the printers, diſperſers, and licen- 'ſers, and ſet themſelves with all their 'hearts to find out ways to take ſome 'courſe to ſuppreſs, hinder, and no longer 'ſuffer theſe things; to put out ſome decla- 'ration againſt the errors and ways of the '*ſectaries*; as their ſending emiſſaries in-

[n] *Page* 93.
[o] *Page* 98.

to

'to all parts of the kingdom, to poiſon 'the countries; as their *dipping* of perſons 'in the cold water in winter, whereby 'perſons fall ſick, die, &c. declaring, that 'they ſhall be proceeded againſt as *vagrants* 'and *rogues*, that go from country to coun- 'try; and if any fall ſick upon their *dip-* 'ping and die, they ſhall be indicted upon 'the ſtatute of killing the king's ſubjects, 'and proceeded againſt accordingly.

More particularly againſt the Baptiſts.

THUS he particularly inveighs againſt the *Baptiſts*, and in another place carries his reſentment againſt them much higher. For ſays he [p], 'I could wiſh with all my heart, 'there were a publick diſputation, even in 'the point of *pædobaptiſm* and of *dipping*, 'between ſome of the *Anabaptiſts*, and 'ſome of our *miniſters*. But if upon diſ- 'putation and debate, the *Anabaptiſts* ſhould 'be found in an *error*, as I am confident 'they would, that then the parliament 'ſhould forbid all *dipping*, and take ſome 'ſevere courſe with all *Dippers*, as the ſe- 'nate of *Zurick* did.'

Remark.

THE precedent he refers to plainly diſcovers the ſpirit of the man. And he might well call it ſome *ſevere courſe*. For an *edict* was publiſhed at *Zurick* in the year 1530. making it *death* for any to baptize by *immerſion*; upon which law, ſome call'd *Anabaptiſts* were ty'd back to back, and thrown

[p] *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 177.

into the ſea, others were *burnt alive*, and many ſtarved to *death* in priſon.

BUT enough of the ſpirit and principles of perſecution as it then appeared in particular perſons. We find that whole communities of men, both *layety* and *clergy*, declared againſt *liberty of conſcience*, and petitioned for *perſecution*.

The city of London petition againſt it.

ON the 26th of *May*, 1646. the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common-council, preſented a petition to the parliament, uſually called *the city remonſtrance*; in which they deſired, 'That ſome ſtrict 'and ſpeedy courſe might be taken for the 'ſuppreſſing all private and ſeparate congregations; that all *Anabaptiſts*, *Brownſts*, *Hereticks*, *Schiſmaticks*, *Blaſphemers*, and all other *Sectaries*, who conform not to the publick diſcipline eſtabliſhed, or to be eſtabliſhed by parliament, may be fully declared againſt, 'and ſome effectual courſe ſettled for proceeding againſt ſuch perſons; and that 'no perſon diſaffected to *Preſbyterial* government, ſet forth or to be ſet forth by 'parliament, may be employed in any place 'of publick truſt.'

The aſſembly of divines againſt it, and appoint a committee of accommodation.

HOWEVER, the *clergy* went before the *layety* in theſe *rigid* methods, and ſo led them the way. For when *preſbytery* was about to be eſtabliſhed, the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter* appointed a committee to hear and anſwer the petitions of thoſe

thoſe who could not conform to the government. This was called *the committee for accommodation.*

To theſe the *Independants* preſented their requeſt, *Dec.* 4. 1645. which was only this: *The Independents requeſt to the committee, An. Dom. 1645.*

'[q] THAT they may not be forced to communicate as members in thoſe pariſhes 'where they dwell; but may have liberty 'to have congregations of ſuch perſons 'who give good teſtimonies of their godlineſs, and yet out of a tenderneſs of 'conſcience cannot communicate in their '*pariſhes*, but do voluntarily offer themſelves to join in ſuch congregations.'

To this the aſſembly gave a flat denial, *Dec.* 15. and annexed their reaſons why ſuch a deſire was not to be granted. The *Independents* willing to be taken into the *eſtabliſhment*, made a very ſtrange *conceſſion* to them, *viz.* '[r] That they would maintain 'occaſional communion with their churches, 'not only in hearing and preaching, 'but occaſionally in baptizing their children, in their churches, and receiving the 'Lord's-ſupper there.' But all this would not prevail upon their *brethren* of the *Preſbyterian* perſuaſion to allow them ſeparate congregations. They rather improved this *denied.* *Their conceſſion.*

[q] *Schiſm tried and condemned*, 25.

[r] *Ibidem*, p. 27.

com-

compliance, to ſtrengthen their arguments againſt granting ſuch a liberty.

Argued againſt.

'[s] IF, ſay they, they may occaſionally 'exerciſe theſe acts of communion with us 'once, a ſecond, or a third time, without ſin; we know no reaſon why it may 'not be ordinary without ſin, and then 'ſeparation and church-gathering, would 'have been needleſs. To ſeparate from 'thoſe churches ordinarily and viſibly, with 'whom occaſionally you may join without ſin, ſeemeth to be a moſt unjuſt ſeparation.'

Remark.

THIS return upon their compliance ſeems to be very juſt. But that an aſſembly of ſuch pious and grave divines, many of whom had alſo ſuffered for conſcience ſake themſelves, ſhould deny this liberty to their differing brethren, was very ſtrange. And it is yet more ſurprizing to find them uſe ſuch arguments as theſe for it: '[t] That 'this opened a gap for all *ſects* to challenge 'ſuch a liberty as their due: That this 'liberty was denied by the churches 'of *New-England*, and that they have 'as juſt ground to deny it as they: '[u] That 'this deſired forbearance is a perpetual 'diviſion in the church, and a perpetual 'drawing away from the churches under 'the rule; for upon the ſame pretence,

More againſt them

[s] *Ibidem*, p. 28.
[t] *Ibidem*, 29.
[u] Page 31.

'thoſe

'thoſe who ſcruple *infant-baptiſm* may withdraw from their churches, and ſo ſeparate into another congregation; and ſo in that, ſome practice may be ſcrupled, and they ſeparate again. Are theſe *diviſions* and *ſubdiviſions*, ſay they, as lawful as they may be infinite? or muſt we give that reſpect to the errors of mens conſciences, as to ſatisfy their ſcruples by allowance of this liberty to them? x That ſcruple of conſcience is no cauſe of ſeparation; nor doth it take off cauſeleſs ſeparation from being ſchiſm, which may ariſe from errors of conſcience, as well as carnal and corrupt reaſon; therefore we conceive the cauſes of ſeparation muſt be ſhewn to be ſuch *ex natura rei*, as will bear it out; and therefore we ſay, that the granting the liberty deſired will give countenance to ſchiſm.'

The whole body of London *miniſters againſt a toleration.*

ANOTHER inſtance of the ſpirit of *perſecution* that prevailed in theſe times, appeared in the whole body of the *London* miniſters; for they met together, *Dec.* 18. 1645. at *Sion-College*, to draw up a letter to the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, which was alſo preſented *Jan.* 1. following.

IN this they pretend to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs, the ſin, and the miſchievous conſe-

x *Ibidem*, p. 32.

quences

quences of granting *toleration*, or liberty of conſcience; and caſt ſeveral bitter reflections on the *Independents*, and others for deſiring it; but their principles and ſpirit will be ſufficiently diſcovered, by citing a paſſage or two in the concluſion.

'[y] THESE, ſay they, are ſome of the 'many conſiderations which make a deep 'impreſſion on our ſpirits againſt that great 'Diana of *Independents*, and all the *ſecta-* 'ries, ſo much cried up by them, in theſe 'diſtracted times, *viz.* a *toleration*, a *toler-* 'ation. We cannot diſſemble, how upon 'the forementioned grounds, we deteſt and 'abhor the much endeavoured *toleration*. 'Our bowels, our bowels are ſtirred with- 'in us, and we could even drown ourſelves in 'tears, when we call to mind how long 'and ſharp a travail this kingdom hath 'been in for many years together, to bring 'forth that bleſſed fruit of a pure and 'perfect *reformation*; and now at laſt, after 'all our pangs, and dolours, and expecta- 'tions, this real and thorough *reformation* 'is in danger of being ſtrangled in the 'birth by a lawleſs *toleration*, that ſtrives 'to be brought forth before it.'

AFTER this they pretend to pay the *aſſembly* a very great complement, which, if true, was a ſhame to them, rather than an encomium.

[y] *Ibidem*, p. 44.

'[z] NOT

'[z] NOT, say they, that we can harbour 'the least jealousy of your zeal, fidelity, 'or industry, in the opposing and extir- 'pating of such a root of gall and bitter- 'ness as *toleration* is, and will be, both in 'present and future ages.'

ANOTHER instance of the same bitter spirit appears in a book entitled, *A vindication of the Presbyterial government and ministry; with an exhortation to all ministers, elders and people, within the bounds of the province of* London, *&c. Published by the ministers and elders, met together in a provincial assembly*, Nov. 2. 1649. *and printed at* London, *according to order*, 1650. The words are these; '[a] Whatsoever doctrine is *contrary* 'to *godliness*, and opens a door to liber- 'tinism and prophaneness, you must reject 'it as *soul poison.*——Such is the doctrine 'of an *universal toleration of all religion.*' This book in page 175, concludes thus; *Subscribed in the name and by the appointment of the assembly*;

George Walker, *Moderator.*

Arthur Jackson, } *Assessors.*
Edmund Calamy, }

Roger Drake, } *Scrib.*
Eliad Blackwell, }

[z] *Ibidem*, p. 45.
[a] Page 121.

AND

AND as face anſwers to face in a glaſs, ſo did the ſpirit of *perſecution* in the country miniſters anſwer to that which appeared in thoſe at *London*.

The Lancaſhire *miniſters alſo againſt it.*

THOSE in *Lancaſhire* publiſhed a paper in 1648. ſubſcribed by eighty four of them, entitled, *The harmonious conſent of the* Lancaſhire miniſters *with their brethren at London*; in which are theſe expreſſions:

'[b] A *toleration* would be the putting a 'ſword in a madman's hand; a *cup of* 'poiſon into the hand of a child; a letting 'looſe of *madmen* with *firebrands* in their 'hands; and appointing a city of refuge in 'mens conſciences, for the *Devil* to fly 'to; a laying of a ſtumbling-block before 'the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the 'wolves to come into Chriſt's fold, to 'prey upon the lambs: Neither would 'it be to provide for tender conſciences, 'but to take away all conſcience.'

And alſo the Warwickſhire *miniſters.*

IN the ſame year another paper was publiſhed, ſubſcribed by forty three miniſters, entituled, *The* Warwickſhire *miniſters teſtimony to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the ſolemn league and covenant; as alſo againſt the errors, hereſies and blaſphemies of theſe times, and the toleration of them; ſent in a letter to the miniſters within the province of* London, *ſubſcribers of the former*

[b] *L'ſtrange Diſſ. Sayings,* part II. p. 1.

teſti-

teſtimony. In which they expreſs themſelves thus:

Reverend and beloved brethren,

'WE, your fellow-labourers in the 'goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, within 'the city of *Coventry* and county of *War-* 'wick, have peruſed your late publick 'Teſtimony to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, 'and to our ſolemn league and covenant, 'as alſo againſt the errors, hereſies, and 'blaſphemies of theſe times, and the tolera- 'tion of them; and ſo greatly are we 'affected therewith, that with our ſouls 'we bleſs the Lord God of our fathers, 'and the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'who hath put ſuch a thing as this into 'your hearts —— and further, to this 'your good confeſſion we hereby ſet our 'ſeals; withal heartily profeſſing all readi- 'neſs and reſolution to ſtick to this teſti- 'mony with you, even unto death. More- 'over, we do you to wit, that we look upon 'this your *teſtimony* as the voice of God, 'ſo to awaken all the Lord's watchmen tho- 'rough the land, that they ſhall not qui- 'etly ſuffer the enemy to ſow his tares 'among the wheat; remembring what the 'great reformer *Luther* ſaid, *It is almoſt* 'a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, to be meal- 'mouthed, when ſuch pernicious libertines 'poiſon the bread of the houſhold of faith.

'And

'And for the people, we find them ſo 'heart-taken with this your ſeaſonable zeal, 'that they long for a way to give their 'publick *amen* to the ſame. Yea, we do 'for your encouragement aſſure you, that 'although the door of *liberty* ſtands in a 'manner open for every man to do what 'he will with the things of *Chriſt*, yet 'through his grace (and to his glory we 'ſpeak it) errors and ſchiſms are not very 'catching among our flocks, but they 'rather take faſter root in the faith by theſe 'religion-winds that ſhake ſome.'

THE teaching of theſe rigid principles, and preſenting ſuch zealous petitions againſt liberty of conſcience, prevailed ſo far as to procure ſeveral laws to be made for ſuppreſſing and perſecuting the *ſectaries*, that is, ſuch as would not come into the *Preſbyrian* eſtabliſhment.

An ordinance of parliament

THE firſt attempt of this nature was an *Ordinance* of *Parliament* for the ſilencing all ſuch preachers as were not *ordained miniſters*, either in the *Engliſh*, or in ſome of the foreign *Proteſtant* churches. It bore date the 26th of *April*, 1645; and run in this form.

'IT is this Day ordained and declared 'by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in 'parliament, that no perſon be admitted 'to preach, who is not ordained a mi-

[c] Hall's *pulpit guarded*, p. 31.

'niſter

'niſter, either in this or ſome other re-
'formed church, except ſuch, as intend-
'ing the miniſtry, ſhall be allowed for the
'trial of their gifts, by thoſe who ſhall
'be appointed thereunto by both houſes
of parliament.

'IT is this day ordered by the Lords
'and Commons aſſembled in parliament,
'that this *ordinance* be forthwith printed,
'and publiſhed, and ſent to Sir *Thomas*
'*Fairfax*, with an earneſt deſire and re-
'commendation from both houſes, that
'he take care that this *ordinance* may
'be duly obſerved in the *army*; and that if
'any ſhall tranſgreſs this *ordinance*, that he
'make ſpeedy repreſentation thereof to both
'houſes, that the offenders may receive con-
'dign *puniſhment* for their contempt, *&c.*'

The Baptiſts proſecuted thereupon.

UPON the coming forth of this *ordinance*, ſeveral *mayors*, *juſtices* and other *officers*, who longed to be at *perſecution*, apprehended ſeveral *miniſters*, who were called *Separatiſts* and *Lay-preachers*, and returned their names to the parliament, to anſwer for their contempt, among whom were ſeveral *Baptiſts*; and the parliament appointed a committee to hear and determine ſuch caſes. But they could make little of it by this law; for many of the *preachers* in ſeparate congregations had been ordained in the church of *England*, either in times of *Epiſcopacy*, or ſince *Preſbytery* had obtained the aſcendant; and thoſe

that had not, alledged, that the congregations, who had called and appointed them to preach, were true churches, and as much reformed as any in the world: nor did this *ordinance* affix the crime upon thoſe that took upon them to preach without ordination, but ſuch as ſhould admit them ſo to do; neither did it impower *magiſtrates* to take the *offenders* into cuſtody.

Another ordinance to explain the former. An. Dom. 1646.

THIS *ordinance* therefore falling ſhort of their purpoſe, another was made *Dec.* 26. 1646. which explained the former, and provided for thoſe things wherein that was defective. For in this it was expreſly ſaid: The commons aſſembled in 'parliament do declare, that they do diſlike 'and will proceed againſt all ſuch perſons 'as ſhall take upon them to preach, or ex-'pound the ſcriptures in any *church*, or '*chapel*, or any other publick *place*, except 'they be ordained, either here or in ſome 'other reformed church, as it is already 'prohibited in an order of both houſes of the '26th of *April*, 1645. and likewiſe a-'gainſt all ſuch *miniſters*, or others, as 'ſhall publiſh or maintain, by preaching, 'writing, printing, or any other way, 'any thing againſt, or in derogation of 'church government which is now eſta-'bliſhed by authority of both houſes of 'parliament: and all juſtices of peace, ſhe-'riffs, mayors, bayliffs, and other head 'officers of corporations, and all officers

'of

'of the *army*, are to take notice of this 'declaration, and by all lawful ways and 'means, to prevent offences of this kind, 'and to apprehend the *offenders*, and give 'notice thereof to this houſe, that there-'upon courſe may be ſpeedily taken, for 'a due puniſhment to be inflicted on 'them'

THIS was a more ſevere law againſt the *Diſſenters* than the former, and would have expoſed them to very great hardſhips, had the times permitted a ſtrict execution of it.

IT was not enough, that ſuch *miniſters* as had not been ordained in the national church, ſhould be kept out of the *church* and *chapels*; but they muſt not be allowed to preach or expound the Scriptures in any publick *place*, nor would ordination itſelf be ſufficient, but they muſt be tied from ſpeaking or writing any thing againſt or contrary to the *directory* and diſcipline eſtabliſhed; and this reſtraint to extend, not only to *miniſters*, but all other *perſons*; and 'tis put into the power of the officers of the *army*, as well as the civil *magiſtrate*, to apprehend thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſs againſt this *ordinance*.

THE *Baptiſts* were as much aimed at, and as many of them proſecuted, by theſe laws, as any others who were called *ſectaries*; yet by ſome means or other they ob-

tained a very great *indulgence* from the parliament about a year after.

An. Dom. 1647. WHETHER it was the great number of this opinion, that were at this time, both in the *army*, and in moſt corporations in *England*; or that ſome of thoſe great men who about this time entertained the opinion againſt *infant-baptiſm*, did intercede in their behalf, I cannot ſay. But on *Mar.* 4. 1647. a declaration of the lords and commons was publiſhed, in which were theſe words:

A declaration of the lords and commons in favour of the Baptiſts.

'THE name of *Anabaptiſm* hath indeed contracted much *odium*, by reaſon of the extravagant opinions and practices of ſome of that name in *Germany*, tending to the diſturbance of the government and peace of all ſtates, which opinions and practices we abhor and deteſt: But for their opinion againſt the baptiſm of *infants*, it is only a difference about a circumſtance of time in the adminiſtration of an *ordinance*, wherein in former ages, as well as this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice. And though we could wiſh that all men would ſatisfy themſelves, and join with us in our judgment and practice in this point; yet herein we held it fit that men ſhould be convinced by the word of God, with great gentleneſs and reaſon, and not beaten out of it with force and violence.' This indeed diſcovered a true chriſtian ſpirit,

rit, and is the method which the gospel directs to take with those who err. And had they kept to this, it would have been to their immortal honour.

BUT it must be recorded, to the shame of this very parliament, or rather of those who had the chief influence in publick affairs, that about a year after this, a more severe law passed against *heresy* and *error*, than any that has been made in *England* since the *Reformation*. Nay, I may challenge any one to produce a more cruel and bloody law in the times of *popery*, except the act *de heretico comburendo*. It bore date *May* the 2d, 1648. and was entituled, *An ordinance of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, for the punishing of blasphemies and heresies.* An. Dom. 1648.

IN this there is first a catalogue of *heresies*, any of which whosoever did maintain and publish, with obstinacy therein, he was to suffer the pains of death, as in case of *felony*, without benefit of the *clergy*. Then an enumeration of certain *errors*, any of which whosoever should publish or maintain, and be thereof convicted before two justices of the peace, without the privilege of a jury, or liberty of an appeal, he should be obliged to renounce his said errors in the publick congregation; and in case he refused, or neglected this, at the time and place appointed, the said *justices* are to commit him to *prison*, until he shall find

two ſufficient ſureties, that he ſhall not publiſh or maintain the ſaid error or errors any more.

AMONG the errors ſpecified are theſe, *viz.* 'That the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or that ſuch baptiſm is void, and 'that ſuch perſons ought to be baptized 'again, and in purſuance thereof ſhall 'baptize any perſon formerly baptized: 'That the church government by presbytery is antichriſtian or unlawful.'

THIS being the moſt ſhocking law I have met with, and plainly proving that the governing *Preſbyterians* in thoſe times would have made a terrible uſe of their power, if it had been ſupported by the ſword of the civil *magiſtrate*; I ſhall therefore oblige the reader with a tranſcript of the whole. The words of the ordinance are as followeth:

AN

Die Martis, 2. Maii, 1648.

A N

ORDINANCE

OF THE

LORDS and COMMONS

Aſſembled in

PARLIAMENT,

For puniſhing Blaſphemies and Hereſies.

'FOR the preventing of the growth and ſpreading of hereſy and blaſphemy, be it ordained by the lords and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled: That all ſuch perſons as ſhall from and after the date of this preſent ordinance, willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing, maintain and publiſh that there is no God, or that God is not preſent in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal; or that the father is not God, the ſon is not God, or that the Holy Ghoſt is not God; or that they three are not one eternal God; or that

London, *printed for* Edw. Huſband, *printer to the honourable Houſe of Commons.* 1648.

'ſhall in like manner maintain and pub-
'liſh that Chriſt is not God equal with the
'Father; or ſhall deny the manhood of
'Chriſt, or that the Godhead and man-
'hood of Chriſt are ſeveral natures; or
'that the humanity of Chriſt is pure and
'unſpotted of all ſin; or that ſhall main-
'tain and publiſh as aforeſaid, that Chriſt
'did not die, nor riſe from the dead, nor
'is aſcended into heaven bodily; or that
'ſhall deny his death is meritorious in the
'behalf of believers; or that ſhall main-
'tain and publiſh as aforeſaid, that Jeſus
'Chriſt is not the ſon of God, or that
'the holy Scripture, *viz.* of the old teſta-
'ment, *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Num-*
'*bers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*,
'*Ruth*, 1 *Samuel*, 2 *Samuel*, 1 *Kings*,
'2*Kings*, 1 *Chronicles*, 2 *Chronicles*, *Ezra*,
'*Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, *Job*, *Pſalms*, *Pro-*
'*verbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *The Song of Songs*, *I-*
'*ſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*,
'*Daniel*, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*,
'*Jonah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habbakuk*, *Ze-*
'*phaniah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*;
'of the new teſtament, the goſpels ac-
'cording to *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *John*,
'the *Acts of the apoſtles*, *Paul's epiſtles to*
'*the Romans*, *Corinthians the firſt*, *Co-*
'*rinthians the ſecond*, *to Timothy the firſt*,
'*to Timothy the ſecond*, *to Titus*, *to Phi-*
'*lemon*, *the epiſtle to the Hebrews*, *the e-*
'*piſtle of James*, *the firſt and ſecond epiſtles*

'*of*

‘ *of Peter, the firſt, ſecond and third epiſtles*
‘ *of John, the epiſtle of Jude, the Revela-*
‘ *tion of John*, is not the word of God;
‘ or that the bodies of men ſhall not riſe
‘ again after they are dead; or that there
‘ is no day of judgment after death; all
‘ ſuch maintaining and publiſhing of ſuch
‘ error or errors, with obſtinacy therein,
‘ ſhall by virtue hereof be adjudged fe-
‘ lony; and all ſuch perſons, upon com-
‘ plaint and proof made of the ſame, in
‘ any of the caſes aforeſaid, before any
‘ two of the next juſtices of the peace for
‘ that place or county, by the oaths of
‘ two witneſſes, (which ſaid juſtices of
‘ peace in ſuch caſes ſhall hereby have
‘ power to adminiſter) or confeſſion of
‘ the party; the ſaid party ſo accuſed ſhall
‘ be by the ſaid juſtices of the peace com-
‘ mitted to priſon, without bail or main-
‘ prize, until the next goal-delivery, to
‘ be holden for that place or county;
‘ and the witneſſes likewiſe ſhall be bound
‘ over by the ſaid juſtices unto the ſaid
‘ goal-delivery, to give in their evidence;
‘ and at the ſaid goal-delivery the party
‘ ſhall be indicted for felonious publiſh-
‘ ing and maintaining ſuch error: And
‘ in caſe the indictment be found, and
‘ the party upon his trial ſhall not abjure
‘ his ſaid error, and defence and main-
‘ tenance of the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer the
‘ pains of death, as in caſe of felony,
‘ with-

'without benefit of clergy. But in caſe 'he ſhall recant, or renounce and ab- 'jure his ſaid error or errors, and the main- 'tainance or publiſhing of the ſame; he 'ſhall nevertheleſs remain in priſon until 'he ſhall find two ſureties, being ſubſidy 'men, that ſhall be bound with him 'before two or more juſtices of the 'peace or goal-delivery, that he ſhall not 'thenceforth publiſh or maintain, as afore- 'ſaid, the ſaid error or errors any more; 'and the ſaid juſtices ſhall have power 'hereby to take bail in ſuch caſes.

'AND be it further ordained, that in 'caſe any perſon formerly indicted for 'publiſhing and maintaining of ſuch er- 'roneous opinion or opinions, as aforeſaid, 'and renouncing and abjuring the ſame, 'ſhall nevertheleſs again publiſh and main- 'tain his ſaid former error or errors, as 'aforeſaid and the ſame proved as afore- 'ſaid; the ſaid party ſo offending ſhall be 'committed to priſon as formerly, and at 'the next goal-delivery ſhall be indicted, 'as aforeſaid. And in caſe the indictment 'be then found upon the trial, and it ſhall 'appear that formerly the party was con- 'victed of the ſame error, and publiſhing 'and maintaining thereof, and renounced 'and abjured the ſame, the offender ſhall 'ſuffer death, as in caſe of felony, with- 'out benefit of clergy. Be it further or- 'dained by the authority aforeſaid, that

'all

'all and every perſon or perſons, that ſhall 'publiſh or maintain as aforeſaid, any of 'the ſeveral errors hereafter enſuing, *viz.* 'that all men ſhall be ſaved; or that man 'by nature hath free-will to turn to God; 'or that God may be worſhipped in or by 'pictures or images; or that the ſoul of 'any man after death goeth neither to 'heaven or hell, but to purgatory; or that 'the ſoul of man dieth or ſleepeth when 'the body is dead; or that revelations or 'the workings of the Spirit are a rule of 'faith or chriſtian life, though diverſe 'from, or contrary to the written word of 'God; or that man is bound to believe 'no more than by his reaſon he can com-'prehend; or that the moral law of God 'contained in the ten commandments, is 'no rule of chriſtian life; or that a believer 'need not repent or pray for pardon of 'ſins; or that the two ſacraments of bap-'tiſm and the Lord's-ſupper, are not or-'dinances commanded by the word of 'God; *or that the baptizing of infants is* 'unlawful, *or ſuch baptiſm is void, and* 'that ſuch perſons ought to be baptized 'again, *and in purſuance thereof, ſhall* 'baptize any perſon formerly baptized; or 'that the obſervation of the Lord's-day, as 'it is enjoined by the ordinances and laws 'of this realm, is not according, or is con-'trary to the word of God; or that it is 'not lawful to join in publick prayer or 'family

'family prayer, or to teach children to 'pray; or that the churches of *England* 'are no true churches, nor their miniſters 'and ordinances true miniſters and ordi- 'nances; or that the church government 'by presbytery is antichriſtian or unlaw- 'ful; or that magiſtracy, or the power of the 'civil magiſtrate by law eſtabliſhed in *Eng-* 'land, is unlawful; or that all uſe of arms 'though for the publick defence (and be 'the cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful: And 'in caſe the party accuſed of ſuch publiſh- 'ing and maintaining of any of the ſaid 'errors, ſhall be thereof convicted to have 'publiſhed and maintained the ſame, as 'aforeſaid, by the teſtimony of two or 'more witneſſes upon oath, or confeſſion 'of the ſaid party, before two of the next 'juſtices of the peace for the ſaid place 'or county, whereof one to be of the '*quorum* (who are hereby required and 'authorized to ſend for witneſſes and ex- 'amine upon oath in ſuch caſes in the 'preſence of the party, the party ſo con- 'victed ſhall be ordered by the ſaid juſtices 'to renounce his ſaid errors in the publick 'congregation of the ſame pariſh from 'whence the complaint doth come, or 'where the offence was committed; and 'in caſe he refuſeth or neglecteth to per- 'form the ſame, at, or upon the day, 'time and place appointed by the ſaid 'juſtices, then he ſhall be committed to 'priſon

'priſon by the ſaid juſtices, until he ſhall 'find two ſufficient ſureties, before two 'juſtices of peace for the ſaid place or 'county (whereof one ſhall be of the *quo-* '*rum*) that he ſhall not publiſh or main- 'tain the ſaid error or errors any more. 'Provided always, and be it ordained by 'the authority aforeſaid, that no attainder 'by virtue hereof ſhall extend either to the 'forfeiture of the eſtate, real or perſonal, 'of ſuch perſon attainted, or corruption 'of ſuch perſon's blood.

JOHN BROWN, *Cler' Parliament.*

IT is eaſy to diſcern by this *ordinance*, that expreſly all the *Anabaptiſts*, falſely ſo called, of whom there were not a few thouſands in *England* at this time, all the *Independents* or *Separatiſts*, all *Epiſcoparians*, all the *Arminians*, yea, in a word, all *England*, ſave rigid *Preſbyterians*, are expreſly condemn'd. And doubtleſs, theſe rigid principles and ſevere laws would have been follow'd with a violent perſecution, had not the confuſions of the times, and the great number of the *Diſſenters* prevented. And altho' the ſupreme power might deſign theſe *ordinances* only *in terrorem*; yet the mayors, juſtices, and other ſubordinate magiſtrates, were for practiſing theſe methods, as far as it was in their power, or whenever they had the leaſt encouragement for ſo doing,

doing, as appears plainly enough by the following profecutions.

[d] BY this act *John Bidle* the *Socinian* was indicted and try'd in *Weſtminſter-hall.* He was firſt ſent to the *Compter*, and from thence to *Newgate*, *July* 3. 1655. and try'd for his life the next ſeſſions. To the indictment he pray'd counſel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of it; which being deny'd him by the judges, and the ſentence of a mute threatned, he at length gave into court his exceptions, engroſs'd in parchment; and with much ſtruggling, had counſel allow'd him; but the trial was deferred to the next day.

THE *protector*, well knowing it was not for the intereſt of his government, either to have him condemn'd or abſolv'd, takes him out of the hands of the law, and ſends him away to the iſle of *Scilly*, Oct. 5. 1655.

FOR, on the one hand, the *Preſbyterians*, and all enemies to liberty of religion (of which there appear'd a great number at his trial) would be offended at his releaſe; and all that were for liberty (among whom many congregations of *Anabaptiſts* eſpecially) had petition'd the *protector* for his diſcharge from proſecution upon that *ordinance*, by which all their liberties were threatned and condemn'd,

[d] Vide *his Life.*

and

James Foulton Aylesbury

and the capital articles of the protector's government infringed; which run thus: *That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (tho' differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publickly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion*, &c. Art. 37. *That all laws, statutes, ordinances*, &c. *to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void*; Art. 38. In this exile he continued about three years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his friends for his liberty, and his own letters, both to the *protector* and to Mr. *Calamy*, an eminent *Presbyterian* minister, to reason them into compassion. At length, through the importunity of friends, and other occurrences, the *protector* suffered a writ of *habeas corpus* to be granted out of the *Upper-bench-court*, as it was then called, and to be obey'd by the governour of *Scilly*, whereby the prisoner was brought thence, and by that court set at liberty, as finding no legal cause of detaining him.

He did not long enjoy this liberty, for about five months after *Oliver* died, and his son *Richard* succeeding, call'd a parliament, dangerous to *John Bidle*; which being foreseen, he was forced by the importunity of a noble friend, to retire into the country during their session. But that parliament being dissolv'd, he return'd to his wonted station,

ſtation, and continued undiſturb'd till the firſt of *June*, 1662. When he was haled out of his lodgings, where he was convened with ſome few of his friends for divine worſhip, and carried before Sir *Richard Brown*, who forthwith committed them all to the publick priſon; *John Bidle* to the *dungeon*, where he lay for five hours, and was denied the benefit of the law, which admitted offenders of that ſort to bail for their appearance; there they lay till the *recorder*, mov'd with more reverence of the laws, took ſecurity for their anſwering to their charge next ſeſſions; which they performed accordingly. But when the court could not find any ſtatute whereon to form any criminal indictment againſt them, they were referred to the ſeſſions following, and then were proceeded againſt, by pretext of an offence againſt common law (the rules of which lie moſtly in the judges breaſts) and thereupon fined, every one of the *hearers* in the penalty of twenty pounds, and *John Bidle* in one hundred, to lie in priſon till paid. Now, though the ſheriff would generouſly have been ſatisfied with ten pounds for him, and he would have paid it; yet the enmity of Sir *Richard Brown* was ſuch, as he could not be induced to conſent thereto upon any terms, but threatned him with a ſeven years impriſonment, tho' he ſhould pay the whole hundred pounds. This was the cauſe of his con-

continuing in prison. But he had not been there full five Weeks, till by reason of the noisomness of the place, and pent air, he contracted a disease, which in a few days put a period to his life.

THE chief prosecutors [e] of this man, I find, were certain *booksellers* of St. *Paul's church-yard*, notoriously known for their prepostrous zeal, and former opposition unto christian liberty, under the name of *Beaeon-firers*. The *author* of the narrative of the proceedings against *John Bidle*, says [f]: 'If we enquire further into the 'conversation of these men, we shall find 'them to have been chief *city remonstrants*, 'that thereby set the nation into an actual 'flame, made division between the *parliament* and *army*, and were the occasion of 'the war between them; it was the *Presbyterian* interest which these men espoused, 'that occasioned the uproar that *Massey*, and *Pointze*, and the *apprentices* made, where-'of they are never to be forgotten, and ever 'to be thankfully acknowledged: If the 'providence of Almighty [God] had not interposed, this nation might by this time 'have become a desolate wilderness. These 'actings were so highly displeasing to the 'parliament, that they voted that no person that had a hand therein, should be capable of any place or office within the 'commonwealth.'

[e] Tho. Underhill, Luke Fawn, Nath. Webb. [f] *Page* 7.

THE author of *the humble advice to the right honourable the lord-mayor, the recorder, and the reſt of the juſtices of the honourable bench*, ſpeaking of Mr. *Bidle*, ſays [g]: 'If 'you ſhall ſeriouſly and deliberately weigh 'all circumſtances touching the man and 'his opinions, he is ſo free from being 'queſtioned for any the leaſt blemiſh 'in his life and converſation, that the *in-* 'formers themſelves have been heard to 'admire his ſtrict exemplary life, full of 'modeſty, ſobriety, and forbearance, no 'ways contentious, touching the great 'things of the world, but altogether taken 'up with the things of God revealed in 'the holy ſcriptures; wherein his ſtudy, 'diligence and attainments have been ſo 'great, that his knowledge therein is of as 'ready uſe as a concordance, no part 'thereof being named, but he preſently 'cites the book, chapter, and verſe, 'eſpecially throughout the books of the 'New Teſtament, where all the epiſtles he 'can ſay by heart out of the *Greek tongue*, 'and withal can read the *Greek* in *Engliſh*, 'and the *Engliſh* in *Greek* ſo readily as a 'man can do the mere *Engliſh*; ſo carefully 'hath he been rightly to underſtand them. 'As to the juſtice and integrity of his heart, 'his ways have manifeſted that he would 'not diſſemble, play the hypocrite, or

[g] *Page* 7.

'deal

'deal fraudulently with any man to ſave 'his life; ſuch is he certainly, as is known 'to very many perſons of worth and cre- 'dit in *London*. So as he is far from be- 'ing ſuch a monſter as many have believed 'him to be, through the uncomely and 'unchriſtian-like clamours of his ac- 'cuſers.'

THE author of *the true ſtate of the caſe of liberty of conſcience in England*, gives this teſtimony of Mr. *Bidle*'s converſation [h], 'We 'have, ſays he, had intimate knowledge 'thereof for ſome years; but we think he 'needs not us, but may appeal even to his ene- 'mies, for his vindication therein. Let thoſe 'that knew him at *Oxford* for the ſpace 'of ſeven or eight years, thoſe that knew him 'at *Glouceſter* about three years, thoſe that 'knew him at *London* theſe eight or nine 'years, (moſt of which time he hath been a 'priſoner) ſpeak what they know, of un- 'righteouſneſs, uncleanneſs, unpeaceableneſs, 'malice, pride, profaneneſs, drunkenneſs, 'or any the like iniquity, which they can 'accuſe him of; or hath he, (as the man- 'ner of hereticks is,) 2 *Pet.* ii. 3. *Through 'covetouſneſs, with feigned words made 'merchandiſe of any?* Hath he not herein 'walked upon ſuch true grounds of chriſ- 'tian ſelf-denial, that none in the world 'can ſtand more clear and blameleſs here-

[h] *Page* 5.

'in alſo? He having ſhunned to make any 'of thoſe advantages which are eaſily made 'in the world, by men of his parts and 'breeding, languages and learning, that (if 'any known to us) he may truly ſay as the 'apoſtle, *I have coveted no man's ſilver, or 'gold, or apparel; yea, ye yourſelves know, 'that theſe hands have miniſtred to my ne-'ceſſities*; he ever accounting it *a more 'bleſſed thing to give than receive.*

'AND that he ſhould, in holding or 'republiſhing any opinions in religion, 'wilfully ſin, doing the ſame againſt his 'own conſcience and judgment, and ſo 'ſhould fall under that character of an '*Heretick*, to be condemned of himſelf, '*Tit.* iii. 10, 11. we cannot imagine 'that his moſt zealous enemies do ſuppoſe, 'much leſs charge him with ſuch groſs 'wickedneſs; however for ourſelves that 'know him, we crave leave upon know-'ledge to affirm, that he lives conſtantly 'in ſuch a filial fear of God, with ſo much 'watchfulneſs over his ways, and lays ſo 'great a weight upon wilful ſin, that it is 'impoſſible he can be guilty of ſo abhorred 'an evil; being ſo far from *ſelf-condemn-'ing*, that we are perſuaded, he would 'not hold, or publiſh any opinion or 'doctrine which to his underſtanding he 'did not judge to have clear grounds in 'holy Scripture, though thereby he might 'gain the whole world: Such confidence

'have

'have thoſe that know him, of his clear-
'neſs in thoſe particulars, of *wilful-ſinning*,
'or *ſelf-condemning*.

'AND indeed, ſince he hath found
'cauſe to differ in his judgment from the
'multitude, he hath not only diligently
'examined the Scriptures himſelf, but alſo
'hath deſired and ſought the knowledge
'and diſcourſe of any learned and good
'man he could hear of, for his further
'information. But though he hath diſ-
'courſed with many, yet never received
'he an admonition from any, to change
'his judgment or opinion.

'SO that theſe things well-weighed in
'the true ballance of Scripture-truth, and
'true chriſtian charity, we hope it will
'appear, though he may err in ſome part
'of his judgment, yet can he not by any
'means, be eſteemed leſs than a believer
'in God through Jeſus Chriſt, and one that
'*exerciſeth himſelf to have always a good*
'*conſcience, void of offence toward God and*
'*men*; having hope of the reſurrection
'both of the juſt and unjuſt; and ſo not
'an *Heretick*, the characters of ſuch an
'one not all appearing in him; and much
'leſs a *blaſphemer*, having never been
'known to be either a curſer, or ſwearer,
'or railer againſt acknowledged truths.
'Inſomuch that were he in a true uner-
'ring church of Chriſt, they could not ſo
'much as excommunicate him out of their

'fellowſhip as an *Heretick*, much leſs per-
'ſecute him to impriſonment, or other
'puniſhment; it clearly appearing that if he
'be miſtaken in any thing (as who in ſome
'meaſure is not?) it is neceſſarily from the
'entanglement of his underſtanding, and
'not in the leaſt of wilfulneſs. Nor could
'we ever perceive, but that even in thoſe
'things wherein he moſt differed from
'the ſtream of interpreters, in thoſe high
'points of *Trinity in Unity*, *and Unity in*
'*Trinity*, that he contended therein out
'of curioſity, or vain glory, but con-
'ſcientiouſly, and to the clearing of the
'truth to him ſo appearing, and vindica-
'tion of the honour of God therein, which
'we believe to be the ſupreme end of
'all his endeavours. And though he ſhould
'ſomewhat miſtake the way, yet doubtleſs,
'God, who often accepteth the will for
'the deed, will look upon it as an error
'of his zeal and love, and receive him to
'his mercy.

'AND as we have undertaken (as be-
'ing moved in conſcience thereto) to vin-
'dicate Mr. *Bidle* from any *hereſy* in faith,
'or licentiouſneſs in practice, that might ren-
'der him juſtly uncapable of liberty of con-
'ſcience promiſed in the government; ſo
'in particular we can boldly defend him a-
'gainſt the charge of abuſing his liberty to
'the civil injury of others, or any manner
'of way endeavouring the diſturbance of

'the

'the publick peace or civil government upon any pretence. Doth he not in the 17th chapter of his *Catechiſm* deliver his judgment for ſubjection to government, and *paying tribute even for conſcience-ſake?* What needs more, ſeeing all that know him, know his practice to be conformable thereunto?'

Mr. William Kiffin *proſecuted by the ſame ordinance.*

ANOTHER, who was proſecuted by the force of this *ordinance*, was the Rev. Mr. *William Kiffin*, paſtor of a *Baptized congregation* in the city of *London*. He was convened before the Lord-mayor at *Guild-hall*, on *Thurſday* the 12th of *July* 1655. and there charged with the breach of this *ordinance*, for preaching, *That the baptiſm of infants is unlawful:* But the Lord-mayor being buſy, the execution of the penalty in the act upon him was referr'd till the *Monday* following.

THE author of *The Spirit of Perſecution again broke looſe*, makes the following obſervations on the juſtices partiality with reſpect to their management of the proſecutions againſt Mr. *Bidle* and Mr. *Kiffin*.

'MR. *Bidle*, ſays he, muſt be ſent for 'by a warrant, Mr. *Kiffin* by ſummons of 'a meſſenger; Mr. *Bidle* muſt be committed by one juſtice without a *mittimus*, and 'by one juſtice with a *mittimus*, but Mr. '*Kiffin* muſt not be proceeded againſt upon the ſame ordinance without two juſtices; he muſt have three or four days ſpace

'given him; the other must be sent to prison in such haste, that a *mittimus* could not be writ to be sent with him, but it must be sent after him. And in the passages, says he, at Mr. *Kiffin*'s prosecution, you may note further, that my Lord-mayor asked the prosecutors why they did not prosecute Mr. *Kiffin* sooner, seeing they knew of this ordinance, and Mr. *Kiffin*'s practice long ago. To which they made answer, that they thought the ordinance had been made null and void, till the other day they perceived one was committed to prison upon it. What made you think, said my Lord, that it was void? there is no time set when it should expire. True, said the prosecutors, but there is the instrument of government that saith, *That whosoever professeth faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, and discipline publickly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but protected in the profession of the faith and exercise of the religion,* &c. *and all acts and ordinances to the contrary are to be esteemed null and void.* Would any man think that the Lord-mayor of *London* should be ignorant of the fundamentals in the government? Surely those that slight one part of the governmen, then chiefest, would make void all, if they could or durst.'

THE

THE fury of theſe times ſeemed to be more eſpecially turn'd againſt the oppoſers of *infant-baptiſm*, as will appear by the following account of their ſufferings, both before and after the making of theſe laws. *Sufferings of the Engliſh Baptiſts.*

I SHALL mention, in the firſt place, Mr. *Vavaſor Powell*, that faithful miniſter and confeſſor of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Hard was the meaſure he met with from wicked and debauched perſons, by often lying in wait for his life, and by many buffetings and ſtripes which he received from them, whilſt attending and pleading Chriſt's cauſe and goſpel; inſomuch that it may be truly ſaid of him, as the *apoſtle* ſpake of himſelf; *That in all things he approved himſelf a miniſter of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in ſtripes, in impriſonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings; by honour and diſhonour, by evil report and good report, as a deceiver yet true. He was in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils among falſe brethren, in wearineſs and painfulneſs, in watchings often, in hunger, and thirſt*, &c. 2 Cor. vi. 4, &c. 2 Cor. xi. 26.

HE was taken about the year 1640. when preaching in a houſe in *Brecknockſhire*, about ten o-clock at night, and ſeized with fifty or ſixty of his hearers, by many

[1] *Page* 86.

lewd

lewd fellows, under pretence of a warrant they had from juſtice *Williams*, and ſecured in a church, where at midnight he performed divine ſervice, and preached from
Matt. x. 28. thoſe words, *Fear not them which kill the body.* And it was obſerved, that one of the chiefeſt and vileſt of his troublers did weep ſorely.

THE next morning he was brought to the juſtice's houſe; who being not at home, whilſt waiting, he preached there, at which the juſtice, when he came in, was much enraged, to find him at ſuch work in his houſe; but two of the juſtice's daughters, who ſeemed to reliſh the word, begged him not to do any thing againſt him and his companions, but he preſently committed them to the conſtable's hands; and the next day, having with him two or three more juſtices, and ſix or ſeven *prieſts*, ſent for them again to examine them further; where, after much conference, and many threatnings, he diſcharged them all at that time.

AFTER this, preaching at *Launger* in *Radnorſhire*, in the field, becauſe the publick place was not big enough to contain his auditory, Mr. *Hugh Lloyd* the high ſheriff with a band of men, ſeized him, and after examination committed him, and charged ſixteen or ſeventeen conſtables preſent, to execute his *mittimus*. They all but one refuſed it; who taking him into his cuſtody, the priſon

priſon being at a great diſtance, and Mr. *Powell*'s houſe being in the way, he permitted him to lodge there that night, and was ſo affected with his family duty, that he would proceed no farther, and left Mr. *Powell* at home, but for fear of the cruelty of the juſtice, abſconded.

MR. *Powell*, to prevent damage to the man, bound himſelf with two ſufficient ſureties to appear at the next aſſizes at *Radnorſhire*; and accordingly appeared there, and three bills of indictment were preferred againſt him, from which, upon the traverſe, he was acquitted, and the judges invited him to dinner with them, deſiring him to give thanks, one of them ſaid, *it was the beſt grace he ever heard in his life.*

THIS proved much to the furtherance of the goſpel in thoſe parts, to the great offence of the high ſheriff, who afterwards upon the coming on of the war, perſecuted him out of the country.

Mr. Edward Barber *impriſon'd.*

MR. *Edward Barber*, miniſter to a ſmall congregation of *Baptiſts* at *London*, was in the year 1641. kept eleven months in priſon, for *denying* the *baptiſm* of *infants*, and that to pay *tithes* to the clergy is God's ordinance under the goſpel; but theſe ſeem to have been before the *epiſcopal* power was laid aſide [k].

[k] *Preface to his treatiſe of Baptiſm.*

MR.

Mr. Benj. Cox *imprisoned.*

MR. *Benj. Cox*, a bishop's son, and some time minister of *Bedford*, was committed to *Coventry* goal, for preaching and disputing against *infant-baptism* in the year 1643.

The occasion of it.

THE occasion of it was this. Several pious and godly people at *Coventry*, having embraced the opinion of *Antipædobaptism*, resolved to form themselves into a distinct society or church, and for their direction and assistance in this settlement, they sent for this Mr. *Cox*, being an antient *minister*, and of good reputation both for piety and learning, as his adversaries acknowledge.

THERE were also at the same time in this city, several *Presbyterian* ministers, who had fled thither for *refuge*; among whom the Rev. Mr. *Baxter* was one. These were not a little alarmed and displeased at this increase of the *Baptists*, and especially at so great a man's coming to encourage and vindicate them.

BESIDES the pulpits ringing against the error of *Anabaptism*, Mr. *Baxter* sends a challenge to Mr. *Cox*, to dispute with him about the points in difference; which was accepted, and carried on *viva voce*, and then by writing. Tho' no account of this is preserv'd, but by Mr. *Baxter* himself, yet it is easy to judge which side gained the advantage. For there comes out an order from the *committee*, requiring Mr. *Cox* to depart

depart the *city*, and promiſe to come there no more; and upon his refuſing to do this, he is immediately committed to *priſon*.

THIS was complain'd of as very hard and illegal uſage; and Mr. *Baxter* was reflected upon as having procur'd his impriſonment; for he had a great intereſt in the *committee*, dwelt at the *governour*'s houſe, and was his intimate *friend*.

MR. *Baxter* indeed denies[1], that he ever ſpoke a word for the putting him into priſon. But if he had diſlik'd ſuch proceedings, 'tis plain he might have prevented it; for when he had been ſome time in *priſon*, upon Mr. *Pinſon*'s applying himſelf to Mr. *Baxter* for his releaſe, it was ſoon procured.

MR. *Henry Denne*, who had been educated at *Cambridge*, ordain'd a *miniſter* by the biſhop of St. *David*'s, and enjoyed the living of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordſhire* about ten years, upon changing his opinion about *baptiſm*, was in the year 1644. apprehended in *Cambridgeſhire*, by the committee of that county, and ſent to *goal*, for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and preſuming to baptize thoſe again who had received no other. *Mr.* Henry Denne *ſent to priſon.*

AFTER he had been confined ſome time, through the interceſſion of his friends, his caſe was referred to a committee of parliament; and he was ſent up to *London*, and kept a *priſoner* in the lord *Peter's*

[1] *Introduct. plain proofs.*

houſe

houſe in *Aderſgate-ſtreet*, till the committee had heard his caſe, and releaſed him.

HE was a ſecond time taken up, and committed at *Spalding* in *Lincolnſhire*, in *June* 1646. for preaching and baptizing by *immerſion*. His chief proſecutors here were two juſtices of peace. They ſent the conſtable to apprehend him on the Lord's-day morning, and keep him in cuſtody, that ſo he might not preach; for the people reſorted to him very much, which was no ſmall occaſion of their taking offence. Upon the hearing his caſe, there was but one *witneſs* of his pretended crime, *viz. dipping*; for he himſelf refuſed to be his own accuſer.

IT will give the *reader* a better view of the proceedings in thoſe times, to ſee the two examinations that were taken on this occaſion.

The examination of Anne Jarrat, *of* Spalding, *ſpinſter*, June 22. 1646. *before maſter* Thomas Irbie, *and maſter* John Harrington, *commiſſioners of the peace.*

'THIS examinate ſaith, on *Wedneſ-*
'*day* laſt in the night about eleven or
'twelve of the clock, *Anne Stennet* and
'*Anne Smith*, the ſervants of *John Macker-*
'*neſſe*, did call out this examinate to go

[g] Edward's *Gangræna*, *p.* 3. *p.* 86.

'with

'with them to the little croft, with whom 'this examinate did go; and coming thi- 'ther, maſter *Denne*, and *John Macker- 'neſſe*, and a *ſtranger* or *two* followed after: 'And being come to the *river* ſide, maſ- 'ter *Denne* went into the water, and there 'did baptize *Anne Stennet*, *Anne Smith*, '*Godfrey Roote*, and *John Sowter* in this 'examinate's preſence.'

ANNE JARRAT (W) *her mark.*

June 21. 1646. Lincolne Holland, Henry Denne *of* Caxton *in the county of* Cambridge, *examined before* John Harrington *and* Thomas Irby, *Eſqrs; two of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace.*

'THIS examinate ſaith, that he liveth 'at *Caxton* aforeſaid, but doth ex- 'erciſe at *Elſly* within a mile of his own 'houſe; and ſaith that he took orders a- 'bout ſixteen years ſince from the biſhop of '*St. Davids*, and that on *Monday* laſt he 'came to *Spalding*, being invited thither 'by *John Mackerneſſe* to come to his houſe. 'And that he hath exerciſed his gifts about 'four times in ſeveral places in *Spalding*, '*viz.* at the houſe of *John Mackerneſſe* 'and Mr. *Enſton*'s. As for baptizing of 'any, he doth not confeſs.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

IF

IF it be thought a crime to perform ſuch a ceremony in the *night*, the ſeverity of the times muſt bear the blame of it, which obliged him to take ſuch a ſeaſon. The Primitive Chriſtians held their aſſemblies and perform'd moſt of their ſocial worſhip in the *night*, when under perſecution; and for his not confeſſing the baptizing of any, the rule of common law will excuſe him, *Nemo tenetur ſeipſum accuſare.*

Mr. Coppe *impriſoned.*

ABOUT this time alſo Mr. *Coppe*, a miniſter in *Warwickſhire*, and ſome time preacher to the gariſon of *Compton-houſe* in the ſaid county, was committed to *Coventry* goal for rebaptizing.

Mr. Baxter's *account of him.*

MR. *Baxter* ſays of this man [n], 'That he 'was a zealous *Anabaptiſt*, and continued 'ſo for many years, and rebaptized more 'than any one man he ever heard of in the 'country. Witneſs, ſays he, *Warwick-* 'ſhire, *Oxfordſhire*, part of *Worceſterſhire*, '&c. That when himſelf was preacher to 'the gariſon at *Coventry*, which was near 'him, he heard of no opinions that he 'vented or held, but the neceſſity of re- 'baptizing, and independency: But after- 'wards he fell into the errors and vile prac- 'tices of the *Ranters*, for which he was 'put again into *Coventry* goal.'

BUT Mr. *Baxter* acknowledges, that his former impriſonment was for his rebap-

[n] *Scrip. Proofs*, p. 148.

tizing;

tizing; and that thoſe who committed him were repreſented as *perſecutors* for ſo doing.

UPON the publiſhing of the *ordinance of parliament* in 1645. againſt unordained preachers, before recited, the Lord-mayor of *London* ſent his officers to the *Baptiſt-meeting* in *Coleman-ſtreet*, being inform'd that certain *laymen* preach'd there. When they came, they found two miniſters there, Mr. *Lamb*, the elder of the church; and a young man, who was a *teacher* among them. *Mr.* Lamb *and another taken into cuſtody.*

THE congregation were greatly provoked that they ſhould be thus diſturbed in their worſhip, for it was on the Lord's-day, and ſome uſed very rough language to the officers; but Mr. *Lamb* treated them very civilly, and deſired they would permit them to finiſh their exerciſe, and gave his word that they would both appear before the Lord-mayor at ſix o-clock, to anſwer for what they did.

THE officers accepted this, and went their way; and Mr. *Lamb* with his aſſiſtant met them at his lordſhip's houſe, at the time appointed.

WHEN they were brought before the mayor, he demanded by what authority they took upon them to preach; and told them, they had tranſgreſſed an *ordinance* of *parliament*. Mr. *Lamb* replied, No, for they were called and appointed to that

office by as reformed a church as any in the world, alluding to the words of the *ordinance*; and they acknowledg'd to him, that they were ſuch as rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants* as invalid.

Bound over by the Lord-mayor, and committed to priſon.

AFTER examination, his lordſhip bound them over to anſwer it before a committee of parliament; who, after hearing of them, committed them both to *goal*, where they lay for ſome time. At length, by the interceſſion of their friends, they were ſet at liberty.

Mr. Hobſon *taken into cuſtody.*

THE ſame year, and by virtue of the ſame *ordinance*, Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, a *Baptiſt miniſter*, was taken into cuſtody by the governour of *Newport-Pagnel*, for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and reflecting upon the order againſt *lay-mens* preaching.

Sent a priſoner to London.

AFTER ſome ſhort time of confinement there, the governour, Sir *Samuel Luke*, ſent him priſoner to *London*. His caſe was ſoon brought before the committee of examination; and having ſeveral great friends, he was immediately, after his being heard, diſcharged; and preached publickly at a meeting-houſe in *More fields*, to the great mortification of his perſecutors.

Mr. Hanſerd Knollys *taken into cuſtody.*

AMONG the ſufferers for *Antipædobaptiſm* in theſe times, the pious and learned Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys* muſt be number'd, tho' he had been ordained a miniſter by the biſhop of *Peterborough*, and now was a zealous

zealous oppoſer both of epiſcopacy and common prayer, yet all this could not exempt him from the rage of the *Preſbyters*; [nor will Mr. *Neal*'s invidious repreſentation do any harm to his character] becauſe he was a *Sectary* and an *Anabaptiſt*. Once he was taken up for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm* at *Bow* church in *Cheapſide*. The occaſion was this: The churchwardens of that pariſh wanting a miniſter to preach on the Lord's-day enſuing, apply'd themſelves to Mr. *Knollys*. They renewed their requeſt three days, one after another, and were denied. At length, their earneſtneſs and great want of a ſupply prevailed with him. When he was preaching, his ſubject led him to ſay ſomething againſt the practice of baptizing *infants*. This gave ſo great an offence to ſome of his *auditory*, that they complained of him to the parliament, and a warrant from the committee for plunder'd miniſters, was ſent to the keeper of *Ely-houſe*, to apprehend him, and bring him in ſafe cuſtody before them. Hereupon he was preſently ſeized, and kept ſeveral days in *priſon*, his crime being too great to admit of bail when it was offered. At length his caſe was brought to a hearing before the committee: There were about thirty of the aſſembly of divines preſent; and Mr. *White* the chairman of the committee examined him about his authority to

The occaſion of it.

Was impriſoned.

preach, the occaſion of his preaching in *Bow* church, and the doctrine he had there delivered.

Anſwers for himſelf before the committee, and is acquitted.

To all theſe he gave ſuch full anſwers, that they ſeemed *aſhamed* of what they had done; and ordering him to withdraw, called in the *goaler*, reproved him ſharply for refuſing bail, and threatned to turn him out of his place: ſo he was diſmiſs'd without any blame, or paying of fees, which was a ſmall reward for falſe impriſonment. Not long after this, he went into *Suffolk*, where he preached in ſeveral places, as he had opportunity and was deſired by his friends; but he being counted an *Antinomian*, and an *Anabaptiſt*, this was looked upon to be *ſedition* and *faction*, and the rabble being encouraged by the high-conſtable, ſet themſelves zealouſly to oppoſe him. At one time when he was preaching, they ſtoned him out of the pulpit. At another time, when he was to have preached, they got into the church firſt, and ſhut the doors, both againſt him and the people, upon which he preach'd in the church-yard; but this was deemed a very great and an unſufferable crime.

Is taken into cuſtody again, and ſent priſoner to London.

At length he was taken into cuſtody; and firſt he was proſecuted at a petty *ſeſſions* in the country, then ſent up a *priſoner* to *London*, with articles of complaint againſt him to the parliament. But when his caſe came to be heard before the committee of examination,

mination, he made it appear by witneſſes of good reputation, that he had neither ſowed *ſedition*, nor raiſed *tumults*, and that all the diſorders which had happen'd, were owing to the rage and malignity of his oppoſers, who had acted contrary both to law and common civility: He produc'd the copies of his ſermons which he had preach'd in thoſe parts, and afterwards printed them. *Anſwers for himſelf before the committee of examination.* *Chriſt alone exalted*, &c.

HIS anſwers were ſo full and ſatisfactory, that when the committee made their report to the houſe, he was not only diſcharged, but a vote paſſed, that he might have liberty to preach in any part of *Suffolk*, when the miniſter of the place did not preach there himſelf. But this buſineſs put him to a great deal of trouble and expence. He has left it under his own hand, that it coſt him threeſcore pounds. *Is diſcharged, and a vote of the houſe paſſed in his favour.*

WHEN Mr. *Knollys* found that his preaching in the churches, tho' but occaſionally, gave ſo much offence, and brought ſo much trouble on himſelf, he ſet up a ſeparate meeting in *Great St. Helens*, *London*, where the people flock'd to hear him, and he had commonly a *thouſand* auditors. But this was rather a greater offence to his *Preſbyterian* brethren, than his former method. Now they complain'd that he was too near the church, and that he kept his meetings at the ſame times *He ſets up a meeting in* Great St. Helens.

that they had their publick worſhip. And firſt they prevail'd upon his landlord, to warn him out of that place; next he was ſummon'd to appear before a committee of divines, which uſed to ſit at *Weſtminſter*, in the room called the *Queen's court*, to anſwer for his conduct in this matter. Upon his examination, Mr. *Leigh* being chairman, he aſked him why he preſumed to preach without holy orders. To which he replied, that he was in holy orders. Hereupon one of the committee ſaid to the chairman, that he had renounc'd his *ordination* by the biſhop before the committee for plunder'd miniſters. Mr. *Knollys* confeſſed that he did ſo; but ſaid, he was now ordain'd, in a church of God, according to the order of the goſpel, and then declar'd to them the manner of *ordination* uſed among the *Baptiſts*. At laſt, the chairman in the name of the committee, commanded him to preach no more; but he told them he would preach the Goſpel, both publickly and from houſe to houſe; ſaying it was more equal to obey Chriſt who commanded him, than thoſe who forbad him, and ſo went his way.

Is ſummoned before a committee of divines.

Is forbid to preach.

ONE thing that made the *Preſbyterians* more violent againſt this good man, ſeems to have been a letter that he writ from *London*, to one Mr. *John Dutton* in *Norwich*, in which there were ſome ſharp reflections upon their attempts to ſuppreſs all religion

A reaſon of the Preſbyterians *hatred.*

ligions but their own. This coming into the hands of ſome of the committee of *Suffolk*, was ſeized, ſent up to *London*, and preſently after publiſh'd by one of the chief promoters of perſecution in thoſe times. It being but ſhort, I ſhall here inſert it for the *reader*'s ſatisfaction.

Beloved brother,

'I Salute you in the Lord. Your letter I 'received the laſt day of the week; 'and upon the firſt day I did ſalute the 'brethren in your name, who re-ſalute you 'and pray for you. [a]The city *Preſbyterians* 'have ſent a letter to the ſynod, dated 'from *Sion-College*, againſt any *toleration*; 'and they are faſting and praying at *Sion-College* this day, about further contrivings 'againſt God's poor innocent ones; but 'God will doubtleſs anſwer them according to the *idol* of their own hearts. To-'morrow there is a faſt kept by both houſes, and the ſynod at *Weſtminſter*. They 'ſay it is to ſeek God about the eſtabliſhing 'of worſhip according to their covenant: 'They have *firſt vowed, now they make enquiry.* God will certainly *take the crafty 'in their own ſnare*, and *make the wiſdom 'of the wiſe, fooliſhneſs*; for *he chooſeth the 'fooliſh things of this world to confound the 'wiſe, and weak things to confound the*

[a] Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 48.

'*mighty.* My wife and family remember 'their love to you. Salute the brethren 'that are with you. Farewel.

London, the 13th day of the 11th Month, called January, 1645.

Your brother in the faith and fellowſhip of the goſpel,

HANSERD KNOLLYS.

IFIND it was a common practice in thoſe times, for ſuch as were in *authority*, to ſeize the letters which the *Sectaries*, as they term them, ſent one to another, and divulge them, either to expoſe their weakneſs, or to take advantage of any thing in them relating to publick affairs, in order to turn the government againſt them.

John Sims *ſeized.*

WE have a notable inſtance of this in the caſe of *John Sims*, a *Baptiſt miniſter* at *Hampton*. This man, in a journey to *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, was prevailed upon to preach in the pariſh-church of *Middleſey*; which gave ſuch offence to the *Preſbyterians*, that he was preſently ſeized by virtue of the act againſt unordain'd miniſters; and five letters, which he was carrying from ſome of his religious acquaintance to others, were taken from him. Theſe, with his examination, were ſent up to *London*, by way of complaint againſt him; and the government

His letters taken from him, and publiſhed.

ment not taking that notice which was expected of them, the next thing was to publiſh them, in a book written by a *Preſbyterian* miniſter againſt the ſectaries.

HIS crimes are ſpecify'd in the examination, which were theſe great ones; *viz. preaching* and denying *infant-baptiſm.* And to aggravate theſe, they added, That he took a text, and preach'd before two *Preſbyterian miniſters:* For this is the form of it.

'[b] SONDAY, the laſt of *May*, he preach-
'ed in the pariſh-church of *Middleſey*, took
'his text out of the iii. *Col.* 1. one maſter
'*Mercer*, and maſter *Eſquier*, miniſters,
'with a hundred more perſons; and being
'deſired to know how he durſt preſume
'to teach ſo publickly, being not called,
'and an *ordinance* of parliament to the
'contrary, anſwered, *If* Peter *was called,*
'*ſo was he.*

2. 'BEING deſired to know, why he
'teached contrary to the law of God, and
'the laws of the land, anſwered, Why
'are they ſuffered to teach in *London*, ſo
'near the parliament-houſe? and that he
'would allow of the parliament, as far
'forth as they go with his doctrine.

3. 'BEING deſired to know whether
'he allowed of our *baptiſm*, anſwered, No:
'that for his part he was baptized a year
'ſince, by one maſter *Sickmoore*; and his

[b] Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 50.

'manner

'manner of baptizing was, that the afore-
'said *Sickmoore* went first into the water,
'and he after him, so that he for his part
'would not allow of our *baptism*.'

As to the letters, there appears neither *heresy* nor *rebellion* in them, unless baptizing by *immersion*, and rejoicing that the *Presbyterians* did not obtain that unlimited power they petition'd for, might be deemed such.

IN one of these letters, written by *William Hayward*, are these words[c]:

'I NEED not tell you of the oppo-
'sitions here in *Taunton*. Our brother will
'tell you the particular passages; our go-
'vernour does labour to beat us down,
'and doth say, that any meeting in pri-
'vate, is merely to cross the publick meet-
'ings, and that it is not out of tenderness
'of conscience, but *damnable pride* that
'we do; but this doth not any way cause
'us to draw back, or sadden our spirits,
'for our spirits are carried above the fear
'of men.'

IN another Mr. *Collier* says[d],

'THE unlimited power of the *Presby-*
'*terians* is denied them, of which you
'shall hear more shortly.'

AND the chief design of the last, is to comfort and strengthen the saints against persecution, and to assure them, that by

[c] *Ibid.* p. 53.
[d] *Ibid.* p. 51.

the

the ſame power by which they were brought into the way of holineſs, they ſhould be aſſiſted, and carried on to the end.

THIS year alſo, *Andrew Wyke* was taken up in the county of *Suffolk*, for preaching and *dipping*. When he was brought before the committee of the county, to be examined about his authority to preach, and the doctrines that he held, he refuſed to give them any account of either; alledging, that a freeman of *England* was not bound to anſwer any *interrogatories*, either to accuſe himſelf or others; but if they had ought againſt him, they ſhould lay their charge, and produce their proofs. This was look'd upon as great obſtinacy, and an high contempt of authority; and therefore he was preſently ſent to *goal*. Andrew Wyke *taken into cuſtody.* *Is ſent to priſon.*

How long he continued there I cannot find; but during his impriſonment, a pamphlet was written, either by himſelf, or ſome of his friends, giving a particular account of the proceedings againſt him, and exclaiming againſt the committee for their perſecuting principles and illegal practices. [e] It was entitled, 'The *innocent in priſon* 'complaining; or, *a true relation of the pro-* 'ceedings of the committee of Ipſwich, *the* 'committee at Bury St. Edmonds *in the* 'county of Suffolk, *againſt one* Andrew

[e] Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 170.

Wyke,

'Wyke, *a witneſs of* Jeſus *in the ſame* 'county, *who was committed to priſon* June 3. '1646.'

I SUPPOSE the reader's patience almoſt tired with accounts of this nature. I will only add one more; and I take it to be one of the chief and baſeſt attempts againſt the practice of *immerſion* in *baptiſm*, of any in thoſe times.

Mr. Sam. Oaes.

MR. *Sam. Oates*, a very popular preacher, and great diſputant, taking a journey into *Eſſex* in the year 1646. preach'd in ſeveral parts of that county, and baptized by *immerſion* great numbers of people, eſpecially about *Bockin*, *Braintree*, and *Tarling*. This made the *Preſbyterians* in thoſe parts very uneaſy; eſpecially the *miniſters*, who complained bitterly that ſuch things ſhould be permitted; and endeavouring to ſpur on the *magiſtrates* all they could to ſuppreſs him, one writes after this manner [f]:

'No magiſtrate in the country dare med-'dle with him; for they ſay they have 'hunted theſe out of the country into their 'dens in *London*, and impriſon'd ſome, and 'they are releaſed and ſent like *decoy-ducks* 'into the country to fetch in more; ſo that 'they go on in divers parts of *Eſſex* with 'the greateſt confidence and inſolency that 'can be imagined.'

[f] *Ibidem*, Part II. p. 3

How-

HOWEVER, at length they got ſomething againſt him, which they thought would effectually anſwer their end, and therefore endeavoured to purſue it to the uttermoſt.

IT happen'd that among the hundreds which he had baptized in this county, one died within a few weeks after; and this they would have to be occaſioned by her being dipp'd in cold water.

ACCORDINGLY they prevailed upon the *magiſtrates* to ſend him to *priſon*, and put him in *irons* as a *murderer*, in order to his *trial* at the next *aſſizes*. *Is ſent to priſon, and put in irons.*

THE books written againſt the *Baptiſts* frequently repreſented the practice of *immerſion* to be extremely dangerous; and ſome termed them a cruel and murdering *ſect* for uſing it. Now if they could but have carry'd this point, it would have confirm'd their cenſures, fix'd an eternal *odium* on the practice, and frightened many timorous perſons from complying with their duty.

GREAT endeavours were therefore uſed that he might be brought in *guilty*: Nay, ſo fond were ſome of this ſtory, that they publiſhed it for a truth before it had been legally examined, and added theſe circumſtances to it, *viz.* 'g That he held her ſo 'long in the water, that ſhe fell preſently 'ſick: That her belly ſwell'd with the

g Edwards's *Gangræna*, Part II. p. 121.

'abun-

'abundance of water she took in, and with-
'in a fortnight or three weeks died; and up-
'on her death-bed expressed her *dipping*
'to be the cause of her death.' All which was afterwards made appear to be notorious lies.

Tried for his life. THEY did indeed carry it so far, as to have him arraigned for his *life* at *Chelmsford* assizes. But upon his trial several credible witnesses were produced, among which the *mother* of the maid was one; who all testified upon *oath*, that the said *Anne Martin* (that being her name) was in better health for several days after her *baptism* than she had been for some years before; and that she was seen to walk abroad afterwards very comfortably. So that notwithstanding all the design and malignity that appear'd in this trial, he was in the end, brought in *not guilty*, to the great mortification of his enemies.

And honourably acquitted.

Remark. How many children have died, either at their *baptism*, or immediately after it? And yet none ever ascrib'd it to their fright at the time, or the coldness of the water thrown upon them; and it must, of the two, be more dangerous, to dip tender and new-born infants, than those who are grown to maturity. And yet that was the practice of the church of *England* for several hundred years, even till the reign of King *James* I. when the fashion altered; and of the thousands of weakly persons, who

who have been baptized by *immerſion* ſince the revival of that practice in *England*, among the *Baptiſts*, it does not appear that any one received any prejudice by it. Could but one inſtance of that nature have been produced, you may very eaſily judge by this ſtory, how much it would have been publiſhed and improved againſt them by their enemies.

SIR *John Floyer*, an eminent phyſician, publiſh'd an eſſay to prove cold bathing both ſafe and uſeful; wherein he gives an account of many great cures done by it, and preſents the world with an alphabetical catalogue of diſeaſes againſt which it has been ſucceſsful: And on this account, in the *epiſtle dedicatory*, and in his ſecond letter, he laments the diſuſe of the *baptiſmal immerſion* in *England*, which he ſays, continued till the year 1600. Indeed, he ſays, he will not concern himſelf in any theological diſputes, whither *immerſion* be eſſential to baptiſm, *&c.* *Sir* John Floyer *proves* dipping *both ſafe and uſeful.*

'[h] FOR all that I ſhall aim at, ſays he, is 'to ſhew, that *immerſion* was generally 'practiſed by the *antients*; and that in this 'church it continued in uſe till the begin- 'ning of the laſt age; and that there is 'not that danger in it, as parents appre- 'hend; but inſtead of prejudicing the health 'of their children, *immerſion* would prevent

[h] Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, *p.* 134.

'many

'many hereditary diſeaſes, if it were ſtill 'practiſed.'

[i] HE cloſes his letter with obſerving, 'that 'the church of *England* continued the 'uſe of *immerſion* longer than any other 'chriſtian church in the *weſtern* parts of 'the world. For the *eaſtern* church, ſaith 'he, yet uſe it; and our church ſtill re-'commends the *dipping* of *infants* in her '*rubrick*, to which, I believe, the *Engliſh* 'will at laſt return, when phyſick has 'given them a clear proof by divers ex-'periments, that cold baths are both ſafe 'and uſeful. And, he ſays, they did great 'injury to their own children, and all poſte-'rity, who firſt introduc'd the alteration of 'this truly antient ceremony of *immerſion*, 'and were the occaſion of a degenerate, 'ſickly, tender race ever ſince.'

BUT to return. When the *Preſbyterians* found they could do nothing to Mr. *Oates* by due courſe of law, they endeavoured to raiſe the *mob* againſt him; and in this they were more ſucceſsful. For a little after, ſome who were known to be *Baptiſts*, going occaſionally to *Wethersfield* in that county, there was preſently an alarm given, that *Oates* and his companions were come to that town; upon which the *rabble* were raiſed, and ſeized thoſe innocent people. And for no other crime, but becauſe they were

Some Baptiſts *abuſed by the rabble.*

[i] *Ibid.* p. 134.

Anabap-

Anabaptiſts, they were dragged to a *pump*, and treated like the worſt of *villains*; neither was *Oates*, the perſon againſt whom they were chiefly enraged, amongſt them.

NOT long after this, *Oates* himſelf went to *Dunmow* in *Eſſex*. When ſome of the zealots for *infant-baptiſm* in that town heard where he was, without any other provocation but that of his daring to come there, they dragged him out of the houſe, and threw him into a *river*, boaſting they had thoroughly *dipt* him. *Mr.* Oates *thrown into a river.*

ABOUT this time Mr. *Edward Hutchinſon*, a learned and ingenious defender of the practice of baptizing *believers* only, in his *epiſtle dedicatory* to thoſe of the *baptized congregations*, put at the beginning of his treatiſe, *concerning the covenant and baptiſm*, gives the following account of the beginning and increaſe of that people in theſe latter times.

Mr. Hutchinſon's *account of the* Engliſh Baptiſts.

'YOUR *beginning*, ſays he, in theſe nations of late years was but ſmall; yet, when it pleaſed the Lord to diſpel thoſe clouds that over-ſhadowed us, and ſcatter ſome beams of the *goſpel* amongſt us, he gave you ſo great an increaſe, that *Sion* may ſay with admiration, *Who hath begotten me theſe*, &c.

'NOR is it leſs obſervable, that whereas other *reformations* have been carried on by the *ſecular arm*, and the countenance and allowance of the *magiſtrate*; as in *Luther*'s

'time, by ſeveral *German* princes; the pro-
'teſtant reformation in *England*, by King
'*Edward*, Queen *Elizabeth*, &c. the *Preſ-*
'*byterian* reformation, by a parliament,
'committee of eſtates, aſſembly of divines,
'beſides the favour and aſſiſtance of great
'perſonages; you have had none of theſe
'to take you by the hand; but your pro-
'greſs was againſt the impetuous current of
'human oppoſition, attended with ſuch ex-
'ternal diſcouragements, as beſpeak your
'embracing this deſpiſed truth an effect of
'heart ſincerity, void of all mercenary
'conſiderations. Yea, how active has the
'*accuſer of the brethren* been, to repreſent
'you in ſuch frightful figures, expoſing
'you by that miſchievous artifice to popu-
'lar *odium*, and the laſh of *magiſtracy*, in-
'ſomuch that the name of an *Anabaptiſt*
'was crime enough, which doubtleſs was a
'heavy obſtacle in the way of many pious
'ſouls? And what our diſſenting brethren
'have to anſwer upon that account, who,
'inſtead of taking up, have laid ſtumbling
'blocks in the way of *Reformation*, will
'appear another day. Yet, notwithſtand-
'ing the ſtrenuous oppoſitions of thoſe
'great and learned ones, the mighty God of
'*Jacob* hath taken you by the hand, and
'ſaid, *Be ſtrong*.'

BUT to return, whilſt the *Preſbyterians* had the aſcendant, the *perſecution* againſt the *ſectaries* continued; the members of the houſe

houſe of Commons, which now compos'd the parliament, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſupreme authority; the violence they had uſed to their colleagues, the king's tragical death, the change of the monarchy into a commonwealth, and the taxes impos'd on the people for an unneceſſary war, had render'd them *odious* to the whole kingdom.

PETITIONS are made to them, in which their diſſolution is demanded: They vote againſt a diſſolution, and prepare a bill, by which all perſons are forbid to preſent ſuch petitions, under pain of being declared guilty of *high treaſon*.

IT could not be doubted, that the members who had ſet more than twelve years, and had but too much abuſed their power, would always retain the *ſupreme authority* in their hands, under colour of being the repreſentatives of a republick, which properly conſiſted only of themſelves. An. Dom. 1653.

Cromwel being therefore very certain this parliament was odious to the people, went to the houſe, *April* 20. 1653. attended with ſome *officers* and *ſoldiers*; and without any ceremony told them, he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill uſe, and therefore they were to be immediately diſſolved. A little after, he publiſhes a *declaration*, to juſtify the diſſolution of the parliament; makes choice of an hundred and forty four *Cromwel diſſolves the long parliament.*

perſons, to take care of the government; and requires them to aſſemble at *Whitehall*, *July* 4. enſuing. Theſe perſons, when aſſembled, made no ſcruple to call themſelves *a parliament*, and choſe one *Rouſe* for their ſpeaker. They did nothing conſiderable in a ſeſſion of more than five months. At laſt, on the 12*th* of *December*, the ſpeaker, with a good number of the members, diſſolv'd themſelves, and return'd the *ſovereign power* into the hands of *Cromwel* and the council of officers, beſeeching them to take care of the government.

Is made protector. TWO days after, the council of *officers*, by virtue of the *authority* lately given them by the parliament, declared that for the future the government of the republick ſhould reſide in a ſingle perſon, *viz. Oliver Cromwel*, captain-general of the forces of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who ſhould have the title of protector of the three kingdoms, and be aſſiſted by a council of twenty one perſons.

An. Dom. 1657. THUS an end was put to the *Preſbyterian* eſtabliſhment, and *Cromwel* was confirmed in his *protectorſhip*, by a parliament, in the year 1657. with more power than was annexed to it by the council of *officers*. This was done by a ſolemn *inſtrument*, called *the humble petition and advice*; the parliament thereby ſhewing, it was not a law to be impoſed on him, but an advice, which was ſubmitted to his judgment and diſcretion, with

with freedom to accept or refuse it, as he should think proper. I shall only transcribe from thence what concerned religion. 'That his *highness* would encourage a 'godly *ministry* in these nations; and that 'such as do revile, and disturb them in 'the worship of God, may be punish'd according to law, and where laws are defective, new ones to be made [i]: 'That 'the protestant christian religion, as it is 'contain'd in the old and new testament, 'be asserted and held forth for the publick 'profession of these nations, and no other: 'And that a confession of faith be agreed 'upon, and recommended to the people of 'these nations; and none to be permitted 'by words or writing, to revile or reproach 'the said confession of faith.'

Welwood, as quoted by *Rapin* [k], tells us, 'That as to the morals and conduct of the '*protector*, as a private person, they may 'be said to have been very regular. He 'was guilty of none of the vices, to which 'men are commonly addicted; *gluttony*, '*drunkenness*, *gaming*, *luxury*, *avarice*, 'were vices with which he was never re'proached; on the contrary, it is certain, 'he promoted virtuous men; as on the 'other hand, he was inflexible in his pu'nishments of vice and ill actions. It is 'true, his own preservation oblig'd him

Welwood's *character of him.*

[i] *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 597.
[k] *Ibid.* p. 600.

'ſometimes to employ men of ill prin-
'ciples; but this is not uncommon to thoſe
'who are at the head of a government.

'THO' as to his religion he was an *Inde-*
'*pendent*, his principle was to leave every
'man at liberty in the religion he had cho-
'ſen, and never perſecuted any perſon on
'that account. He even connived at the
'private meetings of thoſe who remained
'attached to the church of *England*, tho'
'he was well informed of them. If they
'were not favour'd with the free and pub-
'lick exerciſe of their religion, it was be-
'cauſe they were conſider'd by him as *Roy-*
'*aliſts*, always ready to form plots in the
'king's favour, and from whom conſe-
'quently he had great reaſon to ſecure him-
'ſelf. Tho' he was in the ſentiments of the
'*Independents*, and therefore averſe to all
'union with the national church, he how-
'ever conſider'd all proteſtant churches as
'part of the proteſtant church in general;
'and without aiming to eſtabliſh *Indepen-*
'*dency* by force and violence, he expreſſed
'on all occaſions an extreme zeal for the
'proteſtant religion.'

BISHOP *Burnet* ſays[1]: 'A great deſign
'*Cromwel* had intended to begin his *kingſhip*
'with, if he had aſſumed it; he reſolv'd
'to ſet up a council in oppoſition to the
'congregation *de propaganda fide* at *Rome*.

[1] *Hiſt. of his own time*, p. 77.

'He

'He intended it ſhould conſiſt of ſeven 'counſellors, and four *ſecretaries* for diffe-'rent *provinces*. The *ſecretaries* were to 'have 500 *l.* ſalary a piece, and to keep 'a correſpondence every where, to know 'the ſtate of religion all over the world; 'that ſo all good deſigns might be by 'their means protected and aſſiſted. *Stoupe* 'was to have the firſt *province*. They 'were to have a fund of 10,000 *l.* a 'year at their diſpoſal for ordinary emer-'gencies; but to be farther ſupplied, as 'occaſions ſhould require it.'

AND he further adds, that *Cromwel* ſaid once in council [m], 'That he hoped he 'ſhould make the name of an *Engliſhman* 'as great as ever that of a *Roman* had 'been.'

WELL might the biſhop then ſay, with reſpect to his government, as he does [n], 'If 'it be compar'd with thoſe of the two laſt 'kings, there will appear a very great diſ-'parity with regard to the glory and repu-'tation of the *Engliſh nation*. *James* I. and '*Charles* I. ſeemed to have ſtudied to diſ-'grace the *Engliſh* name; whereas *Crom-'wel* in the ſpace of four or five years 'carried the glory of his nation as far as 'poſſible, and in that reſpect was not 'inferiour to *Elizabeth*.'

[m] *Page* 81.
[n] *Vid.* Rapin, vol. II. p. 600.

HE is by his enemies charg'd with cruelty, for having, whilſt *protector*, put ſome men to death, for conſpiring againſt his perſon and government: 'That is, ac-'cording to this reproach, ſays *Rapin* [o], he 'ſhould have patiently ſuffered the plots 'againſt him, and when one failed, liber-'ty ſhould have been given for a ſecond 'and a third, till ſome one had ſucceeded. 'This deſerves no confutation. But to ſhew 'that *Cromwel* was not for an unneceſſary 'effuſion of blood, we need only recite 'what is owned by the earl of *Clarendon*, 'who aſſures us [p],

'THAT when it was propoſed in a 'council of *officers*, that there might be a 'general *maſſacre* of the *Royaliſts*, *Crom-'wel* would never conſent to it.

'To form a juſt and rational idea of *Crom-'wel*'s character, ſays *Rapin* [q], his conduct and 'actions in themſelves muſt be examined, 'and joined to the juncture of the time, in-'dependently of the opinions of his ene-'mies. I ſhall only obſerve, ſays he, that 'the confuſion which prevail'd in *England*, 'ſoon after the death of *Cromwel*, clearly 'ſhews the neceſſity of this uſurpation. In 'general it can't be denied, that *Cromwel* 'was one of the greateſt men in his age, if 'it is conſider'd, that without the advantages

[o] *Vol.* II. *p.* 602.
[q] *Hiſt. Rebel.* vol. III. p. 509.
[q] *Rapin*, vol. II. *p.* 602.

of

'of *birth* or *fortune*, he roſe ſo near a 'throne, that it was in his power to mount 'it. *Hiſtory* furniſhes very few inſtances 'of this kind. *Cromwel*'s death was fol- 'lowed with ſo much alterations in the 'government, that the interval between 'that and the reſtauration may be juſtly 'called a time of true *anarchy*. *Cromwel* 'ſhould have had a ſucceſſor like himſelf, 'to finiſh what he had ſo ably begun. But 'two ſo great men are not commonly 'found ſo near one another, nor often in 'the ſame age.'

A LITTLE before his death, a diſcovery was made of a conſpiracy of the *Royaliſts*, forming in *England*, in favour of the king; upon which *Cromwel* erected a high court of *juſtice*, for trial of the criminals, and eſpecially of the three principal ones, *viz.* *John Mordaunt*, brother of the earl of *Peterborough*; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a rich and popular man in the county of *York*; and Dr. *Hewit*, a miniſter of the church of *England*[r]. An. Dom. 1658. *A conſpiracy againſt him.*

MR. *Mordaunt* eſcaped death by the means of his wife, who bribed ſome of the judges, and prevailed with colonel *Mallory*, one of the two witneſſes againſt her huſband, to make his eſcape. Sir *Henry Slingſby* and Dr. *Hewit* were condemned and executed, *June* 8. 1658. Before the ſame court were *Some executed for it.*

[r] *Ibid.* p. 599.

tried,

tried, condemned, hanged, and quartered for the ſame crime, *Aſhton*, *Stacey*, and *Battely*. Some others were condemned and pardon'd by *Cromwel*. Not to multiply any more the number of his enemies, it is certain he had a great many, and that thoſe who had been moſt attached to him while he was believ'd to be in their view, hated him mortally when they found themſelves deceived. The earl of *Clarendon* relates [s] on this occaſion a long addreſs to the king, from ſeveral *Independents*, *Quakers*, and *Anabaptiſts*, brought him by a young gentleman, of an honourable extraction and great parts; by whom they made many extravagant propoſitions, and ſeemed to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwel*, and thereupon to compute their own power to ſerve the king; who gave ſuch an anſwer only to them, as might diſpoſe them to hope for his favour, if he received ſervice from them, and ſo believe, that he did not intend to perſecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to effect.

'SINCE the ſpirit, humour, and lan-
'guage, ſays the noble hiſtorian, of that
'people, and in truth of that time, cannot
'be better deſcribed and repreſented by that
'petition and addreſs which was never pub-
'liſhed, and of which there remains no

[s] *Hiſt. Rebel.* vol. III. p. 489.

'copy

'copy in any hand that I know of, but 'only the original which was preſented to 'the king (it being ſo dangerous a thing 'for any man who remained in *England* 'to have any ſuch tranſcript in his cuſtody) 'it will not be amiſs, ſays he, in this place 'to inſert the petition and the addreſs in the 'very words in which it was preſented to 'his majeſty, with the letter that accom-'panied it, from the gentleman mentioned 'before, who was an *Anabaptiſt* of ſpecial 'truſt among them, and who came not 'with the petition, but expected the king's 'pleaſure upon the receipt of it; it being 'ſent by an officer who had ſerved the 'king in an eminent command, and was 'now gracious among thoſe ſectaries, with-'out ſwerving in the leaſt degree from his 'former principles and integrity; for that 'people always pretended a juſt eſteem and 'value of all men, who had faithfully ad-'hered to the king, and lived ſoberly and 'virtuouſly.'

THE noble hiſtorian further ſays, 'That the gentleman who brought this ad-'dreſs, *&c.* brought likewiſe with him a 'particular letter to the king, from the 'gentleman that is before deſcribed, upon 'whoſe temper, ingenuity, and intereſt, 'the meſſenger principally depended, hav-'ing had much acquaintance and conver-'ſation with him; who tho' he was an '*Anabaptiſt*, made himſelf merry with

'the

'the extravagancy and madneſs of his 'companions; and told this gentleman that 'though the firſt addreſs could not be 'prepared but with thoſe demands, which 'might ſatisfy the whole party, and 'comprehend all that was deſired by any 'of them, yet if the king gave them ſuch 'an encouragement as might diſpoſe them 'to ſend ſome of the wiſeſt of them to 'attend his majeſty, he would be able, 'upon conference with them, to make 'them his inſtruments to reduce the reſt 'to more moderate deſires, when they 'ſhould diſcern that they might have 'more protection and ſecurity from the 'king, than from any other power that 'would aſſume the government.

'THE king, adds he, believed that 'theſe diſtempers might in ſome con-'juncture be of uſe to him; and there-'fore returned the general anſwer that is 'mentioned before; and that he would be 'willing to confer with ſome perſons of 'that party, truſted by the reſt, if they 'would come over to him; his majeſty 'being then at *Bruges*. Upon which that 'young gentleman came over thither to 'him, and remained ſome days there con-'cealed. He was a perſon of very extra-'ordinary parts, ſharpneſs of wit, readineſs 'and volubility of tongue, but an *Anabap-'tiſt*. He had been bred in the univer-'ſity of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the

'inns

'inns of court, but being too young to 'have known the religion, or the govern- 'ment of the precedent time, and his fa- 'ther having been engaged from the be- 'ginning againſt the king, he had ſucked 'in the opinions that were moſt prevalent, 'and had been a ſoldier in *Cromwel*'s life- 'guard of horſe, when he was thought to 'be moſt reſolved to eſtabliſh a republick; 'but when that maſk was pulled off, he 'deteſted him with that rage, that he was 'of the combination with thoſe who re- 'ſolved to deſtroy him by what way ſo- 'ever, and was very intimate with *Synder-* 'come. He had a great confidence of the 'ſtrength and power of that party, and 'confeſſed that their demands were extra- 'vagant, and ſuch as the king could not 'grant; which, after they were once engaged 'in blood, he doubted not they would 'recede from, by the credit the wiſer men 'had amongſt them. He returned into '*England* very well ſatisfy'd with the 'king, and did afterwards correſpond very 'faithfully with his profeſſions, but left 'the king without any hope of other be- 'nefit from that party, than by their in- 'creaſing the faction and animoſity againſt '*Cromwel*; for it was manifeſt, they ex- 'pected a good ſum of preſent money from 'the king, which could not be in his 'power to ſupply.'

THE

THE *addreſs*, *propoſitions*, and *letter* I have put into the *appendix*, N° V.

I MUST now return a little back, being unwilling for the ſake of the exact order of time, to break in upon ſo remarkable a part of our civil *hiſtory*, with matters of ſo different a kind, which could have no connection therewith; and obſerve, that in the year 1654. the Rev. Mr. *William Britten*, who had embraced the principles of the *Baptiſts*, publiſhed a treatiſe, intituled, *The Moderate Baptiſt; briefly ſhewing ſcripture-way for that initiatory ſacrament of baptiſm; together with divers queries, conſiderations, errors and miſtakes, in and about the work of religion: Wherein may appear, that the* Baptiſts *of our times hold not thoſe ſtrange opinions as many heretofore have done; but as the ſcriptures are now more clearly underſtood, ſo they deſire to come nearer to walk by the ſame light.* He in the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* apologizes for its publication, and aſſigns the cauſes which chiefly induced him thereto; and then gives a ſhort account of *himſelf* to his countrymen, the well-affected people of *Northamptonſhire*; the which you will find annexed to the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* of the ſaid book; to which I refer you.

IN the year 1656. the *Baptiſt* churches in the county of *Somerſet* publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith, the which I have put in the *appendix*, N° III.

IN

IN the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* they apologize for their ſo doing; by ſaying, 'It may 'with ſome ſeem altogether needleſs and 'uſeleſs to bring to publick view a nar- 'rative of faith in ſuch a day as this is; eſ- 'pecially their having been the like brought 'forth by ſeveral *baptized* congregations 'formerly. Unto which we reply, that 'our publiſhing this *narrative* of our faith 'and practice, is not from any diſlike we 'found with the former confeſſion of our 'beloved brethren, whom we own, and 'with whom we are one both in faith and 'practice; neither is there any thing in ours 'contradictory to our brethren, that we 'know of, that have gone before us.

We mean the narrative publiſhed by the ſeven churches in London.

'WE can ſay, when the Lord ſet us firſt 'upon this work, we did not think of 'bringing it to publick view; but did it 'rather for a trial of our unity in the faith, 'for our more clear fellowſhip one with 'another, from our harmony in faith and 'practice.

'YET having finiſhed it according to 'our apprehenſions (and we believe a mea- 'ſure of the teachings of the Lord) now 'judge there is a more than ordinary ne- 'ceſſity for us thus to publiſh our faith.

'1. IN regard of the general charge 'laid upon our profeſſion, as if none in 'the *countries*, that profeſſed *baptiſm*, were 'of our brethrens judgment that publiſhed 'that confeſſion of faith in *London*, but

'hold

'hold free-will, falling away from grace, 'etc. all which, through the grace of 'God we disclaim; and not only we, but 'to our knowledge, many other churches 'in the adjacent counties, who stand fast 'in the profession of the unchangeable 'love of God in Jesus Christ to his people.

'2. BEING very sensible of the great 'distractions and divisions that are amongst 'professing people in this nation, the many 'ways and wiles of *Satan* to seduce and 'deceive souls, the great departing from the 'faith, and that under glorious notions of 'spiritualness and holiness, *Satan* trans-'forming himself into an angel of light, 'and his ministers into ministers of righte-'ousness; we could not but judge it our 'bounden duty, in this our day, to come 'forth in a renewed *declaration* of our 'faith, as a publick testimony before all 'men, that through grace we do with 'one soul desire to cleave to the Lord, 'contending earnestly for the faith that 'was once given to the saints: for this 'being the great design of *Satan*, to de-'stroy the faith and practice of the gospel-'churches, we judge nothing more suit-'able and proper to us as churches of our 'Lord, wherein we might bear our wit-'ness for him (in this day of temptation) 'in print as well as in practice, than this 'our testimony to the faith and truth as it 'is in Jesus.'

Richard

Richard Cromwel was in the year 1658. without any oppoſition, proclaimed *protector* of the commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and addreſſes were preſented to him from all parts, ſigned by many thouſands, to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to this dignity, and to aſſure him they would willingly hazard their lives and fortunes to ſupport him. But ſuch *addreſſes* are not always to be depended upon; experience having often ſhewn, they are far from being ſincere, tho' carefully expreſs'd in the ſtrongeſt terms. Richard Cromwel *proclaimed protector.*

THUS *Richard* was inſtall'd *ſucceſſor* to his father *Oliver*, and took the ſame oath; but his *protectorſhip*, which was but ſhort, was one entire ſeries of anarchy and confuſion, and pav'd the way for the reſtoration of King *Charles* II.

BISHOP *Burnet* obſerves [g] upon the new parliament (or convention as it was afterwards called) 'That ſuch unanimity ap- 'peared in their proceedings, that there 'was not the leaſt diſpute among them, but 'upon one ſingle point. Yet that was a very 'important one. *Hale*, afterwards the fa- 'mous chief-juſtice, moved, that a com- 'mittee might be appointed to look into 'the propoſitions that had been made, and 'the conceſſions that had been offered by 'the late king during the war, particu- *The convention parliament.* *Biſhop* Burnet's *obſervation thereon.*

[g] *Hiſt. of his own time*, p. 88, 89.

'larly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from 'thence they might digeſt ſuch propoſitions 'as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to 'the king. This was ſeconded, but, ſays 'the biſhop, I do not remember by whom. 'It was foreſeen that ſuch a motion might 'be ſet on foot; ſo *Monk* was inſtructed 'how to anſwer it, whenſoever it ſhould be 'propoſed. He told the houſe, that there 'was yet, beyond all mens hope, an uni-'verſal quiet all over the nation; but there 'were many incendiaries ſtill on the watch, 'trying where they could firſt raiſe the 'flame. He ſaid, he had ſuch copious in-'formations ſent him of theſe things, that 'it was not fit they ſhould be generally 'known. He could not anſwer for the 'peace, either of the nation or of the ar-'my, if any delay was put to the ſending 'for the king. What need was their of 'ſending propoſitions to him? might they 'not as well prepare them, and offer them 'to him when he ſhould come over? He 'was to bring neither *army* nor *treaſure* 'with him, either to fright them or to 'corrupt them. So he moved, that they 'would immediately ſend commiſſioners to 'bring over the king, and ſaid, that he muſt 'lay the blame of all the blood or miſ-'chief that might follow, on the heads of 'thoſe who ſhould ſtill inſiſt on any mo-'tion that might delay the preſent ſettle-'ment of the nation. This was eccho'd

'with

'with ſuch a ſhout over the houſe, that 'the motion was no more inſiſted on. 'This, ſays the biſhop, was indeed the 'great ſervice that *Monk* did-----To the 'king's coming in without conditions may 'be well imputed all the errors of his reign.' And it may be added, many miſchiefs that followed afterwards.

CHAP. IV.

Containing an account of ſome of the moſt eminent and leading men among the ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

IT is well known, that nothing has been more common than for the *writers* in in general againſt the *Baptiſts*, to repreſent them to the world as *ignorant* and *illiterate* men. Thus Mr. *Ruſſen* triumphs over them, at the cloſe of his firſt argument, in the fifth chapter of his treatiſe, entitled, *Fundamentals without a Foundation.*

'IF any of their leading teachers, ſays 'he[a], cannot read this laſt paragraph with-'out an interpreter, I do not think them 'fit men to diſpute about ſuch principles:

[a] Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, p. 121.

'let them lay aſide learning, which their 'ignorance betrays, and follow their trades, 'wherein they are better ſkilled.'

AND towards the cloſe of his *preface*, he inſults them for their ſuppoſed ignorance of *grammar*. 'If here, ſays he [b], 'they cavil at my *moods*, *participles*, *tenſes*, 'and *diſtinctions*; if they carp at ſome 'ſentences of *Latin* ſcattered here and 'there, let them blame their own *ignorance!* 'Tis for want of ſuch *human advantages*, that they ſo ſtrangely wreſt 'the Scriptures, and know not rightly to 'divide the word of truth.'

THE vanity of this *author* is ſufficiently expoſed by his *anſwerer*, the reverend and learned Mr. *Stennet*; and I may venture to ſay, that the opinion of the *Baptiſts* in general in this affair is well expreſſed by the reverend Mr. *Keach* and Mr. *Delaune*, who ſay [c], 'Tis certain, that no ſort of men 'have more need of *learning*, than the '*miniſters* of the goſpel, becauſe their employment is of the higheſt concern, *viz.* '*rightly to divide the word of truth*; and 'therefore that ſacred office is not to be 'intruded into, but by perſons duly qualified and called. And moſt certain it is, 'that human literature, without grace, is 'a dangerous enemy to the true chriſtian

[b] Stennet *againſt* Ruſſen, p. 18.
[c] Keach *and* Delaune *to the reader*, Sacred Philology, Book II.

'religion;

'religion; and barely conſidered in itſelf, 'gives no right to the exerciſe of that ſa-'cred function, any more than the meaneſt 'of mechanick arts. For, as Dr. *Carlton*, 'formerly biſhop of *Chicheſter*, well ſays, 'a *layman*, that hath the Spirit of God, is 'better able to judge of the church and its 'members, than a man in *eccleſiaſtical* 'function, that hath not the Spirit of God. 'And *Juſtin Martyr* excellently, *Infelix 'eſt ſapientia extra verbum Dei ſapere:* ſo 'that it is not the formality of *academi-'cal* degrees, nor any *philoſophical* dexterity, 'which is to be exerciſed in the things that 'may be known by the light of natural 'reaſon, nor variety of *languages*, that 'qualifies a *preacher:* for if things will 'travel beyond their road, and muſt needs 'be defining things beyond their ſphere or 'reach, they become extravagant and ſaucy.'

CONCERNING *unlearned* mens *wreſting the holy Scriptures*, it may be proper to conſider in what ſenſe they are *unlearned*; for men may be learned or unlearned in divers reſpects. A man may be learned in *arithmetic*, that is unlearned in *logic*; or he may be learned in *grammar*, and unlearned in *geometry*; and learned in *philoſophy*, though unlearned in *divinity*. For if a man ſhould attain to ſome perfection in the ſeven liberal arts and ſciences[d],

[d] *Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Muſic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Aſtronomy.*

and beſides theſe ſhould gain the knowledge of ſeveral languages, and be a proficient in moral and natural philoſophy, theſe would be rare accompliſhments, make him a lovely man, uſeful, and ſet him in a ſtation above his fellows; but yet he might be ignorant in the things of God, and conſequently an *unlearned* man in the account of St. *Peter*. For all that wiſdom is no more than St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, even *the wiſdom of this world*. Therefore a great *ſcholar* in ſecular or human *learning* may poſſibly be *unlearned* in *divinity*, yea, tho' he can read *Greek* and *Hebrew*.

THE reverend biſhop *Taylor* obſerved, that *Hebrew* and *Greek* ſcholars are not bleſſed with an aſſured knowledge of divine truth, above ſuch as can only read the Scriptures in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 'For 'ſays he [e], I know no man that ſays, that 'the *Scriptures* in *Hebrew* and *Greek* are 'eaſy and certain to be underſtood, and 'that they are hard in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 'The difficulty is in the thing, however it 'be expreſſed; the leaſt is in the *language*. 'If the *original* languages were our mo'ther-tongue, *Scripture* is not much the 'eaſier to us; and a natural *Greek* or a '*Jew*, can with no more reaſon or autho'rity obtrude his interpretations upon other 'mens *conſciences*, than a man of another 'nation.'

[e] *Polemic. Diſc.* p. 974. Hook's *Apol.* p. 59.

IT

IT is to be feared, too many, by their plauſible deportments, and the favour of their friends, get into *orders*, and profeſs to be *miniſters* of Chriſt, before they believe in him, or love him, or have any good-will to his intereſt; who muſt be acknowledged *ſcholars*, but yet *unlearned*, that is, better acquainted with the writings of *Ariſtotle* than the epiſtles of St. *Paul*; learned in *philoſophy*, but unlearned in *divinity*; learned in *languages*, *arts* and *ſciences*, but unlearned in the *Scriptures* of truth. And ſuch as theſe are like enough to *wreſt the Holy Scriptures*, *to their* own and other mens *hurt*. *Tertullian* obſerved long ago, that *philoſophers* have been the chief fathers of *hereticks*. And a learned biſhop of the church of *England*[f], who wrote upon the knowledge of the tongues, ſays, 'There 'hath not been a greater *plague* to the 'chriſtian religion, than *ſchool* divinity; 'where men take upon them the liberty 'to propoſe new queſtions, make nice di-'ſtinctions, and raſh concluſions of divine 'matters, toſſing them up and down with 'their tongues like *tennis* balls. And from 'hence proceeded all the dangerous *here-'ſies*, and cruel bickerings about them, 'falling from words to blows. The firſt '*divinity* ſchool we read of, was ſet up 'at *Alexandria*, by *Pantænus*, and from

[f] *Naked truth*, p. 5, 6. Keach's *Parables*, *Preface*.

'thence ſoon after ſprang up that damnable *hereſy* of the *Arians*, which overrun all chriſtendom, and was the cauſe of the deſtruction of ſo many millions of chriſtians, both of body and ſoul, which before this were ſo groſs and ſenſual, that none took them up but diſſolute or frantick people, and ſoon vaniſhed. But after this ſchool, ſubtle way of arguing was brought into chriſtianity, *hereſy* grew more refined, and ſo ſubtle, that the plain and pious *fathers* of the church knew not how to lay hold of it, the ſchool diſtinctions and evaſions baffled them, and ſo thoſe *ſophiſters*, proud of their conqueſt, triumphed, and carried away a ſpecious appearance of truth as well as *learning*, or rather *cunning*, inſomuch, that many godly perſons were deluded, and fell into them; and many of their *hereſies* continue unto this day.'

LET men therefore take heed how they cry up man's wiſdom. The knowledge of the tongues none will or can deny to be uſeful; but it is that ſtreſs which is by ſome laid upon it, rendring it eſſential to a *miniſter*, that gives the offence. So then, we acknowledge this kind of *literature* is good, as a hand-maid, *Hagar* like; but if it muſt needs be *miſtreſs*, and uſurp *authority* in the family, if, like ſcoffing *Iſhmael*, it will mock at the ſpirit and the ſimplicity of the goſpel, let it be caſt out.

I SHALL

I SHALL now give a brief account of ſome of the *Baptiſt* miniſters who lived in the times to which the preceding hiſtory refers, whereby it will appear, that men of the greateſt *learning* and *piety*, have neither been aſhamed nor afraid in the worſt of times to ſtand up in vindication of a principle truly *apoſtolical*, though ever ſo much deſpiſed and hated. Mr. *John Smith*, of whom mention is made in the foregoing hiſtory, was a divine of the church of *England*, and did in the former part of the reign of King *James* I. embrace the opinion of the *Baptiſts*. I can find no account of him but from his enemies [g]; and yet they acknowledge he was a man of right eminent parts. He began firſt with a diſlike of the ceremonies of the church, and the uſe of preſcribed forms of prayer; and on this occaſion had a diſpute with Mr. *Hilderſham* and others; but his diſſatisfaction ſtill remaining, and having publiſhed ſomething againſt theſe things, he was forced to fly out of the land, to eſcape the ſeverity of the *perſecution* then in *England*. And ſo well was he beloved and reſpected by thoſe that were inclined to nonconformity, that a great company followed him out of their native country to *Leyden* in *Holland*. John Smith.

HERE he at firſt joined himſelf with the *Engliſh* congregation, who were called

[g] Baylie's *Diſſuaſive*, p. 15.

Browniſts,

Brownists, and his *piety* and *learning* soon procured him the reputation of being one of the *grandees* of the separation [h].

BUT being now more zealously set to search out the truth, and in a country where he might safely divulge his *opinions*, he quickly after declared against several of the *principles* and *practices* of the *Brownists*, and among the rest that of their *baptizing infants*. This exposed him to the hatred and censures of his brethren of the separation. And though they were in exile themselves, for the liberty of their consciences, yet they could not, with that charity and moderation as they ought, bear that others should differ from them: they cast him out of the church for his errors, with all that adhered to him. They represented him to be one that had proclaimed war against God's everlasting covenant, and a murderer of the souls of babes and sucklings, by depriving them of the visible seal of salvation. They published several books against him; wherein they endeavoured to expose both him and his opinions to the world. Two were written against him by Mr. *Ainsworth*, elder of the church which cast him out; one was published against him by Mr. *Johnson*, pastor of the antient *English* church at *Amsterdam*; and another by Mr. *Robinson*, mi-

[h] Pagit's *Heresiography*, p. 62.

nister

niſter of the *Engliſh* congregation at *Leyden*; with ſome others.

IN theſe they lay ſeveral groſs things to his charge. As that he was againſt reading the Scriptures in publick worſhip; that he would not allow any tranſlation to be the word of God, but the original only; that he *baptized himſelf*, ſuppoſing there was then no right *adminiſtrator* in being. They call him a man of a wolfiſh nature; one whom God had ſtruck with blindneſs; a brute beaſt, and the like, as hath been before obſerved.

BUT it is to be obſerved, that at the ſame time that they accuſe him after this manner, they are forced to acknowledge that he was more refined than the common ſorts of the *Anabaptiſts*, and that he did not go with that heretical ſect. Nay more, that he had ſuch a diſlike and averſion to their groſs errors, that his conſcience would not permit him to be re-baptized by any of them. And if, according to their accuſation, which, as I have ſhewn, is very unlikely, he *baptized himſelf*, it was this that led him to it. The *Engliſh* refugees were ſuch, as in his opinion had no true *baptiſm* themſelves, having only been ſprinkled in their *infancy*; and the foreign *Anabaptiſts* were ſuch as denied Chriſt's having taken fleſh of the virgin *Mary*, the lawfulneſs of *magiſtracy*, and the like, which he and his followers looked upon as very great

great *errors*. So that neither the *one* nor the *other* could be thought by him to be proper *adminiſtrators* of *baptiſm*.

HOWEVER it was, Mr. *Smith*'s opinions prevailed much, eſpecially, that of baptizing *believers* only; and he ſoon had *proſelytes* enough to form a diſtinct *church* of that *perſuaſion*, even among the *Engliſh* exiles. He baptized two *miniſters*, who after his deceaſe came into *England*, brought ſeveral of his congregation with them, and very much promoted this opinion at *London* both by their preaching and writings.

Mr. Tho. Helwiſſe, *Mr.* John Moreton.

HE writ ſeveral treatiſes, which are not now to be met with; as *The Character of the Beaſt*; *A Dialogue of Baptiſm*; his *Differences with the Brethren of the Antient Separation*; and his *Reply to Mr.* Clifford's *Chriſtian Plea*.

THE time of his death does not appear: but by a book written by Mr. *Robinſon* in the year 1614. it appears he was then dead, and that a great part of his congregation were returned into *England*, with the aforeſaid perſons.

IN which book mention is made of a a *confeſſion* of *faith*, which I have put in the *appendix*, No IV. publiſhed by the remainder of Mr. *Smith*'s church after his death. This was publiſhed in the year 1611. ſo that its probable he died in *exile* about the year 1610.

THE

THE order of time leads me to give some account of Mr. *Tho. Helwiſſe*. He had not, as the former, the advantage of a learned education, but appears by his writings to have been a man of good natural parts, and not without ſome acquired. *Mr.* Tho. Helwiſſe.

THE firſt thing we meet with concerning him is, that he was a member of the antient church of *Separatiſts*, which had been founded at the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign; and was very ſerviceable to that people when they tranſported themſelves out of *England* into *Holland*, to eſcape *perſecution* [i].

WHILE he continued among them, which was ſome time, he was eſteemed a man of eminent faith, charity and ſpiritual gifts. But when Mr. *Smith* had occaſioned the controverſy about *infants baptiſm* to be revived among them, he was one of thoſe who was convinced of the invalidity and unlawfulneſs of ſuch *baptiſms*, and was accordingly excommunicated with the reſt of that perſuaſion [k].

HE received his baptiſm from Mr. *Smith*, and was one of the firſt in the conſtitution of his church, and after his death had the care of that people committed to him. He did not go on with the ſame comfort and *Baptized by Mr.* Smith.

[i] Robinſon *of Com.* p. 41.
[k] Johnſon's *Enquiry*, p. 63.

ſucceſs

ſucceſs as Mr. *Smith* had done; yet they who upbraided him on this account, did at the ſame time acknowledge [1], that his preaching and writings had made ſome *proſelytes* to his opinions, and occaſioned them to reject their *infant* baptiſm.

Is oppoſed by the Browniſts.

THE chief oppoſers of Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his church were the *Browniſts*; from whom they had ſeparated. Theſe people writ againſt them with great warmth, and called them *Hereticks*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Freewillers*, &c. and yet, in the ſame writings, they made ſeveral conceſſions in their favour, which cleared them from thoſe extravagant opinions which ſome held who went under thoſe names.

FOR they acknowledge, that Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his people diſclaimed free-will, or power in a man's ſelf to work out his own ſalvation: That though they excluded *infants* from *baptiſm*, and from being members of the viſible church, yet they were ſo charitable, as to believe that all *infants*, dying before they had committed actual ſin, were ſaved: That they held an election of certain perſons to eternal life, upon the foreſight of faith and holineſs; and agreed with the *Browniſts* in the main truths of the goſpel. And as to their furniture and morals, they ſay, they were ſuch as had come to ſome degree of knowledge and godlineſs: that they had a *zeal for God*, tho' in their

[1] Robinſon *of Com.* p.48.

opinion

opinion, *not according to knowledge*; and that when they found a perſon in their communion guilty of ſin, they proceeded to cenſure him for it [m].

ONE would think that a *people* of whom all this could be ſaid, ſhould have met with better treatment and more kind uſage than they did, tho' they might differ from their *brethren* in ſome leſſer points of religion.

Publiſhes a confeſſion of faith.

A LITTLE after Mr. *Smith*'s death, Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his people publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith. This, if it could be met with, would give us a true account of their opinions. It was ſuppoſed to have been chiefly drawn up by Mr. *Smith* himſelf, before his deceaſe; but it was called, *The Confeſſion of Faith, publiſhed in certain concluſions, by the remainder of Mr.* Smith's *company*, and came out in the year 1611. At the end of it there was an *appendix*, giving ſome account of Mr. *Smith*'s laſt ſickneſs and death.

MR. *Robinſon*, the paſtor of an *Engliſh* congregation of *Browniſts* at *Leyden*, publiſhed three years after, his *Remarks* upon it; and has therein collected thoſe paſſages which were thought the moſt obſcure or erronious in it.

ABOUT the ſame time alſo Mr. *Helwiſſe* began to reflect upon his own conduct, and that of the other *Engliſh* diſſenters, in leaving their own country and

[m] Robinſon *of communion*, p. 73, &c.

friends,

friends, and flying into a ſtrange land to eſcape perſecution: whether this did not proceed from fear and cowardice; and whether they ought not rather to return, that they might bear a teſtimony for the truth, in their own land, where it was in danger of being wholly extinguiſhed; and that they might alſo encourage and comfort their brethren who were there ſuffering *perſecution* for Chriſt's ſake. The concluſion of this was, that he and his church quickly left *Amſterdam*, and removed to *London*; where they continued their church ſtate, and aſſemblies for worſhip, as publickly as the evil of the times would permit. And to juſtify this conduct, he wrote a treatiſe, entitled, *A Short Declaration*, &c. wherein he endeavours to ſhew in what caſes it was unlawful to fly in times of *perſecution*.

Leaves Holland, *and with ſome others comes to* London.

BUT this greatly provok'd his *brethren* the *Nonconformiſts* in exile. They aſcribed it to his natural confidence under the appearance of ſpiritual courage. They cenſured it as vain glory, ſo to challenge the king and ſtate to their faces, and call it avowing wilful perſecution; and Mr. *Robinſon* writ an anſwer to him, from whence this account is collected.

Publiſhes a treatiſe, entitled, Perſecution judged and condemned.

IN the year 1615. Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his church at *London*, publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled, *Perſecution for Religion judged and condemned.* 'Tis true, there is no author's name

name to it. But at the end of the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* inſtead of names, it is ſubſcribed thus, *By Chriſt's unworthy witneſſes, his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, commonly, but moſt falſly, called Anabaptiſts.* But it appears to be theirs, becauſe towards the end of the book, to clear themſelves from thoſe groſs errors held by ſome *Anabaptiſts*, and to prove their *orthodoxy* in the point of Chriſt's incarnation, the lawfulneſs of magiſtracy, *&c.* they refer the reader to the *confeſſion of faith* beforementioned, printed four years before this, and call it *their confeſſion.*

IN this, beſides their expoſing, by ſeveral excellent arguments, the great ſin of *perſecution*, they take the opportunity of clearing themſelves of ſeveral falſe charges caſt upon them, and of making known ſome of their chief opinions. They reject the *baptiſm* of *infants*, as being a practice that has no foundation in Scripture; and all *baptiſm* received either in the church of *Rome* or *England*, they looked upon to be invalid, becauſe received in a falſe church, and from *antichriſtian miniſters.*

THEY aſſert, that every man has a right to judge for himſelf in matters of religion; and that to perſecute any on that account, is illegal and antichriſtian.

THEY acknowledge *magiſtracy* to be God's *ordinance*, and that kings, and ſuch as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in

all civil matters, not only for fear, but alſo for conſcience ſake.

THEY allow the taking of an *oath* to be lawful: and declare, that all of their profeſſion were willing in faithfulneſs and truth to ſubſcribe the oath of allegiance.

THEY proteſt againſt that doctrine of the *Papiſts*, that princes excommunicated by the *pope* may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects; calling it a *damnable* and *curſed* doctrine, which their ſouls abhor; and alſo againſt the error of the *Familiſts*, who, to avoid *perſecution*, can comply with any external form of religion.

THEY own, that ſome called *Anabaptiſts* held ſeveral ſtrange opinions contrary to them; and endeavour to clear themſelves from deſerving any cenſure on that account, by ſhewing, that it was ſo in ſome of the primitive churches: as ſome in the church of *Corinth* denied the reſurrection of the dead; ſome in the church at *Pergamos* held the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*; and yet Chriſt and his apoſtles did not condemn all for the errors of ſome. But that which they chiefly inveigh againſt, is the pride, luxury, and oppreſſion of the *lordly* biſhops, and the pretended ſpiritual power, by which, they ſay, many were expoſed to confiſcation of goods, long and lingering impriſonments, hanging, burning, and baniſhment.

How

How long Mr. *Helwiſſe* lived, and continued the elder of this church of *Baptiſts* at *London*, I cannot find. The books wrote againſt them about this time ſhew, that they went on with great courage and reſolution; and notwithſtanding the ſeverities uſed againſt them by the civil power, increaſed very much in their numbers.

ONE *author*, to prove their doctrines plain and eaſy to be underſtood, particularly that of *Baptiſm*, ſays,[n] 'witneſs the 'multitude of their diſciples.' And when the famous *Dod* and *Cleaver* united their forces, to confute their ſuppoſed *error*, they apologized for their attempt, alledging, that the people of this perſuaſion took great pains to propagate their doctrine; and that divers perſons of good note for piety had been prevailed upon by them, as has been before obſerved.

AMONG their other *proſelytes* about this time, there was one at *London*, who being ſeverely reflected upon for his leaving the church of *England*, and joining with ſuch an heretical people, as they were then eſteemed, wrote a letter to inform his relations of his real opinion, and what he had to offer in defence of it. This letter falling into the hands of a zealous ſon of the church, before it came to the perſons intended, he immediately publiſhed it, with an anſwer to it. He ſays it was in-

[n] *Anabaptiſm unmaſked, by* J. P. p. 61.

dited by a principal elder of that ſeparation; and if ſo, in all probability Mr. *Helwiſſe* was the *author* of it. It bears date at *London* the 10th of *May* 1622. and contains in a little compaſs, the ſtate of this controverſy. The ſpirit and management of the *Baptiſts* in thoſe times, is very well repreſented by it, as you may ſee by turn-back to *page* 133. of this *hiſtory*, where the ſame is recited.

Mr. John Morton.

Mr. *John Morton* was another of Mr. *Smith*'s diſciples, and contemporary with Mr. *Helwiſſe*. I can find but very little concerning him.

IN the *preface* to the two publick diſputations, about *infant-baptiſm*, between Dr. *Gunning* and Mr. *Denn*, I find, after Mr. *Denn* had mentioned ſeveral *authors* who had written in defence of *infant-baptiſm*, he adds 'Have we not had alſo 'many who have laboured not a little on 'the oppoſite party, and both by their 'pens and ſufferings teſtified againſt the '*baptiſm* of *infants*? As *Morton*, with ſome 'others contemporary, the miniſters of '*Tranſilvania*, and ſince of later years '*Blackwell*, *Tombes*, *Cornwall*, *Fiſher*, *Lamb* 'ſenior, *Lamb* junior, *Writer*, *Haggar*, 'with many others.' So that this *Morton*, who lived before the civil wars, did both write and ſuffer for the cauſe of the *Baptiſts*; though a particular account of theſe things cannot now be obtained.

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH this man might after his return from *Holland*, ſtay ſome time at *London* with Mr. *Helwiſſe* and his church; yet there appears a probability of his ſetling afterwards in the country, and preaching to ſome people there: for at the beginning of the civil wars, when they were demoliſhing an old *wall* near *Colcheſter*, there was found hid in it the copy of a book, written by *J. Morton*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon.

THE *General Baptiſts* were very fond of it, ſoon got it printed, and it has ſince received ſeveral impreſſions.

THE *author* of this book appears to have been a man of conſiderable learning and parts, one that underſtood the *oriental* languages, and was acquainted with the writings of the *fathers*, but a very zealous *Remonſtrant* or *Arminian*. It is entitled, *Truth's Champion*; and contains thirteen chapters on the following heads:

1. THAT Chriſt died for all men.
2. OF his dying for all, to ſave all.
3. OF his power given out to all.
4. OF predeſtination.
5. OF election.
6. OF free-will.
7. OF falling away.
8. OF original ſin.
9. OF baptizing, or baptiſm.
10. OF the miniſtry.
11. OF love.

12. OF thoſe that hold that God hath appointed or deſtinated unavoidably all the actions of men, and the ſad effects that follow.

13. OF the man *Adam*, and of the man Chriſt; with anſwer to divers objections on the ſame.

IT is written in a very good ſtile, and the arguments are managed with a great deal of art and ſkill; ſo that thoſe who follow the *Remonſtrants* ſcheme of doctrines, do not value it without a cauſe.

BUT leaving this *Gentleman*, let us come to thoſe times that are nearer us, in which we may have a more particular account of the chief perſons of this perſuaſion; and we ſhall find, that as *knowledge* and *liberty* has increaſed, ſo there have been ſtill men of greater learning and reputation, who have embraced the *opinion* of the *Baptiſts*.

Mr. John Tombes.

MR. *John Tombes*, B. D. did about the beginning of the civil wars embrace this *opinion*; and by his learned writings promoted it more than any one man of thoſe times.

HE was born at *Bewdly* in *Worceſterſhire*, in the year of our Lord 1603. and his parents deſigning him for the ſacred function of the miniſtry, took care to have him timely inſtructed at the grammar-ſchool; where he proved ſo good a proficient, that at fifteen years of age he was found

found fit for the *Univerſity*, and accordingly was then ſent to *Oxford*, and educated in *Magdalen-hall*, under the famous Mr. *William Pemble*, author of *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, and ſeveral other learned treatiſes.

HERE, by his good genius, his diligent ſtudies, and the advantage of ſuch an accompliſhed tutor, his improvements were uncommon, and he quickly gained the reputation of a perſon of incomparable parts and learning; and therefore, upon the deceaſe of his tutor, which happened in 1624. he was choſen to ſucceed him in the catechetical lecture in this hall, when he was yet but twenty one years of age, and of ſix years ſtanding in the univerſity. But notwithſtanding this, he approved himſelf an excellent diſputant, and good divine, upon the principles of the Anti-remonſtrants. *Is choſen catechetical lecturer at* Magdalen-hall, Oxford.

HE held this lecture about ſeven years, and then left *Oxford*, and went to *Worceſter*, and after that to *Lemſter* in *Herefordſhire*; at both which places he made himſelf very popular by his preaching. I do not find that he had any ſettlement in the former of theſe places; only was very famous in that city, about the year 1630. for his having a more powerful way of preaching than ordinary. But he was poſſeſſed of the living at *Lemſter*, and enjoyed it ſeveral years. This, though a large pariſh, yet was but a poor cure, ſuch as would hardly afford him a maintenance, and what ſome *Leaves* Oxford. *Obtains the living at* Lemſter.

thought much below his merit. But the Lord Viſcount *Scudamore*, who had a great reſpect for him, was pleaſed to make ſome addition to it, of which Mr. *Tombes* made a thankful acknowledgment in the firſt book that he publiſhed [o]. He was among the firſt of the clergy of thoſe times, who endeavoured a reformation in the church, and the purging out of all human inventions in the worſhip of God; and while he continued in this pariſh, preached an excellent ſermon on that ſubject, which was afterward printed by an order of the Houſe of Commons. But this expoſed him to the rage of the church party; and therefore at the very beginning of the civil wars, ſome of the king's forces coming into that country, he was in 1641. drove from his habitation, and plundered of almoſt all he had in the world [p].

Is plundered there.

Goes to Briſtol.

UPON this he fled to *Briſtol*, which was in the parliament's poſſeſſion; and general *Fiennes*, who then had the command of that city, gave him the living of *All-Saints* there, in conſideration of his great loſſes.

HE had not been there above a year, before the city was beſieg'd by prince *Rupert* and his army, and a plot formed by their friends within, to deliver up the city, to burn the houſes, and *maſſacre* the inha-

[o] *Chriſt. Com. againſt ſcandalizers*, 1641
[p] *Præcurſor*, p. 25.

bitants.

bitants. But this was very ſeaſonably diſcovered and prevented. Mr. *Tombes* on the day of publick thankſgiving obſerved by the city on this occaſion, preached two very ſuitable ſermons, and drew a ſhort account of this bloody plot, and the happy means of its being prevented; which with the ſermons was ſent up to *London*, and printed by an order of parliament.

BUT this had like to have coſt him dear. For the next year following, the city was taken by the king's party, his wife and children again plundered, and a ſpecial warrant out for the apprehending of him; ſo that it was with great difficulty, and by a ſpecial providence of God, that he eſcaped, and got ſafe to *London* with his wife and children, on *Sept.* 22. 1643 [q]. *Is plundered again, eſcapes to* London.

WHEN he had been a little time at *London*, and acquainted himſelf with ſeveral miniſters, who were now come from all parts, to form the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, he took opportunity to divulge to them his ſcruples concerning *infant-baptiſm*. It appears, he had entertained ſome doubts about this practice very early; for in the year 1627. when he was lecturer at *Magdalen-hall* in *Oxford*, being led by the courſe of theſe lectures to examine this point, he then diſcovered the inſufficiency of all the common arguments uſually brought *Divulges his ſcruples about infant-baptiſm.*

[q] *Apology*, p. 7

to

to juſtify that practice; and reſted wholly upon thoſe words of the *apoſtle*, *Elſe were your children unclean, but now are they holy.* And when he held the living at *Lemſter*, which obliged him to practiſe the *baptizing* of *infants*, he declares this was the only ſcripture that he built upon; and frequently told his *auditors*, that that text was the only warrant for it.

1 Cor. vii. 14.

[r] BUT when he was at *Briſtol*, he met with an ingenious *Baptiſt*, who, in a diſpute with him, did ſo fully anſwer his argument from that only *text*, as put him to a ſtand. He would not raſhly and all at once, caſt off an opinion and practice ſo univerſally received; and yet, as a man that durſt not oppoſe the truth, whoever brought it, he reſolved to conſider the matter more fully, and that if ever he came to *London*, where he ſhould have a greater advantage both of men and books, he would more ſtrictly examine the hiſtory of *Pædobaptiſm*, and conſult his brethren of the aſſembly about this matter.

BEING therefore now come to *London*, he put his reſolution into practice, by reading *Voſſius*'s *Theſes de Pædobaptiſmo*; and examining the antient teſtimonies therein, he found, that in point of *antiquity*, the matter was not ſo clear as he had taken it to be; that *infant-baptiſm* began firſt to be

[r] *Apology*, p. 6.

practiſed

practiſed in caſes of *ſuppoſed neceſſity* only, conceiving that it conferred grace, and ſaved all that received it, and that afterwards it grew to be the ordinary practice. And as to the holineſs of *believers* children, that only *text* he had ſo long hung upon, he thought that no *proteſtants* of learning had expounded it of *legitimation*; but meeting with *Camerarius*'s notes, then newly printed at *Cambridge*, and afterwards with *Muſculus*, *Melancthon*, and *Beza*, who were all of that *opinion*, and prove by good arguments, that this muſt be the *apoſtle*'s meaning, and that no other ſenſe is ſuitable to the caſe he was there reſolving; he thereupon became fully ſatisfied, that *infant-baptiſm* was without any real foundation, either from *ſcripture* or *antiquity*.

Conſults ſome divines thereupon.

[s] HOWEVER, he ſtill reſolved to conſult the moſt learned of his *brethren*, and hear the utmoſt that could be ſaid on the other ſide; and accordingly there was a meeting of the *London* miniſters in *January* 1643. The great Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Blake*, and Mr. *Hen. Scudder*, are particularly mentioned as preſent at it.

THE queſtion propoſed was, what *ſcripture* there was for *infant-baptiſm*? Mr. *Tombes* told them plainly, he doubted there was none. The place they chiefly inſiſted

[s] *Apology*, p. 8.

upon

upon was *Mat.* xix. 14. *For of ſuch is the kingdom of heaven.* But this he ſhewed them was on many accounts inſufficient for that purpoſe.

Is miſrepreſented by them.

THE whole iſſued without any ſatisfaction to Mr. *Tombes:* and he complained that ſeveral of them did afterwards miſrepreſent him, as to what then paſſed.

THE *aſſembly* of divines were now ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, and had declared, that their deſign was to reform religion, in *England* and *Scotland*, according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches. And Mr. *Tombes* was alſo informed, by one of that *aſſembly*, that they had appointed a *committee* to conſider the point of *infant-baptiſm.*

Delivers his reaſons to the committee.

WHEREUPON he drew up in *Latin*, the chief reaſons of his doubting the lawfulneſs of that practice, and ſent them to Mr. *Whittaker* the chairman of that *committee*; hoping that an *aſſembly* of ſuch grave and learned *divines* would either anſwer the ſcruples of a *brother* in the miniſtry; or, if they appeared to be juſtly founded, that they would according to their profeſſions and covenant, endeavour to reform this abuſe of the *ordinance* of *baptiſm.*

But receives no anſwer.

HE waited many months, but could get no anſwer, or hear that the *point* was ſo much as admitted to a debate in the *aſſembly.* Inſtead of that, he found that ſome of the *aſſembly*, both by *ſermons* and *pamphlets*

phlets, endeavoured to render odious to the people thoſe that ſhould deny *baptiſm* to *infants*; that they paſſed a vote, tending to explode, if not cenſure, any that ſhould but diſpute againſt it; and that inſtead of conſidering his arguments impartially, his papers were toſſed up and down from one to another, in order to expoſe him [t].

BUT that which was ſtill worſe, being now *miniſter* of *Fenchurch* in *London*, care was taken to prejudice his pariſhioners againſt him, under the notion of his being an *Anabaptiſt*. Though he medled not with any thing of this matter in the *pulpit*, they refuſed to come and hear him, and reſolved at the expiration of the year, to withold his maintenance from him. It happened, juſt after his *ſtipend* was taken away at *Fenchurch*, for not practiſing the *baptiſm* of *infants*, that the honourable ſocieties of the *Temple* wanted a preacher; whereupon ſome who knew Mr. *Tombes* to be a man of great learning, and an excellent preacher, ſollicited for the bringing of him thither. This was at length obtained for him; but not without great difficulty, and a promiſe that he would not meddle with the controverſy about *infant-baptiſm* in the pulpit. Which promiſe he made; but upon theſe two conditions: That no one did preach for the *bap-*

His maintenance withheld from him.

He is choſen by the templers.

[t] *Apology*, p. 9, 10.

tizing

tizing of infants in his pulpit; and that no laws were likely to be enacted, to make the denial of *infant-baptiſm* penal.

And diſmiſſed from them.

[u] HE continued in this place about four years; and then was diſmiſſed, for publiſhing his firſt *Treatiſe* againſt *infant-baptiſm*; which contained his objections againſt that practice, before ſent to the *aſſembly* of divines, and his *examen* of Mr. *Marſhal*'s ſermon on *infant-baptiſm*.

FOR this he was cenſured as a man of a reſtleſs ſpirit, and one that had a mind to encreaſe the diviſions and confuſions of the times; and others repreſented it as a breach of his promiſe of ſilence in this matter. But in his *apology* he clears himſelf very handſomely from all theſe charges; and ſhews, that he had ſuch provocations, as made his publiſhing of this both *juſt* and *neceſſary*. He had waited nine months for the *aſſembly*'s anſwer to his doubts; but inſtead of receiving any, his papers were handed about, and by ſome publickly expoſed in their pulpits.

WHEN he had long ſollicited Mr. *Marſhal*'s anſwer to the remarks he had made upon his ſermon, the beſt return he could get was, that ſince he had a *place* for his miniſtry, without *baptizing* of *infants*, he expected him to be quiet.

[u] *Præcurſor*, p. 25.

WHEN

WHEN he wanted the *aſſembly*'s approbation of him as a *miniſter*, he was told by the *examiner*, that there were many of the *aſſembly* that did ſcruple in conſcience the giving approbation to him, becauſe of his *opinion*. He was alſo informed, that in *New England* there was a law made, and ſome proceedings thereupon, againſt thoſe that denied the *baptiſm* of *infants*: That here in *England*, the *directory*, which enjoins the *baptizing* of *infants*, was publiſhed with an *ordinance* of parliament, to make the not uſing of it *penal*; and that many godly, learned, and prudent perſons, both of thoſe that differed from him, as well as of thoſe that agreed with him in this *point*, earneſtly requeſted the publiſhing of his papers. And from theſe conſiderations he ſays, [k] he thought himſelf obliged to it, both in *faithfulneſs* to God, and in *charity* to men.

BUT all this could not ſave him from being turned out of the *Temple*. See his *apology*, printed in the year 1646. of which Mr. *John Bachiler* ſays: 'Having peruſed this mild *apology*, I conceive that the ingenuity, learning, and piety, therein contained, deſerve the preſs.'

AFTER this, the people of *Bewdly* in *Worceſterſhire*, the town of his nativity, choſe him for their miniſter. And now he began

He is choſen miniſter of Bewdly.

[k] *Apology*, p. 15.

gan to preach and diſpute publickly againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and to put his opinion into practice, being baptized by *immerſion*, on a perſonal profeſſion of faith. And ſeeing no proſpect of any reformation in the eſtabliſhed church in this *point*, he there gathered a *ſeparate* church of thoſe of his own *perſuaſion*, continuing at the ſame time miniſter of the pariſh[y].

And gathers a church of Baptiſts there.

HIS ſociety of *Baptiſts* was not very large, but conſiſted of ſuch who were of good eſteem for their piety and ſolid judgment; and three eminent miniſters of that perſuaſion were trained up in it, *viz.* Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Eccles*, and one Capt. *Boylſton*; and it continued till about the time of the king's reſtoration.

BESIDES his living at *Bewdly*, which was made ſmall by the ſtate's ſelling the lands belonging to the dean and chapter of *Worceſter*, from whence great part of his income aroſe, he had the parſonage of *Roſſe* given him. There was a vicar endowed there; but the rectory and parſonage-houſe being leaſed out, they beſtowed the rent upon him, expecting him only to preach there now and then as he could.

The maſterſhip of the hoſpital at Ledbury *given to him.*

SOMETIME after, the maſterſhip of the hoſpital in *Ledbury* was beſtowed upon him, upon which he gave up his intereſt at *Roſſe*; and when the affections of the

[y] Fiſher. Baby. *Bap.* p. 417.

people

people at *Bewdley* were alienated from him, becauſe of his different opinion concerning *baptiſm*, he was reſtored to his firſt living at *Lemſter*. This variety of places occaſioned ſome of his opponents, through miſtake, to accuſe him of holding *pluralities*; a thing that he abhorred, and from which he publickly cleared himſelf [z]. The two latter, which are both in *Herefordſhire*, he held indeed till the reſtoration; but then the maſterſhip of the hoſpital did not oblige him to the cure of ſouls. *Is reſtored to his living at* Lemſter.

IN the year 1653. as there was ſome alteration made in the form of the *civil* government, ſo there was likewiſe in the *eccleſiaſtical*. A certain number of men were authorized to examine and approve all ſuch as ſhould be allowed the publick exerciſe of the miniſtry, and were therefore called *Tryers*. Mr. *Tombes* being known to be a perſon as well qualified for ſuch a poſt, as moſt men then in *England*, was, notwithſtanding his different opinion, appointed to be one of them. And among other good effects that followed hereupon, this was one, *viz.* the commiſſioners agreed to own the *Baptiſts* as their *brethren*, and that if any ſuch applied to them for probation, and appeared in other reſpects to be duly qualified, they ſhould not be rejected for holding this *opinion* [a]. And hence *Is made one of the* Tryers.

[z] *Præcurſor*, p. 26.
[a] Woodward's *corruption corrected*, p. 4.

it came to paſs, that at the *reſtoration* ſeveral pariſhes were found to have *Baptiſt* miniſters fixed in them.

THE reputation that Mr. *Tombes* had of being a great ſcholar, and a perfect maſter in controverſy, occaſioned his being frequently drawn into publick diſputations, and of writing upon moſt controverſies that prevailed in his time; but his chief ſubject was about *infant-baptiſm*, againſt which practice he has writ more books than any one man in *England*.

Has ſeveral publick diſputes with the Pædobaptiſts.

HE alſo held ſeveral publick diſputes againſt it: One with Mr. *Baxter* at *Bewdly*; another with Mr. *Tirer* and Mr. *Smith* at *Roſſe*; a third with Mr. *Cragg* and Mr. *Vaughn* at *Abergavenny*; and a fourth at *Hereford*. And many who were far enough from approving his opinion, acknowledged he had the advantage of his opponents, both as to learning and argument [b].

UPON the reſtoration of King *Charles* II. he readily fell in with *monarchical* government, and writ a treatiſe the ſame year to juſtify and encourage the taking the *oath* of *ſupremacy*. But a little after, when he found the ſpirit of *perſecution* again revived, and the former government and ceremonies of the church impoſed; he not only quitted his places, but laid down the *miniſtry* alſo, and having not long before

He quits his places, and laid down his miniſtry.

[b] Nelſon's *life of biſhop* Bull, p. 251.

married

married a rich widow at *Saliſbury*, by whom he enjoyed a good eſtate, he was reſolved to live at reſt and peace in his old age.

HE conformed to the church afterwards, its true, as a *lay communicant*, and writ a *treatiſe* to prove the lawfulneſs of ſo doing; nevertheleſs he continued in his judgment as much a *Baptiſt* as ever, and publickly defended that *opinion* afterward. Nor could he be prevailed upon to accept any benefice or dignity in the church, though it was offered to him, and by ſuch as were able to have preferred him very high, for he was well beloved by ſeveral great men both in church and ſtate.

THE earl of *Clarendon* took an oppor- *Was very much eſteemed.* tunity ſoon after the reſtoration to ſpeak to his majeſty in his favour, and gave a great character of him from his own knowledge: by which means he was protected from having any trouble given him for any thing he had written or acted during the *rebellion*. And when he publiſhed his book of *oaths*, which was dedicated to the king, the ſame noble peer being then Lord Chancellor, introduced him to preſent it into his majeſty's own hand [c].

THE learned and judicious biſhop *Sanderſon* had a great eſteem for him; as had alſo one of his ſucceſſors, biſhop *Barlow*; and living chiefly at *Saliſbury* the latter part of his life, he was obſerved to make

[c] *Saints no Smiters.*

frequent visits to Dr. *Ward*, bishop of that place, who respected him very much for his great learning. And at this town it was that he died, *May* 25. 1676. being seventy three years of age.

Some Pædobaptists *testimonies of his character.*

THE character that is given of this great man, by those who have zealously opposed his particular *opinion*, and so cannot be suspected of any partiality, is sufficient to convince the world that he was a person of extraordinary abilities.

MR. *Baxter*, who was personally engaged to dispute and write against him, calls him the chief of the *Anabaptists*; and says, he was the greatest and most learned writer against *infant-baptism* [c]. And though in the warmth of disputation, he published some unhandsome things against him, when he grew cooler, he professed himself heartily sorry, and publickly asked pardon both of God and Mr. *Tombes* [d].

MR. *Wood*, the *Oxford* biographer, says [e], 'That there were few better disputants in 'his age than he was.' Mr. *Nelson*, that zealous churchman, says [f], 'It cannot be 'denied, but that he was esteemed a per-'son of incomparable parts.' And a little further: 'Tombes was the head of the 'Anabaptists, and Baxter of the Presby-'terians. The victory, as it is usual, was

[c] *Life, Append.* p. 72. 80.
[d] *Confirmation*, p. 256.
[e] *Life, Append.* p. 58. *Ath. Oxon.*
[f] *Life of bishop* Bull, p. 249, 251.

'claimed

'claimed by both ſides, but ſome of the 'learned who were affected to neither of 'them, yielded the advantage both of learn-'ing and argument to the former, while 'yet they were as far from approving his 'cauſe, as even Mr. *Baxter* himſelf could be.'

DR. *Calamy*, in the life of Mr. *Baxter*, ſpeaking of Mr. *Tombes*, ſays, 'whom all 'the world muſt own to have been a very 'conſiderable man, and an excellent ſcho-'lar, how diſinclined ſoever they may be 'to his particular opinions [g].'

MR. *Wall*, in his elaborate *hiſtory* of *infant-baptiſm*, ſays [h], 'Of the profeſſed *Anti-'pædobaptiſts*, Mr. *Tombes* was a man of 'the beſt parts in our nation, and per-'haps in any.' But that which will perpetuate his memory yet more than all this, is, that character of him which the Houſe of Lords have been pleaſed to publiſh. For in their conference with the Commons upon the bill to prevent *occaſional conformity* in 1702. to prove that receiving the ſacrament in the church does not neceſſarily import an entire *conformity*, they fix upon him as an inſtance, and thus expreſs themſelves [i]: 'There was a very learned and famous man, 'that lived at *Saliſbury*, Mr. *Tombes*, 'who was a very zealous *conformiſt* in all 'points but in one, *infant-baptiſm*.'

[g] *Life of* Baxter, p. 345.
[h] Vol. II. c. 2. § 15. p. 29.
[i] *Account of the proceedings*, p. 21.

AND now, to finiſh our account of him; That he juſtly deſerved all theſe great encomiums, will appear to any unprejudiced perſon, that ſhall conſult the learned and ingenious books which he has written. And though they are many, and ſome of them now very difficult to be met with; yet, I think, the following is a compleat *catalogue* of them, and ſet down in the order in which they were publiſhed:

His works. 1. *Chriſt's Commination againſt ſcandalizers; a treatiſe wherein the neceſſity, nature, ſorts and evils of ſcandalizing are cleared and fully handled.* 8vo 1641

2. Fermentum Phariſæorum; *or, The Leaven of Phariſaical Will-Worſhip, declared in a ſermon on* Mat. xv. 9. publiſhed by order of parliament. 4to 1643

3. Jehovah Jireh; *or, God's Providence in delivering the godly*; in two thankſgiving ſermons publiſhed by order of parliament. 4to 1643

4. Anthropolatria; *or, The Sin of glorying in Men, eſpecially in eminent Miniſters of the Goſpel.* 4to 1645

5. *An Exercitation about Infant-Baptiſm; preſented to a chairman of a committee of the aſſembly of divines.* 4to 1646

6. *An Examen of the ſermon of Mr.* Stephen Marſhal *about infant-baptiſm.* 4to 1646

7. *An Apology or Plea for the aforegoing treatiſes concerning Infant-Baptiſm.* 4to 1646

8. *An*

8. *An Antidote againſt the Venom of a Paſſage in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of Mr.* Baxter's *book*, entitled, *The Saints Everlaſting Reſt*; which contains a ſatyrical invective againſt *Anabaptiſts.* 4to 1650

9. *An Addition to the Apology, for the two treatiſes concerning Infant-Baptiſm*; in anſwer to Mr. *Robert Bailie.* 4to 1652

10. *Præcurſor*; *or, A Forerunner to a large Review of the Diſpute concerning Infant-Baptiſm.* 4to 1652

11. *Antipædobaptiſm*; *or, No plain nor obſcure Scripture-Proof of Infant-Baptiſm*; being the firſt part of the full Review. 4to 1652

12. *Refutatio Poſitionis, ejuſque Confirmationis, Pædobaptiſmum eſſe licitum, affirmantis, ab Henrico Savage, SS. T. D.* 4to 1653

13. *A Plea for Antipædobaptiſts*; in anſwer to a book, entitled, *The Anabaptiſts anatomiſed and ſilenced, in a publick diſpute at Abergavenny.* 4to 1654

14. *Antipædobaptiſm*; or, the ſecond part of the full Review of the diſpute concerning infant-baptiſm.

15. *Antipædobaptiſm*; or, the third part of the full Review. 4to 1657

16. *Animadverſiones quædam in Aphoriſmos* Richardi Baxter, *de Juſtificatione.* 1658

17. *A ſhort Catechiſm about Baptiſm.* 4to 1658

18. *Felo de ſe*; *or*, *Mr.* Baxter's *Self-Deſtroying*, manifeſted in twenty arguments againſt infant-baptiſm out of his own writings. 4to 1659

19. *True Old-Light exalted above pretended New-Light*; a treatiſe of Jeſus Chriſt, as he is *the Light that enlightens every one that comes into the World*, againſt the *Quakers* and *Arminians*; and recommended by Mr. *Baxter*. 4to 1660

20. *Romaniſm diſcuſſed*; an anſwer to the nine firſt articles of *H. T.*'s Manual of Controverſies, recommended by *R. Baxter*. 4to 1660

21. *A ſerious Conſideration of the oath of the King's Supremacy*. 4to. 1660

22. *A Supplement to the ſerious Conſideration*, &c. 4to 1660

23. *Sepherſheba*, *or*, *The Oath-Book*; a treatiſe concerning ſwearing, containing twenty catechetical lectures on the third commandment. 4to 1662

24. *Saints no Smiters*; a treatiſe againſt the fifth monarchy men. 4to 1664

25. *Theodulia*; or, A Juſt Defence of hearing the Sermons, and other Teachings of the preſent Miniſters of *England*. 8vo 1667

26. *Emanuel*, *or God-man*; wherein the doctrine of the firſt *Nicene* and *Chalcedon* councils is aſſerted againſt the *Socinians*. 8vo 1669

27. *A Juſt Reply to the books of Mr.* Wills, *and Mr.* Blinman, *for Infant-Baptiſm*; in a Letter to *Henry Danvers*, Eſq; 8vo 1675

28. *Animadverſiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit, Harmonia Apoſtolica.* 8vo 1676

ANOTHER *champion* in the cauſe of the *Baptiſts*, contemporary with the former, was Mr. *Henry Denne*, who ſignalized himſelf by his preaching and writing, diſputing and ſuffering for this opinion. *Mr.* Henry Denne.

HE was from his childhood deſigned for the miniſtry; and to qualify him the better for that great employment, was educated at the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and when he came from thence, received orders from the biſhop of St. *David*'s, about the year of our Lord 1630.

THE firſt living he obtained was that of *Pyrton* in *Hertfordſhire*, which cure he held for about ten years; and being a more frequent and lively preacher than the generality of the *clergy* of thoſe times, was greatly beloved and reſpected by his pariſhioners.

IN 1641. there was a viſitation held at *Baldock* in this county; and Mr. *Denne* was the perſon fixed upon to preach the ſermon to the *clergy* and *gentry* that aſſembled on this occaſion. This proved a great means of making him ſo publick *Preaches the viſitation ſermon at* Baldock.

and

and famous as he became afterwards. For he entertained them with an uncommon diſcourſe, and ſuch a one, as procured him both a great many *friends* and *enemies*.

HE had always been ſuſpected as a perſon puritanically inclined; and the difference that was now between the king and parliament gave ſuch perſons an opportunity of declaring their minds more freely, and puſhing on for ſuch a reformation of religion as before they deſired and wiſhed for. Mr. *Denne* took this to be ſuch an opportunity for him, and reſolved now to expoſe the ſin of *perſecution*, the vices of the clergy, and the corruptions in doctrine and worſhip, which he apprehended to be in the eſtabliſhed church.

HIS introduction to his text on this occaſion was ſo ſingular in its kind, and will give the reader ſuch a taſte of the ingenuity and ſpirit of the man, that I conclude it will not be an offenſive digreſſion, to give the whole of it in his own words.

AFTER he had concluded his prayer, he thus addreſſed himſelf to his learned and numerous *auditory*. ‘ *Holy brethren* and ‘ *fathers*, I am at this preſent time ſurprized with three paſſions; with joy, ‘ with fear, and with grief. My ſorrow ‘ ſympathizeth with yours. I am ſorry, ‘ in the firſt place, that you have not a ‘ wiſer man to ſpeak unto you this day, ‘ eſpecially ſo many ſitting by; and for ‘ this

The introduction to it.

'this I presume you are as sorrowful as I. 'I am right sorry, in the second place, 'that I shall this day trouble you with so 'large a discourse, as neither the quantity 'nor quality of the day will well permit. 'As a remedy for this, let me intreat your 'christian patience to tire me. This is 'my grief. My fear is, besides that ordi-'nary fear which doth usually follow me 'at such exercises, especially at extraordi-'nary times, and in unaccustomed places, 'I have yet another fear, that I shall this 'day be mistaken; not that I fear the mi-'staking of my words, for that were to 'call your judgments into question; but I 'fear lest you should mistake the inten-'tions of my heart, and that I shall be 'thought to aim at some particular per-'sons. To clear this, I call the Searcher 'of all hearts to record, before whom I 'protest this day, that I aim not at any 'man's person; but I desire to be free 'from envy and malice, and to be in per-'fect charity with all men. And I do 'here again protest, that what I shall speak 'this day, is against the errors and vices, 'not against the persons of men. This 'is my fear. My joy is founded upon your 'fervent charity, joined with your sound 'judgment. In respect of your charity, I 'count it a part of my happiness, seeing 'it is as it is, to speak before you, who 'will be ready to cover my infirmities, 'and

'and to pardon my failings, and gently to 'admoniſh me, if any thing be amiſs. In 'reſpect of your judgment, I do count it 'a further happineſs, that I have this 'day an opportunity to make confeſſion 'of my faith, and to communicate my 'doctrine unto ſo learned, judicious, and 'indifferent *auditors*, which that I may 'do, I betake myſelf with ſpeed to a por-'tion of ſcripture, ſelected for this pre-'ſent occaſion, written *John* v. 35. *He 'was a burning and a ſhining light, and 'ye were willing for a ſeaſon to rejoice in 'his light.*'

WHOEVER will be at the pains to read the ſermon itſelf, will find the ſame briſkneſs of ſtile, and chain of thought, running through the whole; and that there was great occaſion for ſome ſuch apology as this, to a diſcourſe, wherein the chief evils of the time are ſo freely cenſured, and the vices of the *clergy* ſo plainly laid open; particularly, their *pride*, their *covetuouſneſs*, their *pluralities*, and *non-reſidence*, which about this time were riſen to a great height. And his applications are ſometimes very particular and biting. Of which let me give this one inſtance. The court for receiving preſentments againſt ſuch as break the *eccleſiaſtical laws*, being held at theſe viſitations, after he had enumerated ſome of the moſt flagrant crimes of the clergy, he takes the freedom to ſay,

'I muſt

'I muſt call upon thoſe in *authority*, that 'they would make diligent ſearch after 'theſe *foxes*. If the courts had been ſo 'vigilant to find out *theſe*, as *nonconfor-* 'mable miniſters, ſurely by this time 'the church would have been as free 'from *them*, as the land from *wolves*. 'But they have preferred the traditions of 'men before the commandments of Al- 'mighty God. I tell you, that *conformi-* 'ty hath ever ſped the worſe for their 'ſakes, who breaking the commandments 'of God, think to make amends with 'conformity to the traditions of men.'

THE clergy had much ado to ſit the hearing of theſe things; and a great noiſe was afterwards made about it, and many falſe *reports* given out both againſt him and his ſermon; ſo that he was obliged to print it in his own defence. And from this time he began to be taken notice of, not only as a man of extraordinary parts, but alſo a proper perſon to help forward the deſigned *reformation*. Mr. *Diſborough*, a man that had a great hand at that time in publick affairs, ſaith of him; 'He is 'the ableſt man in the kingdom, for 'prayer, expounding, and preaching.'

MR. *Edwards*, who is never to be ſuſpected of partiality to any that were called *Sectarians*, acknowledges [k], That he had

[k] Gangræna, *part* 1. *page* 23.

a very

a very affectionate way of preaching, and took much with the people.

THE revolutions which happened about this time in the ſtate, neceſſarily brought on ſome alterations in religion; and the government having declared their deſign to reform religion in theſe kingdoms according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches; this put Mr. *Denne*, as well as many other learned men, upon making a diligent and impartial ſearch after truth, and bringing ſome points of religion into ſtrict examination, which before they had only taken for granted, and received from the influence of cuſtom. Among the reſt, he found that the practice of *baptizing children* was without any foundation from *ſcripture*, or the writings of the chriſtians for the two firſt *ages* after Chriſt. And accordingly, about the year 1643. he publickly profeſs'd himſelf to be a *Baptiſt*, and was baptized by *immerſion* at *London*, and joined himſelf to the congregation of that perſuaſion there, of which Mr. *Lamb* was the paſtor. This of courſe expoſed him to the reſentment of thoſe who now ſat at the *helm* of *eccleſiaſtical affairs*. And the next news we hear of him is, that he was taken up in *Cambridgeſhire*, and committed to *priſon* by the *committee* of that county, for preaching againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and preſuming to *rebaptize* ſome in thoſe

He profeſſes himſelf to be a Baptiſt.

Is thereupon impriſoned.

thoſe parts. Mr. *Denne* appealed to the parliament; upon which he was, by an order from the houſe, brought up to *London*, and, till his caſe could be heard, was kept *priſoner* in the lord *Peter*'s houſe in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*.

IT happened, that there was in this *priſon*, at the ſame time, the great Dr. *Featly*, famous for his oppoſing the *Anabaptiſts*, and who had but juſt before publiſhed his book, called *the Dippers Dipt*; *or, the Anabaptiſts duck'd, and plunged over head and ears*, at a *diſputation* in *Southwark*.

THIS book, aſſoon as Mr. *Denne* came into the *priſon*, was laid before him in his apartment.

Challenges Dr. Featly to diſpute.

HAVING read it, he looked upon himſelf obliged to defend the principle and practice for which he now ſuffered; and therefore ſent to the *doctor*, offering to diſpute with him upon the arguments he had laid down in his book. The doctor at firſt accepts the *challenge*; but when they had only diſcourſed on the firſt of his ten *arguments*, he found he had now another kind of *opponent* to deal with, than thoſe he triumph'd over at *Southwark* [1]; and therefore declined going any further, on pretence it was not ſafe ſo to do without *licence* from the *government*;

[1] Denn's *Antichriſt unmask'd, pref.*

but

but however, bid him write, and ſaid he would defend his own *arguments*.

UPON this Mr. *Denne* ſet himſelf to writing, and drew up a very learned and ingenious anſwer, dating his book from this priſon, as the doctor had done his, and tho' the doctor's was publiſhed before he came thither, ſo quick was he with his anſwer, that there is but a little above a month's difference in the date of them. But I do not find that ever the doctor, according to his promiſe, made any reply to it.

Jan. 10. 1644.
Feb. 22. 1644.

He obtains the pariſh of Elſly.

AFTER Mr. *Denne* was ſet at liberty, notwithſtanding his oppoſing the common opinion in this particular, he obtained by ſome means or other the pariſh of *Elſly* in *Cambridgeſhire*[m], where he preached publickly in the church, and enjoyed the means belonging to it for ſome time, and was very much followed for his popular preaching.

BUT this gave great offence to ſome of the *Preſbyterian* party, who now began to think none ought to be admitted into publick *livings* but *themſelves*. And more eſpecially the neighbouring *miniſters* were greatly prejudiced againſt him. Being once to preach on a lecture day at *St. Ives*, an order was obtained from the committee of the county againſt it; whereupon he went

[m] Gangræna, *part* 1. *page* 23.

into

into a churchyard a little diſtance, and preached under a tree, and to the mortification of his oppoſers, a great number of the people followed him thither. He was alſo in the year 1646. taken up by two juſtices of the peace at *Spalding* in *Lincolnſhire*, and committed to priſon, for having *baptized* ſome perſons in a river there, as has been before obſerved. By ſuch proceedings as theſe, Mr. *Denne* was obliged to quit his living; and finding ſuch laws enacted, as would hinder his being uſeful, or enjoying any benefice in the church, he went into the *army*; and being a man of great courage and zeal for the liberties of his country, took upon him the profeſſion of the *ſoldier* as well as the *divine*, and behaved himſelf ſo well, as to gain a reputation, not inferior to many, in both theſe characters.

Quits his living, and went into the army.

As to his opinion in other points, he ſeems to have taken that which is called the middle way; being properly neither *Calviniſt* nor *Arminian*. For tho' he held the doctrine of *perſonal election*, and the ſpecial efficacy of grace to ſome, yet he as zealouſly oppoſed the doctrine of *abſolute reprobation*; aſſerting, that by the death of Chriſt, all men were put into the poſſibility of ſalvation, and were to have the offers of it: ſo that the deſtruction [n] and ruin

[n] *Drag-net*, p. 106.

of thoſe that periſh, is only of *themſelves.*

THE ſame ſcheme was vindicated by biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Davenant*, and of late by the famous Dr. *Tillotſon.* But for this Mr. *Denne* was accuſed by ſome who wrote againſt him, of being a great *Antinomian*, and a *deſperate Arminian*[o].

ONE of the moſt remarkable paſſages of this man's life, that wherein he moſt ſerved the *Baptiſts*, and gave the greateſt proofs of his being a good *ſcholar*, and a compleat *diſputant*, was that publick diſpute which he held for two days with Dr. *Gunning* in St. *Clement*'s church, without *Temple-Bar*, concerning *infant-baptiſm*, in the year 1658. which was afterwards printed. He died a little after the reſtoration, and upon his grave was put, by a *clergyman* of his acquaintance, this epitaph.

To tell his wiſdom, learning, goodneſs unto men,
I need to ſay no more, but here lies Henry Denne.

THOSE that deſire to ſee a confirmation of this character, will find it by reading his works: which are,

[o] Gangræna, *part* 1. *p.* 22.

1. *The*

1. *The doctrine and converſation of* John *the* Baptiſt; a viſitation ſermon. 8vo 1642 *His works.*

2. *The foundation of childrens baptiſm diſcovered and raſed*; an anſwer to Dr. *Featley* and Mr. *Marſhal.* 4to 1645

3. *The man of ſin diſcovered, whom the Lord will deſtroy with the brightneſs of his coming.* 4to 1645

4. *The drag-net of the kingdom of heaven*; or, Chriſt's drawing all men. 8vo 1646

5. *The levellers deſign diſcovered,* a ſheet, 1649.

6. *A contention for truth,* in two publick diſputations at St. *Clement*'s church, between Dr. *Gunning* and *Henry Denne,* concerning infant-baptiſm. 4to 1658

ANOTHER famous man of this denomination, was the learned, humble, and very pious Mr. *Henry Jeſſey*, M. A. *Mr. Henry Jeſſey.*

HE was born on the 3d of *September*, 1601. at *Weſt-Routon* in the North Riding of *Yorkſhire*, his father being miniſter of that place. When he was ſeventeen years of age, he was ſent to the univerſity, and educated in St. *John*'s college at *Cambridge*, where he continued about ſix years, and commenced, firſt batchelor, and then maſter of arts. But that which is moſt remarkable, is, that while he was under the teachings of men, and eagerly purſuing after human learning in this place, God himſelf was pleaſed to teach him, and enrich his

his ſoul with divine learning, working effectually in him, by his Holy Spirit, the knowledge of ſin, and faith in Chriſt; ſo that he dates his converſion to God, while he was yet at the *univerſity*, and but of twenty one years of age; a very rare and uncommon inſtance! However, this put no ſtop to the progreſs of his education; for he followed his ſtudies as cloſely as ever, only he now ſteered the courſe of them more directly to qualify him for the *miniſtry* of the goſpel; having determined from this time to devote himſelf to that ſacred employment. When he removed from the univerſity, old Mr. *Bramton Gurdon*, of *Aſſington* in *Suffolk*, famous for his having three ſons parliament-men, took him to be chaplain in his family. And in this worthy family he continued nine years, where he had the opportunity of perfecting his ſtudies, and qualifying himſelf yet better for more publick ſervice.

Is firſt a chaplain to a private family.

IT was in the year 1627. that he received *epiſcopal ordination*. And tho' after this he was frequently ſolicited to accept of ſome promotion in the church, yet could not be prevail'd upon until the year 1633. and then the living of *Aughton* in *Yorkſhire* was given to him. Here he found that his predeceſſor Mr. *Alder*, had been remov'd for *nonconformity*, and he knew that his principles would not permit him to conform ſo far as the other had done, and therefore

Obtains the living of Aughton.

fore expected no long continuance in this place. And it proved according to his expectation: for the very next year he himself was remov'd for not using all those *ceremonies* enjoin'd by the *rubrick* and *canons*, and for presuming to remove a *crucifix* set up there. *Is removed from thence.*

AFTER this, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, in the same county, took him into his family; by whom he also was introduc'd to preach frequently both at *Barneston* and *Rowsby*, two parishes near adjoining in *Yorkshire*; and began every day to be more and more taken notice of for his piety, humility, and excellent preaching.

IN the year 1635. he came up to *London* with his patron; and he had not been long here, before he was earnestly solicited to take the pastoral care of a congregation of *protestant dissenters* in this city, which had been form'd ever since the year 1616. by one Mr. *Henry Jacob*. They had often heard him preach to their great satisfaction; and it was now well known, that he would accept no preferment in the establish'd church, but look'd upon the imposition of *ceremonies*, and *oaths* of *episcopal* and *canonical* obedience to be unwarrantable and sinful. His great modesty caus'd him to decline it for some time; but at length, after many prayers to God, and consultations with his brethren, he accepted of this charge in the year 1637. and in this vineyard did he continue a faithful and laborious *He comes to* London.

Accepts of an Independent *congregation.*

borious ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, unto the day of his death.

Several of his congregation embrace the opinion of the Baptiſts.

IT happen'd that every now and then ſeveral of this congregation were embracing the opinion of the *Baptiſts*, and going off from them on that occaſion. In 1638. the year after his coming among them, ſix perſons of note eſpous'd it; in 1641. a much greater number; and in 1643. it was reviv'd again, and prevail'd more than ever.

MANY of theſe were ſuch as Mr. *Jeſſey* very much reſpected for their piety and ſolid judgment, and the alteration of their opinions occaſion'd frequent debates in the congregation about it; ſo that he was by theſe things neceſſarily put upon the ſtudy of this *controverſy*: and when, upon a diligent and impartial examination of the *holy ſcriptures* and *antiquity*, he found occaſion to alter his *opinion*; yet he did not do it without great deliberation, many prayers, and divers conferences with pious and learned men of a different perſuaſion.

HIS firſt *conviction* was about the *mode of baptizing*: for he quickly diſcern'd that *ſprinkling* was a modern corruption, brought in without any juſt ground either from *ſcripture* or *antiquity*; and therefore in the year 1642. the church being aſſembled, he freely declared to them, that *immerſion*, or *dipping* the whole body into the water, appeared to him to be the right manner of adminiſtring *baptiſm*, this being the import

He himſelf declares for immerſion in baptiſm, and practiſes it.

mport of the original word Βαπτίζω, this agreeing with thoſe examples of *baptiſm* recorded in the holy ſcriptures, and this beſt repreſenting thoſe *ſpiritual myſteries* ſignified by it, *viz.* the *death* and *reſurrection* of Chriſt, and our *dying* to ſin, and *riſing* again to newneſs of life. And therefore he propoſed, that thoſe who were *baptized* for the future, ſhould receive it after this manner. And tho' he continued for two or three years after this, to *baptize children*, his manner was to *dip* them into the water.

BUT about the year 1644. the *controverſy* about the *ſubjects* of *baptiſm* was again reviv'd, and ſeveral debates held in the *congregation* about it; by which not only ſeveral private chriſtians were convinced that *infant-baptiſm* was an unſcriptural practice, but Mr. *Jeſſey* himſelf alſo came over to this opinion. However, before he would abſolutely determine in the point, and practiſe accordingly, he reſolved to conſult with divers learned and judicious *miniſters* of thoſe times; and therefore had a meeting with Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, Mr. *Walter Craddock*, and ſeveral others. But theſe giving him no ſatisfaction, he was in *June* 1645. baptized by Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*; and it proved no ſmall honour and advantage to the *Baptiſts*, to have a man of ſuch

Is further convinced that it belongs not to infants;

And is baptized by Hanſerd Knollys.

ſuch extraordinary piety, and ſubſtantial learning among them.

BUT notwithſtanding his differing from his *brethren* in this, or any other point, he maintained the ſame chriſtian love and charity to all ſaints as before, not only as to a friendly converſation, but alſo in reſpect of *church-communion*. He had always ſome of the *Pædobaptiſt perſuaſion*, and blamed thoſe that made their particular opinion about *baptiſm* the boundary of church communion. He publiſhed the reaſons of his opinion in this caſe; and when he travelled thro' the *north* and *weſt* parts of *England* to viſit the churches, he made it his principal buſineſs to excite them to love and union among themſelves, notwithſtanding their differing from one another in ſome opinions; and was alſo the principal perſon that ſet up, and preſerved for ſome time, a meeting at *London* of ſome eminent men of each denomination, in order to maintain peace and union among thoſe chriſtians that differed not fundamentally; and this catholick ſpirit procured him the love and eſteem of the good men of all *parties*.

Yet held mixed communion.

HE divided his labours in the *miniſtry*, according to the extenſiveneſs of his principles. Every lord's-day in the afternoon he was among his own people; in the morning he uſually preach'd at St. *George*'s church

His ſtated labours.

church in *Southwark*, being one of the fixed *miniſters* in that pariſh; and once in the week days he preached at *Ely-Houſe*, and in the *Savoy* to the maimed ſoldiers.

BESIDES his conſtant labours, thus, in the work of the miniſtry, there was another profitable work, wherein his ſoul was engaged, and in which he took great pains for divers years; and this was no leſs than the making a new and more correct tranſlation of the Holy Bible.

He attempts a more correct tranſlation of the Bible.

HE was very induſtrious, in the firſt place, to underſtand fully thoſe languages in which it was written: the *Hebrew* and *Greek* teſtaments he conſtantly carried about him, frequently calling one *his ſword and dagger*, and the other his *ſhield and buckler*. And beſides the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, he ſtudied the *Syriack* and *Chaldee* dialects, which the unlearned *Jews* ſpoke in their captivity. But notwithſtanding his qualifications in this, and many other reſpects, he had not the vanity to think this a work fit for any ſingle man to encounter with; and therefore ſent letters to many learned men of this and other nations, deſiring their aſſiſtance and joint labours with him in this great deſign. And by his perſuaſions many perſons of great note for their learning, faithfulneſs, and piety, did engage in it; particularly Mr. *John Row*, the *Hebrew* profeſſor at *Aberdeen*, took great pains with him herein. The writer of Mr. *Jeſſey*'s life ſays,

ſays, that he made it the maſter ſtudy of his life, and would often cry out, 'Oh, 'that I might ſee this done before I die!'

IN that book there is a ſpecimen given of the *errors* he took notice of in the preſent *tranſlation*, the rules he obſerved in correcting them, and the progreſs that was made in this work.

IT appears, that it was almoſt compleated, and wanted little more than the appointing commiſſioners to examine it, and authorize its publication, which was what he always attended, and of which he had from the firſt ſome aſſurances given him. But the great turn that was given to publick affairs both in church and ſtate, by the *reſtoration*, cauſed this great and noble deſign to prove *abortive*.

IT was not however loſt labour to himſelf, if the world ſhould never be favoured with it; for by this thorough ſtudy of the *Scriptures*, he was made an excellent *textuary*, was well ſkilled in the *hiſtory* and *chronology* thereof, and became ſo familiar with its *language* and *phraſeology*, that it was to him like his *mother-tongue*, both in preaching and converſation. This way of ſpeaking he thought moſt ſavoury, and beſt becoming thoſe that profeſs'd chriſtianity; therefore, as he uſed it to great advantage himſelf, ſo he exhorted all chriſtians to uſe themſelves to the like practice. And for their aſſiſtance herein, he began

began in the year 1645. to ſet forth *a ſcripture-calendar*, as a guide to ſpeak and write in ſcripture-ſtile; and continued it yearly to 1664.

IN this, beſides the day of the month, age of the moon, progreſs of the ſun, quarter-days, and the like, common to vulgar almanacks; there was, peculiar to his deſign, the ſcripture-account of hours, days, night-watches, months and quarters; alſo the weights and meaſures therein mentioned; with a brief chronology and church hiſtory; and ſtill every year entertained the publick with ſomething new on theſe ſubjects, compriſing the whole in two ſheets. Theſe are ſome of thoſe methods by which this great and good man endeavoured, according to the nature of his office, to ſerve the ſouls of men, and improve their minds in knowledge and holineſs. Something alſo in juſtice ought to be ſaid of his labours of love towards their bodies, and care to promote their temporal intereſts. *His work.*

HE choſe a *ſingle life*, that ſo not being incumbered with *wife* or *family*, he might be the more entirely devoted to his ſacred work, and the better enabled to do good, and communicate to the relief of others. And beſides his own *alms*, he was a conſtant ſolicitor and agent for the poor, with others whom he knew able to ſupply their wants; for this purpoſe he carried about him *And labour of love*

him a list of the names of the most eminent objects of charity known to him, adding to each name their ages, infirmities, afflictions, charges and graces; and by this method he raised considerable sums for their relief. There were above *thirty families*, who had all their subsistance from him, and were after his death exposed to great difficulties.

NOR did he limit his charity within the narrow compass of his own congregation or opinion; but, according to the rule, *did good to all*, as well as *more especially to the houshold of faith*, so that many hundreds of poor, besides his own people, were refreshed by him. And where it was not charity *to give*, but might be so on some special occasions *to lend*, he would do it freely, without taking *interest* or *security* from the party.

His charity to the distressed Jews *at* Jerusalem.

ONE of the most famous instances of his charity, and what is perhaps without precedent, was that which he shewed to the poor and distressed *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. The love that the *Jews* had for the *holy land*, and particularly the place where the famous city of *Jerusalem* had stood, drew a great number of that religion to inhabit in those parts, though they were obliged to pay considerable sums to the *Turks* for liberty so to do. These being generally poor, and dwelling in a place where there was now no trade or merchandize, they were chiefly

chiefly ſupported by their rich and trading brethren in other countries. The *Jews* in *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Lithuania* and *Pruſſia*, were wont to ſend them fifteen millions of rixdollars yearly, for the maintenance and training up of *learned rabbi's*, and for the relief of decriped men and antient widows: but a war which happened between the *Swedes* and *Poles*, cut off this means of their ſubſiſtance; ſo that about the year 1657. they were reduced to great extremity, four hundred of their poor widows were *ſtarved to death*, others ſuffered much by hunger and nakedneſs; and their *elders* and *rabbi's* were committed to *priſon*, and uſed very cruelly by ſcourging and otherwiſe, becauſe they owed between four and five thouſand pounds for their liberty of dwelling there, and other occaſions. And they were aſſured by the *rulers* in thoſe parts, that they ſhould all be ſold for *ſlaves*, if payment was not ſpeedily made.

IN this deplorable caſe, all the proſpect of relief they had left, was to ſend to ſome of their brethren at *Venice* and *Amſterdam*; but theſe could help them to little more than what would pay the intereſt of their debts. However, the *chriſtians* in *Holland* hearing their caſe, had compaſſion on them, and ſent them five hundred rixdollars; and ſome there knowing Mr. *Jeſſey* to be a man of a publick ſpirit, and one that delighted in charitable actions,

tions, and alſo that he had formerly been very helpful in procuring liberty for the *Jews* to trade and inhabit in *England*, on ſuch limitations as might render it ſafe both for the government and merchants, they therefore ſend a repreſentation of this caſe to him, earneſtly deſiring him to ſet forward a collection for them in *England*.

WHEN Mr. *Jeſſey* had received full ſatisfaction concerning the truth of this relation, and that there was a ſafe way of conveying what might be collected to them, he immediately communicated the matter to his brethren the *London-miniſters*, and in a ſhort time three hundred pound was gathered and ſent to them, and a bill of receipt with thanks returned.

TO this act of hoſpitality he was influenced not only by that common compaſſion which we ought to ſhew to all human nature, but from the conſideration of their having antiently been God's *peculiar* and *beloved people*, and that there are ſeveral *predictions* of their being called in the latter days, and bringing great glory to the goſpel-church.

IN the year 1650. when the *Jews* were permitted to return and trade in *England* as formerly, Mr. *Jeſſey* wrote an excellent *treatiſe* on purpoſe to remove their prejudices, and convince them that Jeſus was the true Meſſiah, which was recommended very highly by the hands of ſeveral of the

aſſembly

aſſembly of *divines*, and afterwards turned into *Hebrew*, to be diſperſed among the *Jews* of all nations.

AND to promote the ſame good deſign of their converſion to chriſtianity, there were letters ſent with this charity; *one* ſigned by all the *miniſters* that had been concerned in raiſing this money for them, *others* written particularly by Mr. *Jeſſey*; the copies of both which may be ſeen in his life.

IT is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that a man of ſuch great piety, learning, and extenſive charity, muſt be very much crouded with viſitors; and tho' Mr. *Jeſſey* was no courtier, yet, according to the modern phraſe, he had a very great *levee*; ſome to converſe with him as a *friend*, ſome to conſult him as a *caſuiſt*, and others to get relief from him as a common *benefactor* to the diſtreſſed.

HE was however reſolved to have to himſelf ſufficient time for his private devotions and neceſſary ſtudies. And as he hated idle talk and fruitleſs viſits, ſo he took all poſſible methods to avoid them. Among the reſt, that his friends might know his deſire and reſolution in this caſe, he put over his ſtudy door, the place where he uſually received his viſitors, this writing [p].

[p] Jeſſey's *life*, p. 103.

Amice,

Amice, quiſquis huc ades;
Aut agito paucis; aut abi;
Aut me laborantem adjuva.

Whatever friend comes hither,
Diſpatch in brief, or go,
Or help me buſied too.

By HENRY JESSEY.

DURING the time that *epiſcopacy* was laid aſide in *England*, Mr. *Jeſſey* was a man always had in eſteem, and free from all degrees of *perſecution*; a favour that very few *Baptiſts* enjoyed beſides himſelf. But in the little time he lived both before and after this, he had his ſhare of thoſe *perſecutions*, which fell upon the *Nonconformiſts*.

He was ejected from his living, and died in priſon.

UPON the *reſtoration* he was ejected from his living at St. *George's*, *Southwark*, ſilenced from his *miniſtry*, and being committed to *priſon* for his religion, he died there, full of peace and joy, on the 4th of *Sept.* 1663. having that day compleated the ſixty third year of his age. He was buried three days afterwards from *Woodmongers* hall; and there appeared an uncommon number of mourners at his funeral, ſeveral thouſands of pious perſons of all denominations attending his obſequies, each bewailing their loſs in that particular wherein he had been uſeful to them, and one of his learned acquaintance writ this epitaph on his death.

In

In mortem domini HENRICI JESSEY.

Poſt varios caſus, & per diſpendia vitæ
Plurima, devictis hoſtibus, ille jacet.
Sub tumulo, invictus victor, ſub pace triumphans,
Præmia virtutis poſſidet ille juæ.
Cymba fides, remique preces, ſuſpiria venti
Cum quibus Elyſiis per Styga fertur agris.

THOSE that deſire to know more of this great and good man, may read his life, publiſhed in 1671. But perhaps one teſtimony of his great learning and piety from a *Pædobaptiſt*, may go further with ſome men, than all that can be ſaid by thoſe of his own perſuaſion.

I WILL therefore add the *character* that is given of him by *Obediah Wills*, M. A. who has writ with as much zeal and warmth againſt Mr. *Jeſſey*'s particular opinion, as any man; yet when he is commending love and union among Chriſtians of different ſentiments, he ſays [r], *Mr. Wills's character of him.*

'AND ſuch a frame of ſpirit was there 'in that man of God, Mr. *Jeſſey*,— He, to 'my knowledge, was an *Anti-pædobaptiſt* 'of long ſtanding, as holy I conceive, as 'any of that judgment; of good learning

[q] Jeſſey's *life*, p. 97. [r] *Inf. Bapt. preface.*

'and of a very tender conſcience; and of 'ſo healing and uniting a ſpirit, that 'he eſteemed it his duty, and preſſed o-'thers to it, to keep up chriſtian com-'munion with thoſe that feared God, tho' 'they differ'd about *baptiſm*. We have 'his arguments for the ſame publiſhed in 'print, and grounded on *Romans* xiv. 1. 'which are ſo clear, and have in them 'ſuch ſtrength of evidence, that I never 'yet could hear them anſwered, nor do 'ever expect it. I wiſh there were more 'ſuch *Anti-pædobaptiſts* as he.

THE books written by him are as follows.

His works. 1. *A ſtore-houſe of proviſion to further reſolution in ſeveral caſes of conſcience, and queſtions now in diſpute.* 8vo 1650

2. *A ſcripture calendar*, publiſhed yearly, from 1645, to 1660.

3. *The glory and ſalvation of Jehudah and Iſrael*; a treatiſe to reconcile Jews and Chriſtians in the faith of the Meſſiah. 1650

4. *An eaſy catechiſm for children*; in which the anſwers are wholly in the words of ſcripture.

5. *The exceeding riches of grace, advanced by the Spirit of grace, in Mrs.* Sarah Wright. 8vo 1658

6. *The Lord's loud call to* England; being an account of ſome late various and wonderful judgments. 4to 1660

7. *Miſ-*

7. *Miſcellania Sacra*, or divers neceſſary truths. 8vo 1665

A looking-glaſs for children; being a narrative of God's gracious dealings with ſome little children. 8vo 1672

William Dell, M. A. was another profeſſed *Baptiſt*, famous in the time of the late civil wars. [f] He was trained up at the univerſity of *Cambridge*, accepted a living in the eſtabliſhed church, and before the civil wars, ſeemed well enough pleaſed with epiſcopacy and the ceremonies: But when the change in the ſtate brought on a reformation in religion, he appeared among the forwardeſt for the promoting of it, and would have had it carried on much farther than many others deſigned, or would allow of. Tho' this created him many enemies, and expoſed him to the cenſure of the prevailing party, yet he exclaimed againſt making a whole kingdom a church, and called it *the myſtery of iniquity*. He thought, that no power belonged to the church and clergy, but what is ſpiritual; and took pains to ſhew [t], that the blending the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers together has conſtantly been the method of ſetting up a *ſpiritual tyranny*, and of ſupporting the anti-chriſtian church and prelacy. He zealouſly oppoſed *Mr.* Wil. Dell.

[f] Love's *animad.* p. 49. [t] *Right reform. preface.*

all compulſion in matters of religion; and held, that every particular perſon, and ſocieties of chriſtians, ought to have the liberty of worſhipping God according to the beſt of their knowledge, and in that manner which they thought moſt agreeable to his word.

Oppoſes the Preſbyterians.

THESE principles led him neceſſarily to oppoſe the *Presbyterians* in their attempts to get the civil power over entirely to themſelves, and to eſtabliſh their articles of faith, and directory for worſhip and diſcipline, ſuppreſſing all others. And there was no man ſtood more in their way than he did, ſo that he obtained the name of *a rigid Anti-presbyterian*, and a *famous ſectary* [u].

HE writ a book againſt *uniformity*, wherein he calls the impoſing of it anti-chriſtian, about the ſame time as they were getting their directory confirmed by parliament, which greatly enraged them; but he was protected againſt their reſentment, by the favour of ſome great men.

HE had the living at *Yeldon*, in the county of *Bedford*, a place worth about two hundred pound a year. But ſome other officiated for him; for about the year 1645. he became *chaplain* to the *army*, conſtantly attending on Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and preaching at the head quarters.

Goes into the army.

[u] Love's *animad.* p. 4. Gangræna *part* 3. *p.* 213.

THIS

THIS poſt they envied him more than the other; not for the profit of it, but becauſe it gave him an opportunity of ſpreading his *principles* among ſome of the leading men in the ſtate, and enabled him to make the greater ſtand againſt their deſired eſtabliſhment of *Presbytery*. Mr. *Baxter* himſelf went into the *army* for ſome time, to counterwork Mr. *Dell* and others, whom he eſteemed as *ſectarians*; and endeavoured to perſuade other miniſters to follow his example, but met with little ſucceſs, as he himſelf acknowledges [y].

WHEN his method failed [z], they endeavoured to blacken his *character*, by repreſenting him to be an [a] *Antinomian*, a *Socinian*, a *Sectarian*, and one that oppoſed reaſon [b], ſound doctrine, order and concord [c]; but chiefly ſought occaſion to catch ſomething from his diſcourſes, that might expoſe him to the government, and render him odious to the common people. Several inſtances of this might be collected out of the *hiſtories* of thoſe times. I will only take notice of the two moſt remarkable. *His enemies endeavour to expoſe him.*

ONE was, from a diſcourſe which he preach'd at *Marſton*, then the head quarters of the *army* before *Oxford*.

[y] *Life*, p. 53, 56.
[z] Love's *animad.* p. 18.
[a] Ibid. p. 6.
[b] Gangræna, *part* 3. p. 213.
[c] Baxter's *life*, p. 64.

SOME who were ſuppoſed to come from *London* to be ſpies upon the army to expoſe them, being preſent, were greatly provoked, and inraged by what he delivered: whereupon they drew up their charge againſt him, and in ſeveral heads, ſigned it with their names, and returning to *London*, copies of it were put into the hands of ſeveral members of both houſes of parliament, and divers eminent citizens of *London*, in order to carry on their deſign againſt him.

IT ſhews the ſpirit of thoſe times, and the unhappy ſtruggles that were among the contending parties; and being ſhort, I ſhall here inſert it.

MR. *Dell* expounding the ſeven laſt verſes of the 54th of *Iſaiah*, in *Marſton* church near *Oxford*, before the general and other commanders and ſoldiers, *June* the 7th 1646. being ſabbath day in the forenoon, uſed theſe or the like words, in effect.

Their charge againſt him.

'1. [d] THERE are no more of the church 'of God in a kingdom than there be of 'ſuch as have the Spirit of God in that 'kingdom.

'2. NEITHER Old nor New Teſtament 'do hold a whole nation to be a church,

[d] Edwards's Gangræna, *part* 3. *p.* 63

3. WHAT-

'3. WHATSOEVER a ſtate, an aſſembly, or council ſhall ſay, ought not to bind the ſaints, further than the judgments of thoſe ſaints ſhall lead them.

'4. THE ſaints are thoſe that are now ſtiled *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Independants*, *Sectaries*, &c.

'5. The power is in you the people; keep it, part not with it.

'6. THE firſt party that roſe againſt you, namely, the profane ones of the land, are already fallen under you, and now there is another party, *Formaliſts* and *Carnal-Goſpellers* riſing up againſt you; and I am confident they ſhall fall under you.

'7. THEY are willing to become ſubjects to make the ſaints ſlaves; nay, they are willing to become ſlaves themſelves, that they may tread upon the necks of the ſaints.

'8. HIS ſermon, or expoſition, for the greateſt part of it, tended meerly to diviſion and ſedition.

'9. BEING ſpoken with after his ſermon, by ſome of his hearers, touching theſe things, and ſuch like paſſages, he ſaid to this effect; his intentions were not according to his expreſſions, and he thought he had preached only to ſoldiers.

Peter Mills, *Nicholas Widmergole*,
Henry Potter, *Theophilus Smith*.
John Haine,

THIS proceeding obliged Mr. *Dell* to print his ſermon in his own vindication. He declares in the preface, that it contained the whole of what was then delivered, exactly ſet down, and nothing abated; and appeals to ſeveral hundreds of perſons, ſome of which were of great worth and piety, who were ready to confute the falſhood and untruths of their charge.

HE does indeed therein ſhew his diſlike of making every man in a kingdom a member of the church, and taking thoſe into Chriſt's flock that are none of his ſheep; and endeavours to expoſe the evil of *perſecution*, and the folly of building our faith on the opinions of any learned man, or an whole *aſſembly of divines*; and exclaims againſt the practice of abuſing good men with the odious names of *Sectaries*, *Schiſmaticks*, *Hereticks*, &c. but ſays nothing that will bear ſo ill a ſenſe as thoſe words they accuſe him with. And as to the two laſt articles of their charge, which contains their opinion of his diſcourſe, and what paſſed afterwards, he ſo fully confuted both, that in their rejoinder they dropt them.

THERE was another inſtance of this nature, which expoſed Mr. *Dell* very much to the envy of thoſe who were for eſtabliſhing an *uniformity*, and again *toleration*.

Nov.

Nov. 25. 1646. being appointed for a publick faſt, Mr. *Dell* and Mr. *Love* were choſen to preach before the houſe of commons.

Preaches before the houſe of Commons.

IT was a very critical juncture with reſpect to the ſtate of religion. The miniſters of *London*, and after their example, thoſe of other parts, had petitioned againſt *toleration*, deſiring that all *ſectaries* and *lay preachers* might be ſuppreſs'd, and *presbytery* only eſtabliſhed and allowed of; and the city of *London* had but juſt before preſented their *remonſtrance* to the ſame effect: ſo that this great affair lay now before the parliament, and was the chief ſubject of debate throughout the kingdom.

MR. *Dell* was known to be one of the heads of the oppoſite party; and having this opportunity, he thought himſelf obliged to vindicate his opinion, and defend the rights and liberties of his brethren. Accordingly preaching in the morning, from *Heb.* ix. 10. *Until the time of reformation*, he took the liberty of handling this point very freely before the parliament; ſhewing, what true goſpel reformation is, into whoſe hand the work is committed, and by what means it is to be brought about: and under this laſt head does, by ſeveral excellent arguments, expoſe the unreaſonableneſs and evil of *perſecution*,

ſecution, or uſing external force and compulſion in matters purely religious.

WHEN Mr. *Love* came to preach in the afternoon, inſtead of delivering the ſermon he had prepared, he ſet himſelf with great warmth, and many unhandſome reflections, to confute what had been delivered in the morning; endeavouring to juſtify the puniſhing of *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks*, and to vindicate the authority of the civil *magiſtrate*, in impoſing articles of faith, and a form of worſhip. The fame of this conteſt quickly ſpread itſelf thro' the nation, and warmed the ſpirit of both the parties. The *parliament* thought it moſt prudent for them not to give their publick approbation to either diſcourſe, and it would have been ridiculous to have done it to both; therefore they dropt the uſual ceremony in that caſe.

MR. *Dell* printed his ſermon, and having a copy of Mr. *Love*'s, put at the end of his own a reply to Mr. *Love*'s contradictions; upon both which, Mr. *Love* quickly after wrote ſome *animadverſions*. And thus they were made the *heads* and *champions* of the two contending parties of the nation; the *one for liberty*, the *other for perſecution*.

MR. *Dell*'s diſcourſe met with great approbation from the publick, and cauſed his doctrine very much to obtain. And

tho

tho' the *rigid Preſbyterians* were very much [e] provok'd and offended with him, the government ſhew'd no reſentment, nor did he loſe any preſent or following preferment by what he had done.

[f] IN the year 1649. when ſeveral were turned out of the univerſities for refuſing to take the oaths to the government, he was made maſter of *Caius* college at *Cambridge*; and this, with his living at *Yeldon*, he held, till he was ejected by the act of *uniformity*, made quickly after the reſtoration.

DR. *Calamy*, in his account of the ejected miniſters, calls him *a very unſettled man*; and ſays, he was challenged with three contradictions in his life. 1. For being profeſſedly againſt *Pædobaptiſm*, and yet he had his own *children* baptized: 2. For preaching againſt *univerſities*, when yet he held the *headſhip* of a college: 3. For being againſt *tithes*, and yet taking 200 *l. per annum* at his living at *Yeldon*. *Dr.* Calamy's *charge againſt him.*

DR. *Calamy* takes no notice of this in his firſt edition: but however it is now fixed upon as a brand of infamy on the character of this learned defender of the peoples religious liberties. And as theſe things are laid down, they do indeed ſhew a *contradiction* between *principles* and *practice*; and the doctor's *impartiality* and *ingenuity* *Confuted.*

[e] *I uſe the term* rigid *to diſtinguiſh them from the other* Preſbyterians *who diſlike ſuch proceedings.*

[f] Baxter's *life*, p. 64.

genuity towards the *Baptiſts* may be eaſily ſeen, where he is neceſſitated to mention them. But if ſome circumſtances are conſidered, the *contradictions* will in a great meaſure diſappear, and the crime of them be wholly taken away.

HE that believes *infant-baptiſm* to be no inſtitution of Chriſt, yet for the ſatisfaction of a *pious wife*, or ſome other near relations who eſteem it ſo, may permit them to get his *children* baptized; or if he don't eſteem it a religious rite, may admit it as a title to ſome *civil privilege*; as *Paul* circumciſed *Timothy*.

As to the ſecond, I do not find that he was againſt *univerſities* as *ſeminaries* of *learning*, and proper places for the education of youth; but making ſuch an education *eſſential* to a goſpel miniſter, and preferable to the gifts of the Spirit.

Nor, 3dly, can I ſee any evil or *contradiction* in it, for a perſon who aſſerts that there is no divine right for *tithes* under the goſpel, but that miniſters ſhould be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people, to accept of a living raiſed by *tithes*, till ſuch a reformation can be obtained, and other methods fixed for their ſupport. It rather beſpeaks a man's virtue to oppoſe a practice and deſire the reformation of it, tho' it was ſo beneficial to himſelf. And had he not made conſcience of practiſing nothing in religion but what was conſiſtent with the

the ſentiments of his own mind, he would never have loſt two ſuch great *livings* for his *nonconformity* as he did; and yet the doctor himſelf aſſerts, that this was the only reaſon of his ejectment. It muſt be granted, that he was ſomewhat tinctured with the *enthuſiaſm* that prevailed in thoſe times; but was however a man of ſubſtantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights and liberties of conſcience.

The tracts which he publiſhed, were,

1. *Power from on high; or the power of the Holy Ghoſt diſperſed thro' the whole body of Chriſt, and communicated to each member.* Two Serm. 4to 1645 — His works.

2. *Right reformation.* A ſermon before the houſe of Commons, *Nov.* 25. 4to 1646

3. *The building and glory of the truly chriſtian and ſpiritual church*; repreſented in an expoſition on *Iſaiah* 45. 4to 1647.

4. *The doctrine of baptiſm reduced from its antient and modern corruptions.* 4to 1648.

5. *A treatiſe againſt uniformity.* I am not certain but this may be the ſame with the firſt.

THE next I ſhall mention, is one whoſe memory is ſtill very precious to many godly perſons, both of this and other denominations; *viz.*

THE

Mr. Hanſerd Knollys.

THE pious and learned Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*. He was born at *Chalkwell* in *Lincolnſhire*, and deſcended from religious parents, who took care to have him trained up in good literature, and inſtructed betimes in the principles of religion. For this end they kept a tutor in their houſe for him and his brother, till he was fit for the *univerſity*; and then he was ſent to *Cambridge*, where he continued ſome time and became a *graduate* [f], tho' he is ſo modeſt, as to take no notice of it in the account he has left of his life under his own hand. His mind was tinctured with piety, before he came hither: but by ſome ſermons which he heard here, he was effectually convinced of ſin, and brought more to mind the ſalvation of his ſoul, than formerly.

His behaviour at the univerſity.

THE manner of his behaviour, and the ſpending of his time here, is worthy of notice, as a rare inſtance and good example for all *academicks*. He prayed every day, and heard all the godly miniſters he could. His chief ſtudy was the holy ſcriptures, tho' he read other uſeful books. He affected to get acquaintance with the moſt ſober and gracious chriſtians, tho' called *Puritans*. He frequently kept days of faſting and prayer alone, to humble his ſoul

[f] Tomb's *anſw. to* Bailie *p.* 21.

for

for his ſins, and to ſeek pardon and grace of God, thro' Jeſus Chriſt; was ſtrict in performing the duties of religion, and examined himſelf every night to call to mind the ſins of the day, that he might confeſs them, mourn for them, and ſeek pardon, and maintained an indignation againſt all actual ſins, whether committed by himſelf or others. From ſuch an hopeful beginning much good might be expected; and happy would it be for this nation, if our *univerſities* and private *academies* were filled with ſuch *ſtudents*.

WHEN he came from the univerſity, he was choſe *maſter* of the free-ſchool at *Gainſborough*, which he held but a little time.

IN *June* 1629. he was ordained by the biſhop of *Peterborough*, firſt a *deacon*, than a *presbyter* of the church of *England*. Soon after which, the biſhop of *Lincoln* gave him the living at *Humberſtone*. When he had held this cure two or three years, he began to ſcruple the lawfulneſs of ſeveral *ceremonies* and *uſages* of the *national* church; as the *ſurplice*, the *croſs* in *baptiſm*, the admitting *wicked* perſons to the *Lord's-ſupper*, &c. whereupon he reſolved to reſign his living to the biſhop who had beſtowed it upon him; for he told the biſhop plainly, that he could not in *conſcience* conform any longer; however ſaid, he was willing to continue preaching

Is ordained by a biſhop, and a living given him.

Reſigns his living.

ing, tho' he could not hold any *cure*, or read their *ſervice*. And accordingly after this, for two or three years, he frequently preached in divers pariſhes, and was connived at by his *dioceſan* in ſo doing. But about the year 1636. he left the church entirely, and join'd himſelf to the *Diſſenters*, and was expoſed to many difficulties and hardſhips for his *non-conformity*, both before and after the civil wars, beſides the ill treatment he met with, even during that time, for his being a *Baptiſt*; of which an account has been already given.

WHEN the epiſcopal *hierarchy* was laid aſide, and univerſal liberty granted, Mr. *Knollys* came to *London*, and for ſome time preached to the publick churches with great approbation. But when ſome other perſons got into the ſaddle, this could not be born with, becauſe he was againſt a *national church*, an *eſtabliſhed uniformity*, and *infant-baptiſm*. Whereupon he ſet up a *meeting-houſe* in great *St. Helens*, and was very much crowded after, having ſeldom leſs than a thouſand hearers.

And ſet up a meeting-houſe.

Gathers a church of Baptiſts, *and was ordained their paſtor.*

HE publickly owned his *opinion*, and frequently preached and diſputed againſt *infant-baptiſm*, and many were convinced by him of the unwarrantableneſs of that practice; among whom, were ſome learned *miniſters* as well as others; particularly the learned Mr. *Jeſſey* was his diſciple in this point, and was baptized by him; and

he

he ſoon gathered a ſufficient number to form a diſtinct church of this *denomination* at *London*; of which he was ordained the *paſtor* in the year 1645. And with this people he continued in the faithful diſcharge of that *office*, until the day of his death, except when he was forced from them by violent *perſecution*, or abſent upon juſt occaſions.

HE was very diligent and laborious in the work of the *miniſtry*, both before and after his ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed church. While he was a *Conformiſt*, he often preached three times and ſometimes four on the Lord's-day; at *Holton* at ſeven in the morning, at *Humberſtone* at nine, at *Scartho* at eleven, and at *Humberſtone* again at three in the afternoon; beſides his preaching every *holiday*, and at every *burial*, as well of the *poor* as of the *rich*.

NOR was he leſs diligent in his work after he became a *Nonconformiſt*. For above forty years ſucceſſively he preached three or four times every week, whilſt he had health and liberty: and when he was in *priſon*, it was his uſual practice to preach every day. One thing is very remarkable, while he continued to preach in the *eſtabliſhed church*, which was about five or ſix years, he ſays [t], he was not, as he knew of, inſtrumental to the converſion of

[t] *Life*, p. 9.

one *ſoul* to God, which occaſioned him not only to queſtion, but reject the call and commiſſion he had received to preach the goſpel. But when he ſet out upon another *foundation*, and experienced more of God's teachings and aſſiſtance in the work, he quickly found to his comfort, that many *ſinners* were converted, and many *believers* eſtabliſhed by his *labours*, and that from henceforward he continued to receive many *ſeals* of his *miniſtry*.

HE was as excellent and ſucceſsful in the gift of prayer as of preaching; for God was pleaſed to honour him with ſeveral remarkable anſwers to his prayers: eſpecially during the time of the plague at *London*, divers ſick perſons being ſuddenly reſtored, even while he was praying with them.

ONE very remarkable inſtance of this kind he thought fit to leave to poſterity, which is publiſhed in his life, to which I refer you, it being too long to be inſerted here.

He was often compelled to change his place of abode.

THE frequent revolutions that happened within the compaſs of this good man's long life, occaſioned a great variation in his circumſtances and place of abode. Sometimes he was worth ſome hundreds of pounds, at other times he had neither houſe to dwell in, food to eat, nor one peny to buy any; and frequently was he hurried about from place to place, by the *evil* of the

the *times*, and the *envy* of his *perſecutors*.

FIRST he and his family were forced from *Lincolnſhire* to *London*, then from *London* to *New-England*, and thence back again. Another time they were obliged to remove from *England* into *Wales*, and after this twice from *London* to *Lincolnſhire*. Another circuit was from *London* to *Holland*, from thence into *Germany*, and thence to *Rotterdam*, and then to *London* again. Theſe frequent *removings*, and different *circumſtances* of life, tended very much to the exerciſe of his graces, the increaſe of his experiences, both in temporal and ſpiritual things; and furniſhed him with frequent inſtances of the great love and goodneſs of God, in the courſe of his providence.

WHEN he was with his people, he always received a contribution from them according to their ability; believing it to be his *right* and their *duty*: but the chief means of his *ſubſiſtance*, was by teaching *ſchool*. He was well acquainted with the learned languages, and had an extraordinary way of inſtructing youth: ſo that when the times would permit him to follow this employment, he never wanted ſufficient encouragement; and many eminent perſons, both for piety and learning, were trained up by him.

HE lived to a good old age, and went home as a ſhock of wheat that is gathered in its ſeaſon. And though he was of ſo great an age, yet he did not lie ſick long, nor keep his bed many days. All the time of his illneſs, he behaved himſelf with extraordinary patience and reſignation to the divine will, longing to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, not ſo much to be freed from pain and trouble, as from all ſin: and according to his deſire, he departed this life in a great tranſport of joy, on the 19th day of *September* 1691. and *ætatis ſuæ* 93.

And died at London *in the 93d year of his age.*

MR. *Keach* writ an *elegy* on his death, and beſides the funeral-ſermon that was preached for him to his own congregation, Mr. *Tho. Harriſon* preached a ſermon on this occaſion at *Pinners-hall*, where Mr. *Knollys* kept up a morning-lecture every Lord's-day. This was publiſhed, and contains an excellent character of this old diſciple and eminent miniſter of the goſpel. I ſhall give it in his own words.

Mr. Harriſon's *character of him.*

'1. *His accurate and circumſpect walking.* 'I do not ſay, that he was wholly free 'from ſin; ſinleſs perfection is unattainable 'in a mortal ſtate: but yet he was one 'who carefully endeavoured to avoid it. 'He, with the apoſtle *Paul*, did herein '*exerciſe himſelf to have always a conſcience* '*void of offence, towards God and towards* '*men.* He walked with that caution, that 'his greateſt *enemies* had nothing againſt 'him,

'him ſave only in the matters of his God.
'That holy life which he lived, did com-
'mand reverence even from thoſe who
'were enemies to the holy doctrine which
'he preached. He was a preacher out of
'the pulpit as well as in it: not like thoſe
'who preſs the form of godlineſs on a
'Lord's-day, and openly deny the power
'of it the remainder of the week; who
'pluck down that in their converſations,
'which they build up in their pulpits.

'2. *His univerſal love to Chriſtians.*
'He had a great reſpect to Chriſt's new
'commandment, which he gave to his
'diſciples, *to love one another.* He loved
'the image of God whereſoever he ſaw
'it. He was not a man of a narrow and
'private, but of a large and publick ſpirit:
'the difference of his fellow-chriſtians opi-
'nions from his, did not alienate his af-
'fections from them. He loved all his
'fellow-travellers, though they did not
'walk in the ſame particular path with
'himſelf. He embraced thoſe in the arms
'of his love upon earth, with whom he
'thought he ſhould join in ſinging the ſong
'of the Lamb in heaven. It would be
'well, if not only private chriſtians, but
'alſo miniſters, did imitate him therein:
'there would not then be that fourneſs of
'ſpirit, which is too often, with grief be
'it ſpoken, found among them.

'3. *His meekneſs and humility.* He was 'not of a proud and lofty temper, but like 'that maſter whom he profeſſed to ſerve, '*meek and lowly.* He was willing to bear 'with, and forbear others; to ſtoop and 'condeſcend to others, and to paſs by thoſe 'injuries which he received from them.

'4. *His labouriouſneſs in that work which 'he was engaged in.* He was not a loiterer, 'but a labourer: he was willing to *ſpend 'and to be ſpent* in the ſervice of his Lord, 'and for the good of poor ſouls. It is 'true, old age and youth did as it were 'meet in him: God had bleſſed him 'with an extraordinary meaſure of bodily 'ſtrength; and he was not an unfaithful 'ſteward of this talent wherewith God 'had entruſted him. Yea, *when his fleſh 'and his heart ſeemed to fail*; when 'his fleſh was ſo weak, that he could 'hardly bear to ſtand in a pulpit, and his 'voice ſo low, that he could ſcarcely be 'heard; his affections were ſo much en-'gaged in his work, that he was very un-'willing to leave it.

'5. *His couragious and chearful ſuffering 'for his maſter's and the goſpel's ſake.* He 'chearfully went about ſuffering as well 'as preaching work. He was not unwil-'ling *to take up his croſs, and follow* his 'Lord and Maſter in the thorny road of 'tribulation. In theſe things, let us imi-'tate and follow the example of this holy

'man,

'man, who I queſtion not, ſays Mr. *Har-*
'*riſon*, is gone to the aſſembly of the firſt-
'born, to that glorious company of pro-
'phets, who having finiſhed their work on
'earth, are wearing their crowns in heaven.'

COMPARE this character, ſupported by the forementioned facts, with what Mr. *Neal* ſays of this worthy *Gentleman*, and let the world judge which has done moſt *juſtice* to his *memory*.

His works are theſe, *viz.* His works.

1. *Chriſt exalted; a loſt ſinner ſought and ſaved by Chriſt; God's people an holy people*; being the ſum of divers ſermons preached in *Suffolk*. 4to 1646

2. *The ſhining of a flaming fire in Zion*; an anſwer to Mr. *Saltmarſh*, his thirteen exceptions againſt the grounds of new baptiſm, in his book, entitled, *The ſmoke of the temple*. 4to 1646

3. *The world that now is, and that which is to come*. 8vo

4. *Grammaticæ Latinæ, Grecæ & Hebraicæ, compendium; rhetorica ad umbratio; item radices Grecæ & Hebraicæ, omnes quæ in Sacra Scriptura veteris & novi Teſtamenti occurrunt*. 8vo 1665

5. *The parable of the kingdom of heaven expounded*, being an expoſition of the firſt three verſes of the 25th chapter of *Matthew*. 8vo 1664

6. *An eſſay of ſacred rhetoric*, uſed by the Holy Spirit in ſcripture of truth. 8vo 1675

7. *An expoſition of the whole book of the revelations.* 4to 1668

8. *A ſmall piece in defence of ſinging the praiſes of God.* 8vo

9. A preface to Mr. *Collier*'s book, entitled, *The exaltation of Chriſt.* 8vo 1647

10. A preface to Mr. *Keach*'s *Inſtructions for children.* 12mo

11. His *laſt legacy to the church*; written a little before his death.

12. *Some account of his life*, written with his own hand, to the year 1672

THE two laſt mentioned, were publiſhed after his death.

Mr. Francis Cornwell.

THE next I ſhall mention, though ſo particular an account cannot be given of him as ſome others, is *Francis Cornwell.* M. A.

HE was trained up at *Cambridge*, and was ſome time ſtudent of *Emanuel* college, and commenced *maſter* of *arts* in that *univerſity.* When he left the *univerſity*, he was prefer'd to a living in the eſtabliſhed church, and at the beginning of the civil wars, was *miniſter* at *Orpington* in *Kent* [u].

Profeſſes himſelf a Baptiſt.

I CANNOT find the certain time or means of his embracing the opinion of the *Baptiſts.* But in the year 1643. he publickly profeſs'd that *principle*, and wrote in defence it. His book was intitled,

[u] Vide *his two queries.*

The

The vindication of the royal commiſſion of King Jeſus. In this he attempts to prove by ſeveral arguments, that the practice of *chriſtning* children was a *popiſh* tradition, and an *antichriſtian* cuſtom, contrary to the commiſſion given by our bleſſed Saviour, &c. It was dedicated to the parliament, and given away at the door of the houſe of Commons to divers of the members [x], which cauſed it to make a great noiſe, and be much handed about, to the great offence of thoſe of a different *opinion.*

DR. *Featley* [y] makes ſeveral remarks upon it, and pretends to anſwer the main arguments in it. There was alſo about the ſame time another piece publiſhed in anſwer to it, called a *Declaration againſt the Anabaptiſts* [z]. But neither of theſe convinced Mr. *Cornwell*, or ſtopp'd the ſpreading of his *opinion*, which prevailed much at this time among the learned, as well as the common people [a].

THE doctor calls him [b], *a new Anabaptiſtical proſelyte.* Whence it ſhould ſeem, that he had but lately entertained this *opinion.* However, having found the *truth* himſelf, he was willing to help others to do ſo

[x] Edward's *Gangræna*, part 3. p. 98.
[y] *Dipper Dipp'd.*
[z] *Ibid.* p. 48.
[a] *Ibid. Preface.*
[b] *Ibid.* p. 45.

likewiſe

likewiſe; at leaſt, to ſee whether his *brethren* in the *miniſtry* could anſwer his *arguments*, and reſolve the *doubts* he had concerning the lawfulneſs of that *practice*. And according to this, we find after he has examined the *ſcriptures* and *antiquity* concerning this *point*, he makes this appeal in his book: 'Oh, that the learned '*Engliſh miniſtry* would inform me, leſt 'my blood, like *Abel*'s, cry aloud from 'heaven for vengeance, for not ſatisfy-'ing a troubled conſcience! How ſhall I 'admit the *infant* of a *believer* to be 'made a viſible member of a particular 'church, and be *baptized*, before it be 'able to make confeſſion of its *faith* and '*repentance*?'

Appeals to the Engliſh *miniſtry for information.*

AFTER the publiſhing of his book, and finding no ſatisfactory anſwer returned to his arguments, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion, notwithſtanding the dangerous conſequence that it might be of to himſelf.

In a ſermon before divers miniſters, he declares his ſentiments.

IN the year 1644. being to preach a ſermon at *Cranbrook* in *Kent*, before divers *miniſters* in thoſe parts, he took the liberty of declaring his ſentiments freely in this point; and told them, *pædobaptiſm* was an *antichriſtian innovation*, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither *precept*, *example*, or true *deduction* from the word of God. At this ſeveral of the *miniſters* were not only very much ſtartled, but

but greatly offended: and when they had debated the matter together afterwards, they agreed to re-examine this *point*, and to bring their collections together, at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight.

MR. *Chriſtopher Blackwood*, who was one of them, took a great deal of pains, and ſtudied the queſtion cloſely, and began to ſuſpect that it was indeed, as had been ſaid, no more than an *human tradition*, and that it was attended with more evil conſequences than he had ever before conſidered. When they met again, according to agreement, he brought in his arguments, which determined againſt *pædobaptiſm:* but there was none had brought any thing in defence thereof. One ſaid, that they ſought for truth and not victory; and therefore propoſed, that they might have his papers to examine the arguments. The other approving of this motion, the papers were accordingly left with them; and after he had waited a long time, and could get no anſwer, he ſent for them again, and after ſome correction and enlargement, ſent them to the preſs [b].

THUS, by Mr. *Cornwell*'s means, the *controverſy* was revived in that county, the truth gained ground, and he had the honour of making a very ingenious and learned proſelyte to his opinion. *Mr. Blackwood becomes his proſelyte.*

[b] Blackwood's *ſtorm. antich.* p. 1.

HE

HE did not continue long after this in the *national church*, though it was now much reformed to what it had been. For beſides his denial of *infant-baptiſm*, he diſliked both *national* and *parochial* churches; and taught, that the true church was to conſiſt only of ſuch as profeſſed *repentance* from dead works, and *faith* in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and were *baptized* according to his commands; this being after the pattern of the firſt churches in *Judæa* [c]. And ſuch a church or ſociety of chriſtians was quickly gathered by him in *Kent*.

HE was alſo a very zealous oppoſer of *perſecution*, and an impoſed uniformity. And when the *ordinance of parliament* was made, to ſilence all *lay-preachers*, that is, as they explained it, all that had not *epiſcopal* or *preſbyterian ordination*, or that ſhould preach any thing contrary to the articles of *faith*, and *directory* for publick worſhip, publiſhed by the *aſſembly*, he publickly oppoſed it, and wrote a ſmall *piece* to diſcover the evil and unchriſtian ſpirit of ſuch proceedings, and entitled it, *Two Queries worthy of conſideration*; becauſe the whole goes upon theſe two queſtions, which he propoſes therein to the miniſters both of church and ſtate.

Q. 1. WHETHER that miniſtry that preacheth freely the goſpel-faith, that the

[c] *Two queries*, p. 5.

Lord

Lord Jeſus is the Chriſt, as the apoſtle *Peter* did, be not truly *orthodox?* Acts ii. 36.

Q. 2. WHETHER it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the ſacred ſcriptures, to ſilence or inhibit any *miniſters* of Jeſus Chriſt, for preaching this goſpel-faith freely?

As a loyal covenanter for a pure reformation in *England*, (theſe are his words) he affirms the *former*, and endeavours to maintain it by ſeveral arguments. The *latter* he denies, and intimates, that whoſoever ſhall be guilty of any ſuch practice, would act as the *Jews* of old did, who caſt the blind man out of their ſynagogue, for confeſſing that Jeſus was the Chriſt.

THERE were, if Mr. *Edwards* may be depended upon, divers pamphlets put forth by this learned man: but all I can meet with, are the two already mentioned. He continued a faithful ſhepherd of that flock, which had been gathered by his miniſtry in *Kent*, unto the day of his death; and was ſucceeded in that place and office, by a ſon who was of his own name and principles. His writings are reckoned theſe which follow:

1. *A Vindication of the Royal Commiſſion of King Jeſus.* *His works,*

2. *Two Queries worthy of conſideration,* &c.

3. *A*

3. *A Conference between Mr.* John Cotton, *and the Elders of* New-England. 8vo 1646

4. *A Deſcription of the Spiritual Temple*; or, *The Difference between the Chriſtian and Antichriſtian Church.* 8vo 1646

MORE of this gentleman's character may be ſeen in the prefaces to the two laſt mentioned books.

Mr. Chriſt. Blackwood.

IT will be very natural in the next place, to give ſome account of Mr. *Chriſtopher Blackwood*, who was the diſciple of the former in the point of baptiſm. The firſt thing that I can meet with concerning him is, that he was a *miniſter* ſomewhere in *Kent*, and was poſſeſſed of a *parochial* charge in that county at the beginning of the *civil wars*. From whence, as well as from his writings, it may be concluded, that he had a learned education, and was probably trained up at one of our *univerſities*. The time and means of his receiving this *opinion* is already related from the account which he himſelf gave of it. And he did not, after the change of his judgment, continue long in the *eſtabliſhed church*; for he was as zealous againſt *national churches*, as againſt *infant-baptiſm* [d].

CAPTAIN *Dean*, who lived in thoſe times, reckons him among thoſe of his

[d] *Letter*, p. 8, 9.

acquaintance,

acquaintance, who voluntarily left their *parochial* charges and *benefices*, as not approving the *baptizing* of *infants*, and concerning whom he further says, they were *worthy guides*, *well qualified in all respects for the ministry*.

THE *Presbyterians* of those times wrote against him with some warmth [e], because he was an advocate for *liberty of conscience*, and opposed their attempted *establishment*, as well as their *infant-baptism* [f]. In the first book he writ, he joined these two together, *infants baptism* and *compulsion of conscience*; and called them, *the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist*.

WHEN his *principles* occasioned him to leave the *national church*, I do not find that he collected a distinct congregation of such as agreed with him in this doctrine of *baptism*, as many others did. It rather appears from the *dedications* of some of his *books*, that he went into the *army*, and that in the year 1653. he went into *Ireland* with the *army*, under the command of general *Fleetwood* and lieutenant *Ludlow*. He lived till after the *restoration*, was then at *London*, and put his hand to the apology published by the *Baptists* in 1660. declaring against *Venner*'s insurrection.

[e] Edwards's *Gangræna*, part 3. p. 98.
[f] Blake's *Infant-Bapt.*

HE

HE has publiſhed ſeveral tracts; as,

His works. 1. *The ſtorming of Antichriſt in his two laſt and ſtrongeſt garriſons; compulſion of conſcience and infants baptiſm.* 4to 1664.

2. *Apoſtolical baptiſm; or a ſober rejoynder to a treatiſe of Mr.* Blake's, in anſwer to his former treatiſe.

3. *Four treatiſes:* The firſt ſetting forth *the excellency of Chriſt*; the ſecond, containing a *preparation for death*; the third, concerning *our love to Chriſt*; the fourth, concerning *our love to our neighbours.* 4to 1653

4. *A treatiſe concerning repentance*; wherein alſo the doctrine of *reſtitution* is largely handled: with a ſolution of many caſes of conſcience concerning it. 4to 1653

5. *A ſoul-ſearching catechiſm*; wherein is opened and explained, not only the ſix fundamental points, *Heb.* vi. 1. but alſo many other queſtions of higheſt concernment in the chriſtian religion. 2d edition. 4to 1653

6. *A brief catechiſm concerning baptiſm*; firſt publiſh'd at the end of his *Storming of Antichriſt*, afterwards reprinted for the ſatisfaction and information of the people of God in *Lancaſhire.* 1652

7. *An expoſition of the ten firſt chapters of* Matthew, delivered in ſeveral ſermons. 4to 1659

ANO-

ANOTHER who deſerves to be rank'd amongſt the worthies of this denomination, is Mr. *Benj. Cox*, who in his time made no mean figure amongſt them. He was a biſhop's ſon, a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of our *univerſities* [g]. He was for ſome time a *miniſter* in the *eſtabliſh'd church*, had a parochial charge ſomewhere in the county of *Devon*, and was very zealous for the ſuperſtitious *ceremonies* that prevailed in biſhop *Laud*'s time; of which the *Preſbyterians* afterwards upbraided him when he oppoſed their *eſtabliſhment* [h]. But notwithſtanding this, when the affairs of ſtate gave men occaſion to think and ſpeak more freely in matters of religion, Mr. *Cox* was amongſt the earlieſt of them in promoting reformation, and was in a fair way of being a very great and famous man in this kingdom, had he not, when he came to take the model of his religion from the ſcriptures only, rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, as not being therein contained. For this hindred him from preferment in the eſtabliſhed church, and prejudiced thoſe divines againſt him who were at the head of *eccleſiaſtical* affairs [i]. However, as it was, he preſerv'd even among them the character of a man of great *learning* and competent parts.

Mr. Benj. Cox.

Was firſt a miniſter in the eſtabliſh'd church.

[g] Tombes's *Anſw. to* Bailie, *p.* 21.
[h] Gangræna, *part* 1. *p.* 38.
[i] Baxter's *Script. Proof, Introd.*

Diſputes with Mr. Baxter,

IN 1644. he had a diſpute with Mr. *Baxter* concerning *infant-baptiſm*; firſt by word of mouth, then by writing; and was afterward *impriſoned* in the city of *Coventry* for his opinion in this point, as has been before obſerved.

and with others at Alder-manbury *church.*

THE year following he came to *London*, and was one of the principal managers, on the part of the *Baptiſts*, in the *publick diſpute* concerning *infant-baptiſm* at *Alder-manbury* church; to which a ſtop was afterwards put by the government.

HE was ſome time *miniſter* at *Bedford*, after *epiſcopacy* and the *common prayer* were laid aſide [k]. But in the year 1646. when the *ſeven churches* in *London*, called *Anabaptiſts*, publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith, and preſented it to the parliament, I find his name ſubſcribed to it in behalf of one of thoſe congregations.

I CANNOT learn certainly either his age, or the time of his death. Mr. *Baxter*, at the beginning of the civil wars, called him *an antient miniſter* [l]. He muſt therefore be very old when he died; for he lived till after the reſtoration. And tho' when the act of *uniformity* in 1662. took place, he at firſt conform'd; yet ſoon after his conſcience ſmote him for what he had done, and he threw up his *living*, and died a *Nonconformiſt* and *Baptiſt*.

[k] Dean's *Letter*, *p.* 8.
[l] *Script. Proofs*, *Introd.*

THERE

THERE were but two pieces, as I can find, publiſhed by him.

1. A DECLARATION concerning the publick diſpute which ſhould have been in the publick meeting-houſe of *Aldermanbury*, *Dec.* 3. 1645. concerning infant-baptiſm. *His works.*

2. GOD'S ordinance the ſaints privilege, proved in two treatiſes. The firſt, *The Saints Intereſt by Chriſt in all the Privileges of Grace cleared, and the Objections againſt the ſame anſwer'd.* The ſecond, *The peculiar Intereſt of the Elect in Chriſt, and his ſaving Graces*: wherein is proved, that Chriſt hath not ſatisfy'd for the ſins of all men, but only for the ſins of thoſe that do or ſhall believe in him; and the objections againſt the ſame anſwer'd.

AMONG the worthies of this denomination, I muſt not omit the mention of that grave divine and ſolid preacher, Mr. *Daniel Dyke*. He was born at *Epping* in *Eſſex*, about the year 1617. (his father, Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, being miniſter of that pariſh) and had the name of *Daniel* given him in reſpect to his uncle, the famous Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, B. D. ſo well known by his excellent treatiſe, *of the deceitfulneſs of the heart*, publiſhed after his death by the father of Mr. *Dyke* who is the ſubject of this article. *Mr.* Dan. Dyke.

AFTER he had been ſufficiently inſtructed at private ſchools in the country, he was ſent to the *univerſity* at *Cambridge*, and there trained up for the *miniſtry*. And when he came to be publickly employ'd in that ſacred work, he was ſoon took notice of for his great learning and uſeful preaching, and had ſuitable preferment beſtow'd upon him.

Was made chaplain in ordinary to the protector,

HE was made one of the *chaplains* in ordinary to *Oliver Cromwel*, when he came to be lord protector of *England*. He had alſo the parochial charge of *Great Hadham* in *Hertfordſhire*, a place worth at leaſt 300 l. *per annum*. And when the government in the year 1653. appointed a certain number of men to examine and approve all ſuch as ſhould be admitted into livings in the eſtabliſhed church, Mr. *Dyke* was fix'd upon to be one of them.

and one of the Tryers.

INDEED his great learning, his ſerioufneſs, and piety, together with his ſolid judgment, render'd him worthy, as well as fit, for ſo great a truſt; and he, with Mr. *John Tombes*, were all the *Baptiſts* that I can find to have been in this *commiſſion*.

UPON the Reſtoration, Mr. *Dyke* diſcover'd himſelf to be a man of great integrity, and faithfulneſs to his conſcience, and quitted his profitable living, rather than ſin againſt his light, by conforming to epiſcopal government, and uſing the ceremonies of the church of *England*. Nor did he

he ſtay till he was forced out by the act of *Uniformity* in 1662. but voluntarily reſigned preſently after the king came in; for he foreſaw the ſtorm that was coming, and the ſnares that muſt attend a man of his principles, while he continued in ſuch a poſt. *He quits his living upon the Reſtoration.*

WHEN his intimate friend and acquaintance Mr. *Caſe*, who was one of thoſe miniſters deputed to wait on the king at the *Hague*, and one of the *commiſſioners* at the *Savoy* to treat about the ſettlement of religion, endeavoured to perſuade him to continue, and told him what a hopeful proſpect they had, from the king's behaviour, *&c.* Mr. *Dyke* told him plainly, 'That 'they did but deceive and flatter themſelves: That if the king was ſincere in 'his ſhew of piety, and great reſpect to 'them and their religion; yet when he 'came to be ſettled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures 'that would come over with him, would 'have the management of publick affairs, 'and would circumvent all their deſigns, 'and in all probability not only turn them 'out, but take away their liberty too.' And they afterwards found the truth of his words by woful experience.

DR. *Calamy* has put his name in the liſt of the *ejected* or *ſilenced miniſters*, but gives him no other *character*, than that he was an *Anabaptiſt*; which is another inſtance

of the Doctor's *impartiality* and *candour* for the people of this *denomination*.

HIS resigning his living in the church, and the troubles and perſecutions that followed afterwards, did not cauſe him to lay down the miniſtry of the word; but he preached afterwards as often as he had opportunity, and was generally preſerved by ſome good providence from the rage and malice of his perſecutors. And though he lived in two or three great *ſtorms*, and had ſeveral *writs* out againſt him, yet was never in *priſon* except one *night*.

Is ordain'd co-paſtor with Mr. William Kiffin *to a* Baptiſt *church.*

SOMETIME after his leaving his parochial charge, he was choſen and ordain'd co-paſtor with Mr. *William Kiffin* to the congregation of *Baptiſts* at *Devonſhire-ſquare*, *London*, and continued a faithful labourer in this vineyard until his death, which was in the year 1688. a little before the *happy Revolution*, when he was about ſeventy years of age.

HIS funeral-ſermon was preached by Mr. *Wanor*, at the aforeſaid meeting-houſe, and his corps interr'd at the *Diſſenters* burying-ground in *Bunhill-fields*.

HE left behind him two daughters, who may be ſtill living; from the eldeſt of which this account was received in the year 1716.

HE was a man of ſo great modeſty, and had ſo mean an opinion of his own abilities, that he could never be prevail'd upon

to

to publiſh any thing. Only I find his name, in company with ſome of his brethren, to two or three printed papers, in compoſing which it is ſuppoſed he had the principal ſhare. As,

1. THE *Baptiſts Anſwer to Mr.* Wills's *Appeal.* 8vo 1675 *His works.*

2. AN epiſtle recommendatory to Mr. *Cox*'s *Confutation of the errors of* Thomas Collier. 4to

3. *The Quakers Appeal anſwer'd*; or, a full relation of the occaſion, progreſs, and iſſue of a meeting at *Barbican* between the *Baptiſts* and the *Quakers.* 8vo 1674

THERE was another, who though he did not perſevere in this profeſſion to the end, yet did ſo zealouſly defend it, both by diſputation and writing for ſome time, that ſhould I paſs him without notice, ſome may be ill-natured enough to ſay it was with deſign: I mean Mr. *Samuel Fiſher*, acknowledged by all parties to have been a man of eminent piety and virtue [m]. His parents deſigned him from his childhood, for a *miniſter* of the *church of England*; and in order thereunto, took care to have him, while a boy, well inſtructed at private ſchools. And when he had attained a competent meaſure of grammar-learning, he was ſent to one of our *univerſities*, where *Mr.* Sam. Fiſher.

[m] *Hiſtory of the* Quakers *by* Gerrard Croeſe.

his diligence and progreſs was ſo great, that he ſurmounted moſt of his fellows. His mind led him moſtly to the ſtudy of eloquence. Rhetoric and poetry, were the ſciences he then put the greateſt value upon. So that he became a man ſingularly learned, and wonderfully eloquent, and had an accurate knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* antiquities; which ſo ſtuck to him, that even after he had changed his religion, and opinion of theſe *human ornaments*, yet his writings favoured much of them, though contrary to his intention.

Ordained a miniſter of the church of England.

WHEN he had perfected his *academick* courſe, and taken his degrees, he was ordained, firſt a *deacon*, then a *preſbyter* of the *church of England*[n]; the former he received from a biſhop before the *civil wars*; the latter from certain *Preſbyterian* miniſters after *epiſcopacy* was laid aſide[o].

Becomes chaplain to Sir Arthur Haſelrigg.

HIS firſt preferment was to be a chaplain in the family of that noble and pious gentleman Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*. He demeaned himſelf in this ſtation ſo well, that the report of his fame invited thoſe who knew him, to judge of his ability and ſkill for greater things, to advance him to a more high and dignified place: and accordingly he obtained a parochial living in *Kent* of 500 *l.* a year. But notwithſtanding his great learning and high preferment,

Is advanced to the living of Lidd, *in* Rumſey Marſh.

[n] *Baby Bapt.* p. 6.
[o] *Ibid.* p. 12.

he

he ſtill preſerved an humble mind, and affable carriage; and would converſe freely, not only with ſuch who were very much below himſelf, but alſo with ſerious chriſtians, who were of different, and contrary ſentiments from him.

AMONG the reſt there was a *Baptiſt* miniſter in thoſe parts, with whom he kept an intimate correſpondence. This man was frequently calling upon him to juſtify from *ſcripture* the lawfulneſs of *baptizing children*; and to ſhew by what authority they changed the antient cuſtom of *immerſion*, and uſed *ſprinkling* in that ſacrament.

THIS *perſon* was vaſtly inferior to Mr. *Fiſher* both in learning and natural parts; yet in this point he was a means of inſtructing him in the way of the Lord *more fully*; and Mr. *Fiſher* was a man of ſo much integrity and love for the truth, that he would not reject it by what hand ſoever it was brought to him. Therefore when he had diligently examined this matter, and found that the *Baptiſts* were in the right, he freely quitted his living, and returned his *diploma* back to the biſhop; was baptized according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and joined himſelf to a *baptized* congregation at *Aſhford* in *Kent*. This muſt be acknowledged, even by thoſe who reject his *opinion*, to have been an extraordinary inſtance of ſincerity and ſelf-denial.

Quits his living, and joins himſelf to a Baptiſt *congregation.*

HAVING

HAVING left ſo good a *living*, he now contented himſelf with a little he had of his own, and farmed a piece of ground in the neighbourhood, by both which he had enough to live upon. He continued however, ſtill in the exerciſe of the *miniſtry*, and in a little time after took the paſtoral charge of a congregation of *Baptiſts*; and the noiſe of ſo pious and learned a man turning *Baptiſt*, ſpread far and near, and contributed not a little towards the promoting of that doctrine P. Some hundreds were baptized by him; and he was frequently engaged in publick diſputes with the moſt learned and zealous advocates for *infant-baptiſm*, as at *Aſhford* in *Kent*, *July* 27. 1649. where he defended his principles againſt ſeveral noted *miniſters*, in the preſence of two thouſand auditors.

Is frequently engaged in publick diſputes.

HE had another diſpute with Dr. *Channel* at *Petworth* in 1651. and at leaſt eight other publick diſputes was he drawn into within the ſpace of three years, always coming off with good ſucceſs and honour to his cauſe. While he continued with the *Baptiſts*, he was an ornament to the whole *ſect*, and looked upon as one of the chief defenders of their doctrine.

ABOUT the year 1655. he was ſtrongly attacked by two leading men of the people called *Quakers*, *Caton* and *Stubbs*; and be-

P *Baby Bapt.* p. 411.

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ing but an unſtable man, he was carried away with their *opinions*, and afterwards writ ſeveral books in defence of that religion, which are had in great eſteem among them. *Goes off to the Quakers.*

WHILE he was among the *Baptiſts*, he wrote that elaborate treatiſe, entitled, *Baby Baptiſm mere Babiſm.* In this, he not only confutes the falſe account that had been publiſhed of his diſpute with ſeveral *miniſters* at *Aſhford*, which was the occaſion of his writing on this *controverſy*; but alſo anſwers particularly, with great learning and many witty turns, what had been written upon this ſubject, by Dr. *Featley*, Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others; ſo that it contains the whole of the *controverſy* as then managed, and is the only *folio* writ upon it in the *Engliſh* tongue.

THE reverend and very pious *Francis Bampfeild*, M.A. was alſo a divine of great note among this *denomination* of *Proteſtants*. He deſcended from a very antient and honourable family in *Devonſhire*, and was by his parents deſigned for the *miniſtry* from his birth, and educated accordingly. When he was but a child, he diſcovered a great delight in books and learning, and from his own inclination concurred with the deſign of his pious parents. After he had been inſtructed by ſome of the ableſt maſters in *grammar-learning*, he was *Mr.* Francis Bampfeild. *Manuſcr. penes me.*

was about the ſixteenth year of his age ſent to the *univerſity*, and educated at *Wadham* college in *Oxon*; where he continued between ſeven and eight years, made great improvements, and commenced *maſter* of arts. When he left the *univerſity*, he was ordained firſt a *deacon*, then a *preſbyter* of the church of *England*; the former by biſhop *Hall*, the latter by biſhop *Skinner*; and was ſoon after preferred to a living of about 100 *l.* a year in *Dorſetſhire*; where he took great pains to inſtruct the people, and promote true religion amongſt them. And having an annuity of 80 *l.* a year for life ſettled on him by his friends, he ſpent all the income of his place in acts of *charity* among his *pariſhioners*; as in giving them *bibles* and other good *books*, ſetting the *poor* to work, and relieving the *neceſſities* of thoſe that could not, and ſuffered not knowingly one *beggar* to be in his pariſh.

Is ordain'd a miniſter in the eſtabliſhed church.

Preferred to a living in Dorſetſhire.

WHILE he was here, he began to ſee, that the church of *England* needed *reformation* in many things, not only in *doctrine* and *worſhip*, but more eſpecially in *diſcipline*; and therefore, as became a ſincere chriſtian, and faithful *miniſter*, he heartily ſet about it, making the laws of Chriſt his only rule in this caſe. But he met with great *oppoſition* and trouble for ſo doing.

ABOUT the ſame time, the people at *Sherbourn*, one of the moſt populous towns in

in *Dorſetſhire*, wanting a *miniſter*, did earneſtly ſolicit him to come thither. Here was more work and leſs wages; however there being a proſpect of doing more good, and finding many thouſands of the *people*, as well as the neighbouring *miniſters*, very deſirous of his removing, after about two years waiting, he accepted their call. And in this *pariſh* he continued, till the act of *uniformity* took place, to labour with great ſucceſs, and was univerſally beloved by his *pariſhioners*.

ONE thing was very remarkable, if not ſingular in him; that though he joined heartily in the reformation of the church in thoſe times, yet he was zealous againſt the *parliament*'s *war*, and *Oliver*'s *uſurpation*; conſtantly aſſerting the *royal cauſe* under all thoſe changes, and ſuffering for it. *Is very zealous in the royal cauſe:*

BUT after the *Reſtoration*, being utterly unſatisfied in his conſcience with the conditions of *conformity*, he took his leave of his ſorrowful and weeping *congregation*, the Lord's-day before St. *Bartholomew* [q] in 1662. and was quickly after *impriſoned* for worſhipping God in his own family.

SO ſoon was his unſhaken loyalty to the King forgotten; nay, ſo far was he from having any favour ſhewn to him on this account, that he was more frequently *impriſoned*, and expoſed to greater hardſhips *Yet more perſecuted than other Diſſenters.*

[q] *Conformiſts 4th Plea*, p. 44.

for

for his *nonconformity*, than moſt other *Diſſenters*, as will appear in its place.

IN all the changes of the times till now, every *party* was for having a man of ſuch *piety*, ſeriouſneſs and learning kept in the *miniſtry*. Beſides his being approved and ordained by the biſhops beforementioned, when that *hierarchy* was uppermoſt; he had the approbation of the aſſociated *miniſters*, both of the *preſbyterian* and *congregational* perſuaſion. When *Oliver* took the ſupreme power upon him, he voluntarily gave him licenſe and authority under his hand and ſeal. When the *Tryers* were ſet up, to examine and approve publick preachers, they without his ſeeeking for it, gave him their approbation and teſtimony alſo [r]. And beſides all this, he had an *authority* and *licence* for preaching under the hands and ſeals of two Kings, not of his own ſeeking, but procured for him by his friends. But as he did not put any value upon human *authorities*, ſo now they were of no ſervice to him.

Charles I. *and* II.

HE was reſolved however to be faithful to the commiſſion he had received from Jeſus Chriſt, and eſteemed it *more reaſonable to obey God than man*; ſo that all the oppoſition and ſufferings that he met with, neither diſcouraged him in his work, nor cauſed him in the leaſt to decline it.

[r] *Hiſtorical declaration of his life*, p. 6.

WHEN

WHEN he was in *priſon*, he preached ſometimes every day, and gathered a church even under his confinement. And when he was at liberty, he ceaſed not *to preach in the name of Jeſus*. And he had the courage of being one of the firſt that ſet up ſeparate meetings in two or three counties in *England*. In the latter part of his life he came to *London*, where he ſoon gathered a *congregation*, which met at *Pinner's-hall*, to whom he was *paſtor*, and conſtantly preached, when the evil of the times would permit. But he met with the ſame ill-treatment here, as he had done in the countries, and was often carried from his meeting to *priſon*, and at laſt died in *Newgate*, *Feb.* 16. 1683. *He gathers a church in priſon,* *and died in* Newgate.

ALL that knew him will acknowledge, that he was a man of great piety. And he would in all probability have preſerved the ſame character, with reſpect to his learning and judgment, had it not been for his opinion in two points, *viz.* That *infants* ought not to be baptized, and that the *Jewiſh ſabbath* ought ſtill to be kept.

HE hath publiſhed ſeveral tracts. As, *His works.*

1. *A Letter*, containing his judgment for the *obſervation of the Jewiſh*, or, *Seventh-day Sabbath.* 8vo 1672

2. *All in one:* All uſeful ſciences and profitable arts in one book of *Jehovah*, *&c.* folio 1677

3. *The*

3. *The open Confeſſor*, and *The Free-Priſoner*; a ſheet, written when he was a priſoner in *Saliſbury*. 1675

4. *A Name, a new one*; or, an hiſtoſtorical declaration of his life, eſpecially as to ſome eminent paſſages relating to his call to the miniſtry. 1681

5. *The Houſe of Wiſdom*, &c. for the further promoting of ſcripture-knowledge. 1681

6. *The Free-Priſoner*; a letter written from *Newgate*. 1683

7. *A Juſt Appeal from lower Courts on Earth, to the higheſt Court in Heaven.* 1683

8. *A Continuation* of the former *Juſt Appeal*. 1683

9. *A Gramatical Opening of ſome* Hebrew *Words and Phraſes in the Beginning of the Bible*. 1684

Mr. Edward Stennett.

MR. *Edward Stennett* was another *Baptiſt* miniſter of note and learning in thoſe times. His wife was Mrs. *Mary Quelch*, whoſe parents were of good repute in the city of *Oxford*. They were both very pious and worthy perſons, and juſtly deſerved the character given them in the epitaph inſcribed on their tomb at *Wallingford*, which was compoſed by their ſon Mr. *Joſeph Stennett* [s], and is as followeth:

[s] Stennett's *works*, vol. IV. p. 274.

Here

Here lies an holy, and an happy pair;
As once in grace, they now in glory ſhare:
They dar'd to ſuffer, but they fear'd to ſin;
And meekly bore the croſs, the crown to win:
So liv'd, as not to be afraid to die;
So dy'd, as heirs of immortality.

Reader, attend: tho' dead, they ſpeak to thee;
Tread the ſame path, the ſame thine end ſhall be.

THE part Mr. *Edward Stennett* took in the *civil wars*, being on the ſide of the *parliament*, expoſed him to the neglect of his relations, and afterwards to many difficulties. He was a faithful and laborious *miniſter*; but his diſſent from the *eſtabliſhed church*, depriving him of the means whereby to maintain his family, which was large, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of *phyſick*; by the practice of which he was enabled to bring up his children, and to give them a liberal education, notwithſtanding he bore a conſiderable ſhare of the *perſecution* which the *diſſenters* underwent at that time. While I ſpeak of his *ſufferings*, it may not be amiſs to recite an account of one very extraordinary deliverance he met with, and which was often related by his ſon, the reverend Mr. *Joſeph Stennett*, whoſe memory is dear to many ſtill living, *viz.*

Applies himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſick.

'[t] HE dwelt in the caſtle of *Walling-*
'*ford*, a place where no warrant could
'make forcible entrance, but that of a lord
'chief juſtice; and the houſe was ſo ſituated,
'that aſſemblies could meet, and every
'part of religious worſhip be exerciſed in
'it, without any danger of a legal con-
'viction, unleſs *informers* were admitted,
'which care was taken to prevent; ſo that
'for a long time he kept a conſtant and
'undiſturbed meeting in his *hall*. A *gen-*
'*tleman* who was in the commiſſion of
'the peace, and his very near neighbour,
'being highly incenſed at the continuance
'of an *aſſembly* of this kind ſo near him;
'after having made ſeveral fruitleſs at-
'tempts to get his *emiſſaries* admitted into
'the houſe in order to a conviction, in the
'rage of a diſappointment reſolved, toge-
'ther with a neighbouring *clergyman*, upon
'doing it by a *ſubornation* of *witneſſes*.
A malicious deſign againſt him. 'They accordingly hired ſome perſons fit
'for their purpoſe, to ſwear they had
'been at thoſe *aſſemblies*, and heard *prayer*
'and *preaching* there, though they had
'never been in the houſe on thoſe occa-
'ſions. The *clergyman*'s conduct in this
'affair was the more cenſured, becauſe he
'had profeſſed a great friendſhip for Mr.
'*Stennett*, and was under conſiderable

[t] *Mr.* Joſeph Stennett's *life*, p. 4, *&c.*

'obligations

obligations to him; having often had his *assistance* in the way of his *profession* as a *physician*, for his family, without any reward. Mr. *Stennett* finding an *indictment* was laid against him on the *conventicle* act, founded upon the oaths of several witnesses, and being well assured that nothing but *perjury* could support it, was resolved to traverse it, and accordingly did so. The *assizes* were held at *Newbury*, and when the time drew near, there was great triumph in the success these gentlemen proposed to themselves, when on a sudden the scene was changed; news came to the justice, that his son, whom he had lately placed at *Oxford*, was gone off with a player; the concern whereof, and the riding in search of him, prevented his attendance in the court. The *clergyman*, a few days before the *assizes*, boasted much of the service which would be done to the church and the neighbourhood by this prosecution, and of his own determination to be at *Newbury* to help carry it on; but to the surprize of many, his design was frustrated by *sudden death*. One of the *witnesses*, who lived at *Cromish*, was also prevented by being seized with a violent and sad disease, of which he died. Another of them fell down and broke his leg, and was so hindred. In short, of seven

Circumvented by providence.

'or eight perſons engaged in this wicked 'deſign, there was but one left who was 'capable of appearing; he was a *gardiner*, 'who had been frequently employed by 'Mr. *Stennett* at day-labour, but never 'lodged in his houſe, nor was admitted to 'the religious aſſemblies held there. They 'thought to make him, as he was a ſer-'vant to the family, a very material evi-'dence; and kept him in liquor for ſe-'veral days to that purpoſe. But coming 'to his reaſon juſt as the *aſſizes* drew on, 'he went about the town, exclaiming 'againſt himſelf for his *ingratitude* and '*perjury*, as well as againſt thoſe who had 'employed him; and abſolutely refuſed to 'go. So that when Mr. *Stennett* came to '*Newbury*, neither *proſecutor* nor *witneſs* 'appearing againſt him, he was diſcharged 'of courſe,

His family. 'MR. *Edward Stennett* had ſeveral ſons, 'and one daughter, beſides thoſe who died 'young. His eldeſt ſon, *Jehudah*, after-'wards an eminent *phyſician* at *Henly* upon 'Thames, wrote an *Hebrew* grammar at 'nineteen years of age; which was print-'ed, and well received by the publick. 'Another of his ſons, *Benjamin*, proved a 'valuable and uſeful *miniſter*; but died 'young. His daughter, chiefly by the in-'ſtructions of her brother *Joſeph* (of whom 'I ſhall have occaſion to treat hereafter)

'acquired

'acquired ſuch ſkill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages, as to conſult the *ſcriptures* in their *originals* with eaſe and pleaſure. She was an excellent woman, and married to a worthy gentleman, Mr. *William Morton* of *Knaphill* in the county of *Bucks*.'

Mr. Vavaſor Powell.

To theſe muſt be added the famous Mr. *Vavaſor Powell*, a man of great piety and uſefulneſs, and while he lived, no ſmall honour to this *denomination* of *Proteſtants*. He was born in the year 1617. and thoſe that have men in eſteem for their pedigree, may know, that he deſcended from a very antient and honourable ſtock; his father Mr. *Richard Powell* being of a noble family, that had lived for ſome hundreds of years at *Knocklas*, in *Radnorſhire*; and his mother of the *Vavaſors*, a family of great antiquity, that came out of *Yorkſhire* into *Wales*. So that by both, he became allied to the chief and beſt families in *North-Wales*, and was ſaluted by the principal gentry in thoſe parts as their kinſman. He was trained up a ſcholar, and made a good proficiency in the learned languages; but proved a very wild and unlucky youth, and was therefore termed by his ſchool-fellows and companions *Dux omnium malorum*, which he himſelf acknowledges to have been juſt. His firſt preferment was in the *eſtabliſhed church*; his

Was firſt made curate at Clun.

his uncle Mr. *Eraſmus Powell*, taking him to be curate at *Clun*, where he alſo kept a ſchool to augment his income; but was ſtill a ſtranger to true and unfeigned religion. And though, according to his own expreſſion, he was *a reader of common prayers, and in the habit of a fooliſh ſhepherd*; yet was he one that ſlighted the *ſcriptures*, a ſtranger to ſecret and ſpiritual prayer, and a great prophaner of the *ſabbath*. But by converſing with ſome ſerious and godly chriſtians, who in contempt were called *Puritans*, and by reading their books, and hearing their ſermons, God was pleaſed to convince him of his miſerable and ſinful eſtate, and to work a great and very remarkable converſion in him. Soon after which, he left the *epiſcopal church*, and joined with the *Nonconformiſts*; became a very lively and powerful preacher, and was the means of converting many from the error of their ways. But the more good he did, and the more popular he became, the more *enemies* he had, and with the greater rage did they perſecute him. So that in the year 1642. he left his native country, and came to *London*, where there being univerſal liberty, he preached in ſeveral publick places with great approbation, and was ſome time after invited to ſettle at *Dartford* in *Kent*; where he went and was bleſſed with great ſucceſs in his labours, being inſtrumental

He leaves the eſtabliſhed church, and joins the Nonconformiſts.

inſtrumental in bringing many ſouls to Chriſt, and gathering a congregation in that town. When he had been there about two years and a half, and the nation a little better ſettled, eſpecially *Wales*, he was earneſtly ſolicited to return to his own country, there being very few able *miniſters* in thoſe parts. And beſides his having the language ſpoken there, he was in great eſteem and veneration among that people; and therefore was likely to do more good there, than where he now was.

Settles at Dartford *in* Kent.

BY theſe conſiderations he was prevailed upon to return thither. And for his further encouragement and reputation, the *ſynod* of *miniſters*, who were appointed by authority to examine and approve of all publick preachers, gave him their *certificate* and *teſtimonial*.

Returns to Wales.

THEY being, as I conceive, all *Pædobaptiſts*, whoſe *teſtimonies* in our *favour* I have a great value for; ſhall therefore inſert the copy thereof in this place [u].

'THESE are to certify thoſe whom it 'may concern, that the bearer here-'of, Mr. *Vavaſor Powell*, is a man of a re-'ligious and blameleſs converſation, and of 'able gifts for the work of the *miniſtry*, 'and hath approved himſelf faithful there-

[u] *The life of* Vavaſor Powell, *p.* 16.

'in; which we whoſe names are under written, do teſtify, ſome of our own 'knowledge, others from credible and ſufficient information. And therefore he 'being now called, and deſired to exerciſe his gifts in his own country of *Wales*, 'he alſo having the language thereof, we 'conceive him fit for that work, and worthy of encouragement therein. In witneſs whereof, we have here ſubſcribed 'our names, *Sept.* 11. 1646.

Charles Herte, prolocutor.

Henry Scudder	*Stephen Marſhal*
William Greenhill	*Jer. Whitaker*
Franc. Woodcock	*Arthur Salwey*
William Strong	*Peter Sterrey*
Joſeph Caryl	*Henry Prince*
William Carter	*Chriſtopher Love*
Thomas Wilſon	*Tho. Froyſell*
Jer. Borroughs	*Robert Bettes.*
Philip Nye	

Is very laborious in the work of the miniſtry.

WHEN he came down again into his native country, he applied himſelf to his Lord's work with great zeal and diligence; travelling from place to place, and taking all opportunities to preach the goſpel, and win ſouls to Chriſt. He frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was ſeldom two days in a week throughout the year, out of the pulpit, nay, he would ſometimes

ſometimes ride an hundred miles in a week, and preach in every place, where he might have admittance, either night or day; ſo that there was hardly a *church*, *chapel* or *town-hall* in all *Wales*, where he had not preached; beſides his frequent preaching in *fairs* and *markets*, upon *mountains* and in ſmall *villages*. For if he paſſed at any time through any place where there was a concourſe of people, he would take the opportunity of preaching Chriſt, and recommending to them the care of their ſouls, and another world.

THE pains that he took, and the fatigues that he endured, were very great and uncommon, and ſuch as filled all that knew him with admiration. And God was pleaſed to bleſs his labours with proportionable ſucceſs. The people flocked with great zeal and deſire to attend his miniſtry, and many were by his means turned unto the Lord. And whereas, when he left *Wales* in 1642. there was not above one or two gathered churches in thoſe parts, now they began to encreaſe apace; and before the reſtoration, there was above twenty diſtinct ſocieties formed; of which ſome had two, ſome three, and ſome four or five hundred members. *Plants many churches.*

THESE were chiefly gathered and planted by the care and induſtry of Mr. *Powell*, and they differed very little from one another in their faith and order. MR.

MR. *Powell* drew up a ſhort *confeſſion of faith* in thirty articles [x], which, as may be gathered from what he ſays in his *epiſtle* to the churches in *Wales*, not only contained his own opinion, but the faith and diſcipline of thoſe churches. It is publiſhed at large in the account of his life, and ſhews, that he, and thoſe churches that were planted by him, followed the *Calviniſtical* ſcheme of doctrines, in the points of *election*, *juſtification*, *effectual Calling*, *free-will and perſeverance*. And though they eſteemed none the proper *ſubjects* of *baptiſm*, but ſuch as perſonally made a profeſſion of *repentance* and *faith*, and judged that the right form of adminiſtring that *ordinace*, was by *immerſion* only, yet did not they make this a boundary of their communion; but aſſerted, that difference in perſuaſion and practice in this and many other caſes, might very well conſiſt with brotherly-love and chriſtian communion. They were alſo for ordination of elders, ſinging of pſalms and hymns in publick worſhip, laying on of hands on the newly-baptized, and anointing the ſick with oil, according to the apoſtolical direction.

James v. 14, 15.

IN *Feb.* 1649. an act of parliament paſſed for the propagating of the goſpel in *Wales*, the deſign of which was, that the many

[x] *Treatiſe, entitled*, The Bird in the Cage.

pariſhes

pariſhes in thoſe parts that were without *miniſters* might be ſupplied, and that ſuch in livings as were *ignorant* or *ſcandalous*, might be removed, and others duly qualified put in their room.

Is appointed one of the commiſſioners for propagating the goſpel in Wales.

SEVERAL gentlemen of the beſt reputation for piety and integrity in thoſe parts, as well *miniſters* as others, were appointed *commiſſioners* for the execution of this act; and among the reſt, Mr. *Vavaſor Powell* was one. By having this honour and power conferred upon him, he was put into a capacity of doing a great deal more good than otherwiſe he could have done. Yet it created him a great deal of trouble, and raiſed him up many *enemies*, who did not ſpare to load him with *reproaches*, and accuſe him with the worſt of crimes.

Is very much reproached by his enemies.

THOUGH this act continued in force but for three years, yet they repreſented, that the *commiſſioners* got great eſtates by it; that the profits ariſing by *tythes*, of which by this act they were to have the diſpoſal, was put into their own pockets; that godly and learned *miniſters* were turned out, and worſe or none put in their room; inſomuch, that the generality of the people were either turned *Atheiſts* or *Papiſts*. And and all this was chiefly laid at the door of Mr. *Powell*, and not only whiſpered about privately, but publiſhed in *pamphlets*, without either author or printers name.

A VIRULENT one I have now by me, entitled, *Strena Vavaſorienſis*; or, *A New-Year's-Gift for the* Welch *Itinerants*, &c. A more malicious piece could not be writen, full of the moſt abominable *lyes* and *ſlanders* that malice could invent. But Mr. *Powell* was fully cleared, not only by the account which he himſelf gave of their whole proceedings in this affair, but alſo by the *teſtimony* of many *magiſtrates*, *miniſters*, and other credible perſons of different opinions in religion, who had the inſpection of this matter, and publiſhed a vindication of him in the year 1654. entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavaſoris.*

But honourably cleared.

HE was greatly harraſſed by his *perſecutors*, and kept a *priſoner* about ten years. And during the time of his laſt illneſs, though his *phyſician* ordered he ſhould be kept from ſpeaking much, yet ſo zealouſly was he affected for the glory of God, and with the love of Chriſt, that neither his pains, bodily weakneſs, or the tender advice of friends, could poſſibly reſtrain him; but he would, notwithſtanding all, break forth into high and heavenly praiſes, ſometimes by *prayer*, and ſometimes by *ſinging*.

His laſt ſickneſs and death in priſon.

HIS patience under all his pains was very great. He would under the greateſt pain bleſs God, and ſay, he would not entertain one bad thought of God for all the world.

world. The ſight of the pardon of ſin and reconciliation with God, was ſo clear, and without interruption, even to the laſt, that it was as a fire in his boſom till he ſpake of it; and very hardly would he be reſtrained at any time: and when he had ſpent his ſtrength in ſpeaking, then would he compoſe himſelf to get a little more ſtrength, that he might go on to ſpeak further of the grace of God towards him, and to give ſeaſonable advice to all about him; and ſo continued till God took away his ſtrength and ſpeech from him. He kept his bed about thirty days, and finiſhed his courſe, ſervice and ſufferings, on the 27th of *October* 1670. at *Karoone-houſe*, the then fleet-priſon in *Lambeth*, in the eleventh year of his impriſonment, and in the 53d of his age. Says the writer of his life,

In vain oppreſſors do themſelves perplex,
To find out acts, how they the ſaints may vex;
Death ſpoils their plots, and ſets th' oppreſſed free,
Thus Vavaſor *obtained true liberty;*
Chriſt him releas'd, and now he's join'd among
The martyr'd-ſouls, *with whom he cries,* how long?

THE ſeveral books that he publiſhed, were,

1. Chriſt

His works.

1. Christ *and* Moses's *excellency*; or Zion *and* Sina's *glory*. 8vo 1650

2. *A Dialogue between Christ and a Publican*; *Christ and a doubting Christian.*

3. *Christ exalted by the Father*; *God the Father glorified*; *and Man's Redemption finished.*

4. *The Bird in the Cage, chirping.* 8vo 1661

5. *Common Prayer no Divine Service.* 4to 1660

6. *The Sufferer's Catechism.*

7. *A Scriptural Catechism.*

8. *Sinful and sinless Swearing.*

9. *A Scripture Concordance.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PREFACE. Page xiv. line 13. *for* Pyeton *read* Pyrton. p. xix. l. 13. *for* Viana *read* Vienna.

HISTORY. Page 16. line 28. *for* of oil of chrifom, *read* of oil, chrifom, *&c.* p. 56. l. 31. *for* whch *read* which. p. 65. l. 22. *for* peo- *read* people. p. 249. l. 5. *for* much *read* many. p. 325. l. 14. *for* his *read* this. p. 328. l. 31. *for* again *read* againſt. p. 344. l. 32. *for* defence it *read* defence of it.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

Anno Dom. 1611. An. Reg. Jac. 9.

The commiſſion and warrant for the condemnation and execution of Edward Wightman, *at* Litchfeild; *with an account of his heretical opinions.*

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* to our right truſty, and right well-beloved councellour, *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmere*, our chancellour of *England*, greeting. Whereas the reverend father in God, *Richard*, biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, having judicially proceeded in the examination, hearing, and determining of a cauſe of hereſie againſt *Edward Wightman*, of the pariſh of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the dioceſe of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, concerning the wicked hereſies of the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Valentinians*, *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, of *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, of *Photinus*, and *Anabaptiſts*,

baptiſts, and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard of opinions, by the inſtinct of Satan, by him excogitated and holden, *viz.*

1. THAT there is not the Trinity of Perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, in the unity of the Deity. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt is not the true natural Son of God, perfect God and of the ſame ſubſtance, eternity, and majeſty with the Father, in reſpect of his Godhead. 3. That Jeſus Chriſt is only man, and a mere creature, and not both God and man in one perſon. 4. That Chriſt our Saviour took not human fleſh, of the ſubſtance of the virgin *Mary* his mother; and that that promiſe, *The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpent's head*, was not fulfilled in Chriſt. 5. That the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt is not God co-equal, co-eternal, and co-eſſential with the Father and the Son. 6. That the three Creeds, *viz.* The Apoſtles Creed, the *Nicene* Creed, the *Athanaſian* Creed, are the hereſies of the *Nicolaitans*. 7. That he the ſaid *Edward Wightman* is that prophet ſpoken of in the eighteenth of *Deut.* in theſe words, *I will raiſe them up a prophet*, &c. and that place of *Iſaiah*, *I alone have troden the winepreſs*; and that that place, *Whoſe fan is in his hand*, are proper and perſonal to him the ſaid *Edward Wightman*. 8. And that he the ſaid *Wightman* is that perſon of the *Holy Ghoſt* ſpoken of in the Scriptures; and the *Comforter* ſpoken of in the ſixteenth of St. *John*'s goſpel. 9. And that thoſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, *of the ſin of blaſpheming againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, are meant of his perſon. 10. And that that place, the fourth of *Mal.* of *Elias to come*, is likewiſe meant of his perſon. 11. That the

ſoul

ſoul doth ſleep in the ſleep of the firſt death, as well as the body; and is mortal as touching the ſleep of the firſt death, as the body is: And that the ſoul of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt did ſleep in that ſleep of death as well as his body. 12. That the ſouls of the elect ſaints departed are not members poſſeſſed of the triumphant church in heaven. 13. That the baptizing of infants is an abominable cuſtom. 14. That there ought not in the church the uſe of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated in the elements of bread and wine; and the uſe of baptiſm to be celebrated in the element of water, as they are now practiſed in the church of *England:* But that the uſe of baptiſm is to be adminiſter'd in water, only to converts of ſufficient age and underſtanding, converted from infidelity to the faith. 15. That God hath ordained and ſent him, the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, to perform his part in the work of the ſalvation of the world, to deliver it by his teaching or admonition, from the hereſie of the *Nicolaitans*, as Chriſt was ordained and ſent to ſave the world, and by his death to deliver it from ſin, and to reconcile it to God. 16. And that Chriſtianity is not wholly profeſſed and preached in the church of *England*, but only in part. Wherein he the ſaid *Edward Wightman* hath before the ſaid reverend father, as alſo before our commiſſioners, for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, within our realm of *England*, maintained his ſaid moſt perilous and dangerous opinions; as appeareth by many of his confeſſions; as alſo by a book written and ſubſcribed by him, and given to us; for the which his damnable and heretical opinions, he is by divine ſentence, declared by the ſaid

reverend father, the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, with the advice and conſent of learned divines, and others learned in the law, aſſiſting him in judgment, juſtly adjudged, pronounced, and declared to be an obſtinate and incorrigible heretick, and is left by them under the ſentence of the great excommunication, and therefore as a corrupt member to be cut off from the reſt of the flock of Chriſt, leſt he ſhould infect others profeſſing the true Chriſtian faith; and is to be by our ſecular power and authority, as an heretick, puniſhed; as by the *ſignificavit* of the ſaid reverend father in God, the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, bearing date at *Litchfeild*, the fourteenth day of *Dec.* in the ninth Year of our reign, and remaining in our court of *Chancery*, more at large appeareth. And although the ſaid *Edward Wightman* hath ſince the ſaid ſentence pronounced againſt him, been often very charitably moved and exhorted, as well by the ſaid Biſhop, as by many other godly, grave and learned divines, to diſſuade, revoke and remove him from the ſaid blaſphemous, heretical, and ana-baptiſtical opinions; yet he arrogantly and wilfully reſiſteth and continueth in the ſame. We therefore, according to our regal function and office, minding the execution of juſtice in this behalf, and to give example to others, leſt they ſhould attempt the like hereafter, have determined, by the aſſent of our council, to will and require, and do hereby authorize and require you our ſaid chancellour, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to award, and make out, under our great ſeal of *England*, our writ of execution, according to the tenour in theſe

pre-

preſents enſuing; and theſe preſents ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for the ſame.

THEN was a warrant granted by the King to the lord chancellour of *England*, to award a writ under the great ſeal to the ſheriff of *Litchfield*, for burning of *Edward Wightman*, delivered over to the ſecular power by the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*.

The WARRANT.

THE King to the ſheriff of our city of *Litchfeild*, greeting. Whereas the reverend father in Chriſt, *Richard*, by divine providence, of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild* biſhop, hath ſignified unto us, That he judicially proceeding, according to the exigence of the eccleſiaſtical canons, and of the laws and cuſtoms of this our kingdom of *England*, againſt one *Edward Wightman*, of the pariſh of *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the dioceſe of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild*, of, and upon the wicked hereſies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, of *Manes*, *Manichees*, *Photinus*, and of the *Anabaptiſts*, and other arch-hereticks; and moreover, of other curſed opinions, belched, by the inſtinct of Satan excogitated, and heretofore unheard of; the aforeſaid *Edward Wightman* appearing before the aforeſaid reverend father, and other divines and learned in the law, aſſiſting him in judgment, the aforeſaid wicked crimes, hereſies, and other deteſtable blaſphemies and errors, ſtubbornly and pertinaciouſly, knowingly, maliciouſly, and with an hardened heart, publiſhed, defended

ſended and diſperſed; by definitive ſentence of the ſaid reverend father, with the conſent of divines, learned in the law aforeſaid, juſtly, lawfully, and canonically, againſt the ſaid *Edward Wightman* in that part brought, ſtands adjudged, and pronounced an heretick; and therefore, as a diſeaſed ſheep out of the flock of the Lord, leſt our ſubjects he do infect by his contagion, he hath decreed to be caſt out and cut off. Whereas therefore the holy mother church hath not further in this part what it ought more to do and proſecute, the ſame reverend father, the ſame *Edward Wightman* as a blaſphemous and condemned heretick, hath left to our ſecular power to be puniſhed with condign puniſhment; as by the letters patents of the aforeſaid reverend father the biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfeild* in this behalf thereupon made, is certified unto us in our *Chancery*. We therefore, as a zealot of juſtice, and a defender of the catholick faith, and willing that the holy church, and the rights and liberties of the ſame, and the catholick faith to maintain and defend, and ſuch like Hereſies and Errors every where, ſo much as in us lies, to root out and extirpate, and hereticks ſo convict to puniſh with condign puniſhment, holding that ſuch an heretick in the aforeſaid form convict and condemned, according to the laws and cuſtoms of this our kingdom of *England* in this part accuſtomed, ought to be burned with fire. We command thee, that thou cauſe the ſaid *Edward Wightman*, being in thy cuſtody, to be committed to the fire in ſome publick and open place below the city aforeſaid, for the cauſe aforeſaid, before the people; and the

ſame

ſame *Edward Wightman*, in the ſame fire, cauſe really to be burned, in the deteſtation of the ſaid crime, and for manifeſt example of other Chriſtians, that they may not fall into the ſame crime. And this no ways omit, under the peril that ſhall follow thereon. Witneſs, *&c.*

NUMB. II.

A CONFESSION *of* FAITH *of ſeven congregations, or churches of Chriſt in* London, *which are commonly, but unjuſtly called* Anabaptiſts; *publiſhed for the vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant; likewiſe for the taking off thoſe aſperſions, which are frequently, both in pulpit and print, unjuſtly caſt upon them. Printed at* London, Anno 1646.

I.

THE Lord our God is but one God, whoſe ſubſiſtence is in himſelf; whoſe eſſence cannot be comprehended by any but himſelf, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto; who is in himſelf moſt holy, every way infinite, in greatneſs, wiſdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth; who giveth being, moving, and preſervation to all creatures.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Iſa. xliv. 6. —xlvi. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Iſa. xliii. 15. Pſal. cxlvii. 5. Deut. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

II.

1 Cor. i. 3. John i. 1. —— xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine Eſſence, yet the Eſſence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature, and being, but diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral peculiar relative properties.

III.

Iſa. xlvi. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Pſal. cxv. 3. —— cxxxv. 6. —— xxxiii. 15. 1 Sam. x. 9, 26. Prov. xxi. 6. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Pſal. cxliv. Iſa. xlv. 7. Jer. xiv. 22. Mat. vi. 28, 30 Col. i. 16, 17. Numb. xxiii. 19, 20. Rom. iii. 4. Jer. x. 10. Eph. i. 4, 5.

God hath decreed in himſelf, before the world was, concerning all things, whether neceſſary, accidental or voluntary, with all the circumſtances of them, to work, diſpoſe, and bring about all things according to the counſel of his own will, to his glory: (Yet without being the author of ſin, or having fellowſhip with any therein) in which appears his wiſdom in diſpoſing all things, unchangeableneſs, power, and faithfulneſs in accompliſhing his decree: And God hath before the foundation of the world, fore-ordained ſome men to eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt, to the praiſe and glory of his grace; leaving the reſt in their ſin to their juſt condemnation, to the praiſe of his juſtice.

Jude 4, 6. Prov. xvi. 4.

IV.

Gen. i. 1. Col. i. 16. Iſa. xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. Eccleſ. vii. 29. Gen. iii. 1, 4, 5. 2 Cor. xi. 3.

In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own Image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all ſin; but long he abode not in this honour; Satan uſing the ſubtlety of the ſerpent to ſeduce firſt *Eve*, then by her ſeducing

cing *Adam*; who without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his posterity; who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.

1 Tim. ii. 14. Gal. iii. 22. Rom. v. 12. —— xviii. 19. —— vi. 22. Eph. ii. 3.

V.

God in his infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befals any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatsoever befals the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good.

Job xxxviii. 11. Isa. xlvi. 10, 11. Eccles. iii. 14. Mar. x. 29, 30. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Rom. viii. 28.

VI.

All the elect being loved of God with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickned, and saved, not by themselves, nor their own works, lest any man should boast, but, only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jesus Christ, who is made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth, might rejoice in the Lord.

Jer. xxxi. 2. Eph. i. 3, 7. —— ii. 8, 9. 1 Thes. v. 9. Acts xiii. 38. 2. Cor. v. 21. Jer. ix. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31. Jer. xxiii. 6.

VII.

And this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God,

John xvii. 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Thes. i. 8.

John vi. 36. God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ.

VIII.

Col. ii. 23. Mat. xv. 9, 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. Isa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

THE rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (not mens laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the holy Scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatsoever is needful for us to know, believe, and practise; which are the only rule of holiness and obedience for all saints, at all times, in all places to be observed.

IX.

Gen. iii. 15. —— xxii. 18. —— xlix. 10. Dan. vii. 13. —— ix. 24, &c. Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 8. Gal. iv. 4. Heb. vii. 14. Rev. v. 5. Gen. xlix. 9, 10. Rom. i. 3. & ix. 10. Mat. i. 16. Luke iii. 23, 26. Heb. ii. 16. Isa. liii. 3, 4, 5. Heb. iv. 15.

THE Lord Jesus Christ, of whom *Moses* and the Prophets wrote, the Apostles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightness of his glory, *&c.* by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who also when the fulness of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of *Judah*, of the seed of *Abraham* and *David*; to wit, of the virgin *Mary*, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the most High overshadowing her; and he was also tempted as we are, yet without sin.

X.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 15. John xiv. 6. Isa. ix. 6, 7.

JESUS Christ is made the mediator of the new and everlasting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, priest, and king of the church of God for evermore.

XI.

XI.

UNTO this office he was appointed by God from everlasting; and in respect of his manhood, from the womb called, separated, and anointed most fully and abundantly with all gifts necessary, God having without measure poured out his Spirit upon him.

Prov. viii. 23. Isa. xlii. 6. — xlix. 15. — xi. 2,3,4,5. — lxi. 1, 2. Luk. iv. 17,22. John i. 14, 26. —— iii. 34.

XII.

CONCERNING his mediatorship, the Scripture holds forth Christ's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God as was *Aaron*, it being an action of God, whereby a special promise being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promise is, that Christ should be made a sacrifice for sin; that he should see his seed, and prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand; all of meer free and absolute grace towards God's elect, and without any condition foreseen in them to procure it.

Heb. v. 4,5,6. Isa. liii. 10,11. John iii. 16. Rom. viii. 32.

XIII.

THIS office to be mediator, that is, to be prophet, priest, and king of the church of God, is so proper to Christ, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it cannot be transferred from him to any other.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24. Dan. vii. 14. Acts iv. 12. Luke i. 33. John xiv. 6.

XIV.

THIS office to which Christ is called, is threefold; a prophet, priest, and king: This number and order of offices is necessary, for in respect of our ignorance, we stand in need of his prophetical office; and in respect of our

Deut. viii. 15. Acts iii. 22,23. Heb. iii. 1. —— iv. 14,15. Psal. ii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 20. Acts xxvi. 18.

Col. i. 21. John xvi. 8. Pſal. cx. 3. Cant. i. 3. John vi. 44. Phil. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

our great alienation from God, we need his prieſtly office to reconcile us; and in reſpect of our averſeneſs and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, ſubdue, draw, uphold and preſerve us to his heavenly kingdom.

XV.

John i. 18. — xii. 49, 50. — xvii. 8. Deut. xviii. 15. Mat. xxiii. 10. Heb. iii. 1. Mal. iii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. 2. 3.

CONCERNING the prophecy of Chriſt, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatſoever is needful for his ſervants to know and obey; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apoſtle of our profeſſion, and the angel of the covenant, but alſo the very wiſdom of God, in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the ſame truth of the goſpel to his people.

XVI.

John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15 Heb. i. 1.

THAT he might be a prophet every way compleat, it was neceſſary he ſhould be God, and alſo that he ſhould be man: For unleſs he had been God, he could never have perfectly underſtood the will of God; and unleſs he had been man, he could not ſuitably have unfolded it in his own perſon to men.

That Jeſus Chriſt is God is wonderful clearly expreſſed in the Scriptures. He is called the mighty God, Iſa. ix. 6. *That word was God,* John i. 1. *Chriſt, who is God over all,* Rom. ix. 5. *God manifeſted in the Fleſh,* 1 Tim. iii. 16. *The ſame is very God,* John v. 20. *He is the firſt,* Rev. i. 8. *He gives being to all things, and without him was nothing made,* John i. 2. *He forgiveth ſins,* Mat. ix. 6. *He is before* Abraham, John viii. 58. *He was and is, and ever will be the ſame,* Heb. xiii. 8. *He is always with his to the end of the world,* Mat. xxviii. 20. *Which could not be ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, if he were not God. And to the Son he ſaith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,* Heb. i. 8. John i. 18.

Alſo,

Alſo, Chriſt is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, Gal. iv. 4. *Made of the ſeed of* David, Rom. i. 3. *Coming out of the loins of* David, Acts ii. 30. *Of* Jeſſe *and* Judah, Acts xiii. 23. *In that the children were partakers of fleſh and blood he himſelf likewiſe took part with them,* Heb. ii. 14. *He took not on him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of* Abraham, ver. 16. *So that we are bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh,* Eph. v. 30. *So that he that ſanctifieth, and they that are ſanctified are all of one,* Heb. ii. 11. *See* Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

XVII.

CONCERNING his prieſthood, Chriſt having ſanctified himſelf, hath appeared once to put away ſin by that one offering of himſelf a ſacrifice for ſin, by which he hath fully finiſhed and ſuffered all things God required for the ſalvation of his elect, and removed all rites and ſhadows, *&c.* and is now enter'd within the vail into the holy of holies, which is the preſence of God. Alſo, he makes his people a ſpiritual houſe, an holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Chriſt offer to the Father, any other worſhip or worſhippers.

John xvii. 19. Heb. v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Rom. v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14 *&c.* Rom. viii. 34. Heb. ix. 24. —— viii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

XVIII.

THIS prieſthood was not legal or temporary, but according to the order of *Melchiſedec*, and is ſtable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is ſuitable to Jeſus Chriſt, as to him that ever liveth. Chriſt was the prieſt, ſacrifice, and altar: He was a prieſt according to both natures; he was a ſacrifice according to his human nature; whence in ſcripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood: Yet the effectualneſs of this ſacrifice did depend upon his divine nature; therefore it

Heb. vii. 16, *&c.* Heb. v. 6. x. 10. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20, 22. Heb. ix. 13.

Acts xx. 28. Heb. ix. 14. —— xiii. 10, 12, 15. Mat. xxiii. 17. John xvii. 19.

it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to ſanctify that which is offered upon it, and ſo it ought to be of greater dignity than the ſacrifice it ſelf.

XIX.

1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Mat. xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 1. —— v. 30, 31. John xix. 36. Rom. xiv. 9. John v. 26, 27. Rom. v. 6, 7, 8. —— xiv. 17. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Heb. i. 14. John xvi. 15. Job ii. 8. Rom. i. 21. —— xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Pet. ii.

CONCERNING his kingly office, Chriſt being riſen from the dead, and aſcended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth ſpiritually govern his church, and doth exerciſe his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preſervation and ſalvation of the elect, and to the overruling and deſtruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applieth the benefits, virtue, and fruits of his propheſy and prieſthood to his elect, ſubduing their ſins, preſerving and ſtrengthening them in all their conflicts againſt Satan, the world, and the fleſh, keeping their hearts in faith and filial fear by his ſpirit: By this his mighty power he ruleth the veſſels of wrath, uſing, limiting and reſtraining them, as it ſeems good to his infinite wiſdom.

XX.

1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. Heb. ix. 28. 2 Theſ. i. 9, 10. 1 Theſ. iv. 15, 16, 17. John xvii. 21, 26.

THIS his kingly power ſhall be more fully manifeſted when he ſhall come in glory to reign among his ſaints, when he ſhall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifeſted in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members.

XXI.

XXI.

JESUS Chriſt by his death did purchaſe ſalvation for the elect that God gave unto him: Theſe only have intereſt in him, and fellowſhip with him, for whom he makes interceſſion to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as alſo the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none elſe.

Eph. i. 14. Heb. v. 9. Mat. i. 21. John xvii. 6. Heb. vii. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13. —— iii. 16.

XXII.

FAITH is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the ſpirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the ſcriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Chriſt in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulneſs of the Spirit in its workings and operations; and ſo are enabled to caſt their ſouls upon this truth thus believed.

Eph. ii. 8. John vi. 29. —— iv. 10. Phil. i. 29. Gal. v. 22. John xvii. 17. Heb. iv. 11. 12. John vi. 63.

XXIII.

ALL thoſe that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; ſeeing the gifts of God are without repentance; ſo that he ſtill begets and nouriſheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit unto immortality; and though many ſtorms and floods ariſe, and beat againſt them, yet they ſhall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are faſten'd upon; notwithſtanding, through unbelief, and the tempta-

Mat. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10. —— x. 28, 29. 1 Pet i. 4, 5, 6. Iſa. xlix. 13, 14, 15, 16.

temptations of Satan, the ſenſible ſight of this light and love, be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is ſtill the ſame, and they ſhall be ſure to be kept by the power of God unto ſalvation, where they ſhall enjoy their purchaſed poſſeſſion, they being engraven upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written in the book of life from all eternity.

XXIV.

Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. ix. 16. Ezek. xvi. 16. Rom. iii. 12. —— i. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

FAITH is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the goſpel, or word of Chriſt, without reſpect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly paſſive, and dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, doth believe and is converted by no leſs power than that which raiſed Chriſt from the dead.

XXV.

John 3. 14, 15. —— i. 12. Iſa. lv. 1. John vii. 37. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rom. iv. 5. —— v. 8. Acts v. 30, 31. —— ii. 36. 1 Cor. i. 22, 24.

THE preaching of the goſpel to the converſion of ſinners, is abſolutely free; no way requiring as abſolutely neceſſary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceeding miniſtry of the law, but only and alone the naked ſoul, a ſinner and ungodly, to receive Chriſt crucified, dead and buried, and riſen again; who is made a prince and a ſaviour for ſuch ſinners as through the goſpel ſhall be brought to believe on him.

XXVI.

1 Pet. i. 5. 2 Cor. xii. 9. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Phil. ii. 12, 13.

THE ſame power that converts to faith in Chriſt, carrieth on the ſoul through all duties, temptations, conflicts, ſufferings; and whatſoever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carri-

carried on in all obedience and temptations by the ſame. John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

XXVII.

ALL believers are by Chriſt united to God; by which union, God is one with them, and they are one with him; and that all believers are the ſons of God, and joint heirs with Chriſt, to whom belong all the promiſes of this life, and that which is to come. 1 Theſ. i. 1. John xvii. 21. —— xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

XXVIII.

THOSE that have union with Chriſt, are juſtified from all their ſins by the blood of Chriſt, which juſtification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty ſinner from all ſin, by God, through the ſatisfaction that Chriſt hath made by his death for all their ſins, and this applied (in the manifeſtation of it) through faith. 1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 14. —— ix. 26. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. iii. 23. Acts xiii. 38, 39. Rom. v. 1. —— iii. 25, 30.

XXIX.

ALL believers are a holy and ſanctified people, and that ſanctification is a ſpiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifeſted in the ſoul, whereby the believer preſſeth after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands, which Chriſt as head and king in his new covenant hath preſcribed to them. 1 Cor. xii. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Mat. xxviii. 20.

XXX.

ALL believers through the knowledge of that juſtification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Chriſt, have as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 9, 10 Iſa. liv. 10 —x:

Eph. ii. 13, 14. —— iv. 7. Rom. v. 10, 11. whereby they that were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace paſſing all underſtanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have received the atonement.

XXXI.

Rom. vii. 23, 24. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Rom. viii. 29. 1 Theſ. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Deut. ii. 5. ALL believers in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat againſt ſin, ſelf, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of afflictions, tribulations and perſecutions, being predeſtinated and appointed thereunto, and whatſoever the ſaints poſſeſs or enjoy of God ſpiritually, is by faith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith.

XXXII.

John xvi. 33. —— xv. 5. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18. THE only ſtrength by which the ſaints are enabled to encounter with all oppoſitions and trials, is only by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the captain of their ſalvation, being made perfect through ſufferings; who hath engaged his faithfulneſs and ſtrength to aſſiſt them in all their afflictions, and to uphold them in all their temptations, and to preſerve them by his power to his everlaſting kingdom.

XXXIII.

Mat. xi. 11. 2 Theſ. i. 1. 1 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 1. Rom. i. 7. Acts xix. 8, 9. ——xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Rev. xviii. 4. JESUS Chriſt hath here on earth a ſpiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchaſed and redeemed to himſelf as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of viſible ſaints, called and ſeparated from the world by the word and ſpirit of God, to the viſible profeſſion of the faith of the

the goſpel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Chriſt their head and king.

Acts ii. 37. —— x. 37. Rom. x. 10. Mat. xviii. 19, 20. Acts ii. 42. Acts ix. 26. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

XXXIV.

To this church he hath made his promiſes, and giveth the ſigns of his covenant, preſence, acceptation, love, bleſſing, and protection. Here are the fountains and ſprings of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refreſh and ſtrengthen them.

Mat. xxviii. 18, &c. 1 Cor. xi. 24. —— iii. 21. 2 Cor. vi. 18. Rom. ix. 4, 5. Pſal. cxxxiii. 3. Rom. iii. 7, 10. Ezek. xlvii. 2.

XXXV.

And all his ſervants of all eſtates (are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, prieſt, and king;) and called thither to be enrolled among his houſhold ſervants, to preſent their bodies and ſouls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled ſheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his ſaints, that they may be aſſured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God; and to ſupply each others wants, inward and outward; (and although each perſon hath a propriety in his own eſtate, yet they are to ſupply each others wants, according as their neceſſities ſhall require, that the name of Jeſus Chriſt may not be blaſphemed through the neceſſity of any in the church) and alſo being come, they are here by himſelf to be beſtowed in their ſeveral order, due place, peculiar uſe, being

Acts ii. 41, 47. Iſa. iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 6, 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 40, 37. Cant. iv. 12. Eph. ii. 19. Rom. xii. 4, 5, 6. Col. i. 12. —— ii. 5, 6, 19. Acts xx. 32. —— v. 4. —— ii. 44, 45. —— iv. 34, 35. Luke xiv. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 1. Eph. iv. 16.

being fitly compact and knit together according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of it self in love.

XXXVI.

Acts i. 23, 26. —— vi. 3. —— xv. 22, 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 28. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3. iv. 15.

BEING thus joined, every church hath power given them from Christ, for their well-being, to choose among themselves meet persons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as those which Christ hath appointed in his testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building up of his church; and that none have any power to impose on them either these or any other.

XXXVII.

Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3.

THAT the ministers lawfully called, as aforesaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.

XXXVIII.

1 Cor. ix. 7, 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Psal. cx. 3.

THE ministers of Christ ought to have whatsoever they shall need, supplied freely by the church, that according to Christ's ordinance they that preach the Gospel should live of the gospel by the law of Christ.

XXXIX.

Mat. xxviii. 18, 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38.

BAPTISM is an ordinance of the new testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made disciples; who upon profession of faith, ought to

to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's Supper. Acts viii. 36, 37, *&c.*

XL.

THAT the way and manner of the diſpenſing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a ſign, muſt anſwer the things ſignified, which is, that intereſt the ſaints have in the death, burial, and reſurrection of Chriſt: And that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and riſen again; ſo certainly ſhall the bodies of the ſaints be raiſed by the power of Chriſt, in the day of the reſurrection, to reign with Chriſt. Mat. iii. 6, 16. Mar. xv. 9, *reads* [*into* Jordan] *in* Greek. John iii. 23. Acts viii. 38. Rev. i. 5. —— vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

The word baptizo *ſignifies to dip or plunge (yet ſo as convenient garments be both upon the adminiſtrator and ſubject with all modeſty.)*

XLI.

THE perſon deſigned by Chriſt to diſpenſe baptiſm, the ſcripture holds forth to be a diſciple; it being no where tied to a particular church officer, or perſon extraordinarily ſent, the commiſſion injoining the adminiſtration, being given to them as conſidered diſciples, being men able to preach the goſpel. Iſa. viii. 16. Eph. ii. 7. Mat. xxviii. 19. John iv. 2. Acts xx. 7. —— xi. 10. 1 Cor. xi. 2. —— x. 16, 17. Rom. xvi. 2. Mat. xviii. 17.

XLII.

CHRIST hath likewiſe given power to his church to receive in, and caſt out, any member that deſerves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular perſon, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowſhip. Rom. xvi. 2. Mat. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 11, 13. —— xii. 6. —— ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

XLIII.

Mat. xviii. 16. —— xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1, 2, 3.

AND every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned ſoever, is ſubject to this cenſure and judgment; and that the church ought not without great care and tenderneſs, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed againſt her members.

XLIV.

Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17, 24. Mat. xxiv. 45. 1 Theſ. v. 2, 14. Jude 3, 20. Heb. x. 34, 35. —— xii. 15.

CHRIST for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth ſome ſpecial men over the church; who by their office, are to govern, overſee, viſit, watch; ſo likewiſe for the better keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.

XLV.

1 Cor. xiv. 3, &c. Rom. xii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Theſ. v. 19, &c.

ALSO ſuch to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to propheſy, according to the proportion of faith, and ſo to teach publickly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the church.

XLVI.

Rev. ii. & iii. Chap. Acts xv. 12. 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb. x. 25. Jude 19. Rev. ii. 20, 21, 27. Acts xv. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 1. —— xv. 1, 2, 3.

THUS being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the goſpel of Chriſt, none are to ſeparate for faults and corruptions (for as long as the church conſiſts of men ſubject to failings, there will be difference in the true conſtituted church) until they have in due order, and tenderneſs, ſought redreſs thereof.

XLVII.

XLVII.

AND although the particular congregations be distinct, and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within it self; yet are they all to walk by one rule of truth; so also they (by all means convenient) are to have the counsel and help one of another, if necessity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ their head.

1 Cor. iv. 17 —— xiv. 33, 36. —— xvi 1. Psal. cxxii. 3. Eph. ii. 12, 19. Rev. xxi. 1 Tim. iii. 15. —— vi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. iv. 17. Acts xv. 2, 3. Cant. viii. 8, 9. 2 Cor. viii. 1, 4. & xiii. 14.

XLVIII.

A CIVIL magistracy is an ordinance of God, set up by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, subjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conscience-sake; and that we are to make supplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3.

The supreme magistracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now established) freely chosen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulness, that God hath made this present king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, because of their tyranny and oppression over us, under which this kingdom long groaned, for which we are ever ingaged to bless God, and honour them for the same. And concerning the worship of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to save and destroy, Jam. iv. 12. *which is Jesus Christ, who hath given laws and rules sufficient in his word for his worship; and for any to make more, were to charge Christ with want of wisdom, or faithfulness, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough for his house: Surely it is our wisdom, duty, and privilege, to observe*

observe Christ's laws only, Psal. ii. 6, 9, 10, 12. *So it is the magistrates duty to tender the liberty of mens consciences,* Eccles. viii. 8. *(which is the tendereſt thing unto all conſcientious men, and moſt dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much leſs injoying) and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppreſſion and moleſtation; ſo it is our duty not to be wanting in nothing which is for their honour and comfort, and whatſoever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to be our expreſs duty, eſpecially in matters of religion, to be fully perſwaded in our minds of the lawfulneſs of what we do, as knowing whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our underſtandings and conſciences, ſo neither can we forbear the doing of that which our underſtandings and conſciences bind us to do. And if the magiſtrate ſhould require us to do otherwiſe, we are to yeild our Perſons in a paſſive way to their power, as the ſaints of old have done,* Jam. v. 4. *And thrice happy ſhall he be, that ſhall loſe his life for witneſſing (though but for the leaſt title) of the truth of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* 1 Pet. v. Gal. v.

XLIX.

Acts ii. 40, 41. —— iv. 19. —— v. 28, 29. —— xx. 23. 1 Theſ. iii. 3. Phil. i. 28, 29. Dan. iii. 16, 17. —— vi. 7, 10, 22, 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Rom. xii. 1, 8. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. Rev. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. Rom. xiv. 10, 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Pſal xlix. 7. —— l. 22.

BUT in caſe we find not the magiſtrate to favour us herein; yet we dare not ſuſpend our practice, becauſe we believe we ought to go in obedience to Chriſt, in profeſſing the faith which was once delivered to the ſaints, which faith is declared in the holy ſcriptures, and this our confeſſion of faith a part of them, and that we are to witneſs to the truth of the old and new teſtament unto the death, if neceſſity require, in the midſt of all trials and afflictions, as his ſaints of old have done; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, ſiſters; yea, and our own lives dear unto us, ſo we may finiſh our courſe with joy; remembring always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will when we have finiſhed our courſe, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteouſneſs; to whom we muſt give an account of all our actions, and no man

man being able to discharge us of the same.

L.

IT is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate or civil officer; and also it is lawful to take an oath, so it be in truth, and in judgment, and in righteousness, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all strife; and that by rash and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns.

Acts viii. 38. — x. 1, 2, 35. Rom. xvi. 23. Deut. vi. 13. Rom. i. 9. 2 Cor. x. 11. Jer. iv. 2. Heb. vi. 16.

LI.

WE are to give unto all men whatsoever is their due, as their place, age, estate, requires; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us.

1 Thes. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7. Mat. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Pet. ii. 15, 17.

1 Pet. v. 5. Eph. v. 21, 23. & vi. 1, 9. Tit. iii. 1, 2, 3.

LII.

THERE shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, and every one shall give an account of himself to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

The CONCLUSION.

THUS we desire to give unto Christ that which is his; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what

what judgment ſoever) as we would they ſhould do unto us, that as our practice is, ſo it may prove us to be a conſcionable, quiet, and harmleſs people (no ways dangerous or troubleſome to human ſociety) and to labour and work with our hands that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Alſo we confeſs, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we deſire and ſeek to know; and if any ſhall do us that friendly part to ſhew us from the word of God that we ſee not, we ſhall have cauſe to be thankful to God and them; but if any man ſhall impoſe upon us any thing that we ſee not to be commanded by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhould in his ſtrength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be ſtripp'd of all outward comforts, and if it were poſſible, to die a thouſand deaths, rather than to do any thing againſt the leaſt tittle of the truth of God, or againſt the light of our own conſciences. And if any ſhall call what we have ſaid hereſy, then do we with the Apoſtle acknowledge, that after the way they call hereſy, worſhip we the God of our fathers, diſclaiming all hereſies (rightly ſo called) becauſe they are againſt Chriſt, and to be ſtedfaſt and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Chriſt, as knowing our labour ſhall not be in vain in the Lord.

Pſal. lxxiv. 21, 22.

ARISE, O God, plead thine own cauſe; remember how the fooliſh man blaſphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppreſſed return aſhamed, but let the poor and needy praiſe thy name.

Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly.

NUMB

NUMB. III.

A CONFESSION *of the* FAITH *of ſeveral congregations of Chriſt in the county of* Somerſet, *and ſome churches in the counties near adjacent. Printed at* London, Anno 1656.

I.

WE believe that there is but one God. 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. *But to us there is but one God*, who is immortal, eternal, inviſible, only wiſe: 1 *Tim.* i. 17. *Now unto the king, eternal, immortal, inviſible, only wiſe*, &c. Holy, *Lev.* xi. 44. *And ye ſhall be holy, for I am holy.* Almighty, *Gen.* xvii. 1. *I am the almighty God.* Infinite, 1 *Kings* viii. 27. *Behold the heaven, and heaven of heavens, are not able to contain thee.* Iſa. xl. 28. *There is no ſearching of his underſtanding.* Pſalm cxlvii. 5. *Great is our Lord, and of great power, his underſtanding is infinite.* A Spirit, *John* iv. 24. *God is a ſpirit.* Glorious in holineſs, *Exod.* xv. 11. *Who is like thee glorious in holineſs.* Juſt, merciful, gracious, long-ſuffering, abundant in mercy and truth, *Exod.* xxxiv. 6, 7. *The Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth.* Faithful in all things, *Deut.* vii. 9. *The Lord thy God, he is God, the faithful God.*

II.

II.

THAT this God, who is ſo in himſelf, did according to his own will in time, create all things, by, and for Jeſus Chriſt, *Heb.* i. 2. *By whom alſo he made the worlds.* Col. i. 16. *For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth,* &c. *All things were created by him and for him,* John ii. 3. Who is the word of God, *John* i. 1. *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God,* and upholds all things by the word of his power, *Heb.* i. 3.

III.

THAT God made man after his own image; *Gen.* i. 27. *So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him.* In an eſtate of uprightneſs and human perfection; *Eccleſ.* vii. 29. *Lo this only have I found, that God hath made man upright.*

IV.

THAT God gave *Adam* a juſt law, requiring obedience under the penalty of death; *Gen.* ii. 17. *But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die.* Which law he brake, and brought himſelf and his poſterity under the guilt and judgment denounced, *Gen.* iii. 6. *And when the woman ſaw that the tree was good for food,* &c. *ſhe took of the fruit thereof and did eat, who gave alſo unto her husband with her, and he did eat.* Rom. v. 12. *Wherefore as by one man ſin enter'd into the world, and death by ſin,*

ſin, and ſo death paſſed upon all men, for that all have ſinned. Rom. v. 17, 18, 19. *For if by one man's offence death reigned by one —— Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation —— For as by one man's diſobedience many were made ſinners.*

V.

MAN being in this undone eſtate, God did in the riches of his mercy hold forth Chriſt in a promiſe; *Gen.* iii. 15. *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed, it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.*

VI.

THAT in proceſs of time God gave forth his laws by the hand of *Moſes*, Exod. xx. John i. 17. to fallen man, *Gal.* iii. 19. *The law it was added becauſe of tranſgreſſions*, not for juſtification to eternal life, *Gal.* iii. 17. *Rom.* iii. 20. *Therefore by the deeds of the law there ſhall no fleſh be juſtified in his ſight*, but that all might appear guilty before the Lord by it, *Rom.* iii. 19. *Now we know that what things ſoever the law ſaith, it ſaith to them that are under the law, that every mouth may be ſtopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.* Rom. v. 20. *Moreover, the law enter'd that the offence might abound.*

VII.

THAT out of this condition none of the ſons of *Adam* were able to deliver themſelves, *Rom.* viii. 3. *For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the fleſh.* Eph. ii. 1, 5.

ii. 1, 5. *And you hath he quickned, who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, even when we were dead in ſins hath quickned us together with Chriſt, by grace ye are ſaved.* Rom. v. 6. *For when we were yet without ſtrength, Chriſt died for the ungodly.*

VIII.

THAT God continued and renewed the manifeſtation of his grace and mercy in Chriſt after the firſt promiſe made *Gen.* iii. in other promiſes, *Gen.* xxii. 18. with *Gen.* xii. 3. *Gal.* iii. 16. *And in thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed.* And in types, as the paſſover, *Exod.* xii. 8. *And they ſhall eat the fleſh in that night roaſt with fire, and unleavened bread.* And *ver.* 13. with 1 *Cor.* v. 7. *For even Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us.* And the brazen ſerpent, *Numb.* xxi. 9. *And* Moſes *made a ſerpent of braſs, and put it upon a pole, and it came to paſs that if a ſerpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the ſerpent of braſs he lived.* Compared with *John* iii. 14. *And as* Moſes *lifted up the ſerpent in the wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the ſon of man be lifted up.* With the miniſtry and miniſtration of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the ſacrifices, *&c.* being all figures of Chriſt, *Heb.* vii. 8. and *Chapter* ix. And in propheſies, as *Iſa.* ix. 6. *For unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder, and his name ſhall be called wonderful, counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the prince of Peace.* And, *Iſa.* xi. 1, 2. *And there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of* Jeſſe, *and a branch ſhall grow out of his roots, and the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of wiſ-*

wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and might, the ſpirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. Iſa. liii. 6. *All we like ſheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* Compar'd with 1 *Pet.* ii. 24. *Who his own ſelf bare our ſins in his own body on the tree.* With 1 *Cor.* xv. 3. *Chriſt died for our ſins according to the ſcriptures.*

IX.

THAT God in his ſon did freely, without reſpect to any work done, or to be done by them as a moving cauſe, elect and chooſe ſome to himſelf before the foundation of the world. *Eph.* i. 3, 4. *According as he hath choſen us in him, before the foundation of the world.* 2 Tim. i. 9. *Who hath ſaved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpoſe and grace which was given us in Chriſt Jeſus before the world began.* Whom he in time hath, doth, and will call, juſtify, ſanctify and glorify. *Rom.* viii. 29, 30. *For whom he did foreknow he alſo did predeſtinate to be conformable to the image of his ſon, that he might be the firſt born amongſt many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called, and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified, and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.*

X.

THAT thoſe that were thus elected and choſen in Chriſt, were by nature [before converſion] children of wrath even as others. *Eph.* ii. 3. *Among whom alſo we all had our converſation in times paſt in the luſts of our fleſh, fulfill-*

fulfilling the deſires of the fleſh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. Rom. iii. 9. *What then? Are we better than they, no, in no wiſe, for we have before proved both* Jews *and* Gentiles, *that they are all under ſin.*

XI.

THAT thoſe that are choſen of God, called and juſtified, ſhall never finally fall from him, but being born from above are kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation. *John* vi. 39. *And this is the Father's will which hath ſent me, that of all which he hath given me I ſhould loſe nothing, but ſhould raiſe it up again at the laſt day.* John x. 28. *And I give unto them eternal life, and they ſha'l never periſh, neither ſhall any man pluck them out of my hand.* John xi. 26. *And whoſoever liveth and believeth in me ſhall never die.* 1 Pet. i. 5. *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation.* Pſalm lxxxix. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. *If his children forſake my laws, and walk not in my judgments. If they break my ſtatutes, and keep not my commandments, then will I viſit their tranſgreſſions with the rod, and their iniquity with ſtripes. Nevertheleſs my loving-kindneſs will I not utterly take from him, nor ſuffer my faithfulneſs to fail; my covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.* 1 John iii. 9. *Whoſoever is born of God doth not commit ſin, for his ſeed remaineth in him, and he cannot ſin, becauſe he is born of God.* John xiv. 19. *Becauſe I live ye ſhall live alſo.* Heb. xii. 2. *Looking unto Jeſus the author and finiſher of our faith.* Jer. xxxi. 3. *I have loved thee with an everlaſting*

laſting love, therefore with loving kindneſs have I drawn thee. John x. 29. *My Father which gave them me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.* Pſalm xxxvii. 28. *For the Lord loveth judgment, and forſaketh not his ſaints: They are preſerved for ever.* Jer. xxxii. 40. *And I will make an everlaſting covenant.* Rom. viii. 39. *Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God, which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.* 1 Cor. i. 8, 9. *Who ſhall alſo confirm you unto the end— God is faithful.* Rom. viii. 30. *Whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified. Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jeſus Chriſt.* Pſalm xlviii. 14. *For this God is our God for ever and ever, he will be our guide even to death.*

XII.

THAT when the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, *Gal.* iv. 4, 5. according to the promiſes and propheſies of the ſcriptures; who was conceived in the womb of *Mary* the virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit of God, *Luke* i. 35. *Matt.* i. 20. And by her born in *Bethlehem*, Matt. ii. 11. Luke ii. 6, 7.

XIII.

WE believe that Jeſus Chriſt is truly God. *Iſa.* ix. 6. *His name ſhall be called the mighty God.* Heb. i. 8. *But unto the Son he ſaith, thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* Rom. ix. 5. *Who is over all God bleſſed for ever.* And truly man, of the ſeed of *David.* 1 Tim.

ii. 5. *There is one mediator between God and man, the man Chriſt Jeſus.* Acts xiii. 23. *Of this man's ſeed hath God, according to his promiſe, raiſed unto* Iſrael *a Saviour Jeſus.* Rom. i. 3. *Made of the ſeed of* David *according to the fleſh.*

XIV.

THAT after he came to be about thirty years of age, being baptized, he manifeſted himſelf to be the Son of God, *Luke* iii. 21, 23. with *John* ii. 7, 11. The promiſed Meſſiah, by doing ſuch works both in his life and in his death which were proper unto, and could be done by none but the Son of God, the true Meſſiah. *John* i. 49. *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of* Iſrael. *John* vi. 9, &c.

XV.

THAT this man Chriſt Jeſus ſuffered death under *Pilate*, at the requeſt of the *Jews*, Luke xxiii. 24. Bearing the ſins of his people on his own body on the croſs. 1 *Pet.* ii. 24. *Who his own ſelf bare our ſins on his own body on the tree*, according to the will of God. *Iſa.* liii. 6. *The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* Being made ſin for us; 2 *Cor.* v. 11. *For he hath made him to be ſin for us.* And ſo was alſo made a curſe for us, *Gal.* iii. 13, 14. *Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for us.* 1 Pet. iii. 18. *For Chriſt alſo hath once ſuffered for ſin*, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. 2 *Cor.* v. 11. And by his death upon the croſs, he hath obtained eternal redemption and deliverance for his church.

Col.

Col. i. 14. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveneſs of ſin.* Eph. i. 7. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins, according to the riches of his grace.* Acts xx. 28. *Feed the church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Heb. ix. 12. *By his own blood he enter'd in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. *For as much as ye know ye were not redeemed with corruptible things,* &c. *but with the precious blood of Chriſt, as of a lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot.*

XVI.

THAT this ſame Jeſus having thus ſuffered death for our ſins, was buried. *Matth.* xxvii. 59, 60. *And when* Joſeph *had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewen out of the rock, and he rolled a great ſtone to the door of the ſepulchre and departed.* And was alſo raiſed by the power of God. *Eph.* i. 19. *And what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Chriſt when he raiſed him from the dead,* the third day according to the ſcriptures. 1 *Cor.* xv. 3, 4. *For I delivered unto you firſt of all that which I alſo received, how that Chriſt died for our ſins according to the ſcriptures, and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third day according to the ſcriptures.* For our juſtification. *Rom.* iv. 25. *Who was delivered for our offences, and was raiſed again for our juſtification.*

XVII.

THAT after he had been ſeen forty days upon the earth, manifeſting himſelf to his diſciples. *Acts* i. 3. *To whom alſo he ſhewed himſelf alive after his paſſion by many infallible proofs, being ſeen of them forty days.* He aſcended into the heavens. *Acts* i. 9, 10, 11. *And when he had ſpoken theſe things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight: And while they looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, as he went up,* &c. *Heb.* iv. 14. *Seeing then that we have a great high-prieſt that is paſſed into the heavens, Jeſus the Son of God.* And is ſet on the right hand of the throne of God. *Heb.* viii. 1. *We have ſuch an high-prieſt, who is ſet on the right hand of the throne of the majeſty in the heavens.* Heb. i. 3. *When he had by himſelf purged our ſin, ſat down at the right hand of the Majeſty on high.* Whom the heavens muſt receive until the time of the Reſtitution of all things. *Acts* iii. 21. *Whom the heavens muſt receive, until the times of the reſtitution of all things, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets ſince the world began.*

XVIII.

THAT the Father having thus exalted him, and given him a name above every name. *Phil.* ii. 9. *Wherefore God alſo hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name.* And hath made him who is mediator, 1 *Tim.* ii. 5. Prieſt. *Heb.* x. 21. *And having an high-prieſt over the houſe of God.* Heb. viii. 1. *We have ſuch an high-prieſt.* Prophet. Acts iii. 22. *A prophet ſhall the Lord*

Lord your God raiſe up unto you of your brethren, &c. And king to his people. Pſalm ii. 6. *Yet have I ſet my king upon my holy hill of* Zion. *Rev.* xv. 3. *Thou king of ſaints.* As he is our prieſt, ſo is he our peace and reconciliation. *Eph.* ii. 14, 15. *For he is our peace*, Rom. v. 9, 10. *For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his ſon, much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life*, &c. And being enter'd into the holy place, even heaven it ſelf, there to appear in the preſence of God, *Heb.* ix. 24. Making continual interceſſion for us. *Heb.* vii. 24, 25. *But this man becauſe he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable prieſthood; wherefore he is able alſo to ſave them to the uttermoſt, that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them.* He is become our advocate. 1 *John* ii. 1. *We have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous.* By whom we have boldneſs and acceſs unto the throne of grace with acceptance. *Heb.* x. 19. *Having therefore, brethren, boldneſs to enter into the holieſt by the blood of Jeſus.* Eph. iii. 12. *In whom we have boldneſs and acceſs with confidence, by the faith of him.* Heb. iv. 16. *Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace*, &c. As he is our prophet, ſo he hath given us the ſcriptures, the Old and New Teſtament, as a rule and direction unto us both for faith and practice. *John* v. 39. *Search the ſcriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which teſtify of me.* 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, 12. 2 *Tim.* iii. 16. *All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs*, &c. 1 *Pet.* x. 20, 21.

We have alſo a more ſure word of propheſy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that ſhineth in a dark place —— Knowing this firſt, that no propheſy of the ſcriptures is of any private interpretation. For the propheſy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. Eph. ii. 20. *And are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone.* 1 Cor. xiv. 37. *If any man thinketh himſelf to be a prophet, or ſpiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.* Tit. i. 2, 3. *In hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lye promiſed before the world began, but hath in due time manifeſted his word through preaching, which is committed unto me, according to the commandment of God our Saviour.* And that he hath ſent, doth and will (according to his promiſe) ſend his Holy Spirit the Comforter, by whom he leadeth us into all truth. *John* xiv. 26. *But the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will ſend in my name, he ſhall teach you all things,* &c. John xvi. 13. *Howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth.* And by his continual preſence with us, and in us. *John* xiv. 16, 17. *And I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth,* &c. *He dwelleth with you and ſhall be in you,* teaching, opening and revealing the myſteries of the kingdom, and will of God unto us. 1 *Cor.* ii. 10, 11, 12, 13. *But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit, for the Spirit ſearcheth all things, yea the deep things of God;*

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for what man knoweth the things of a man ſave the ſpirit of man which is in him. Even ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God; now we have received not the ſpirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given us of God, which things alſo we ſpeak, not in the words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth. Rev. ii. 29. *He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit ſaith to the churches.* Rev. v. 5. *And one of the elders ſaid unto me, weep not, behold the lion of the tribe of* Judah, *the root of* David, *hath prevailed, to open the book, and to looſe the ſeven ſeals thereof.* Giving gifts in his church for the work of the miniſtry, and edifying the body of Chriſt. *Eph.* iv. 8, 12. *Wherefore he ſaith, when he aſcended up on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men —— For the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt.* 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. *Now there are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit, and there are differences of adminiſtrations, but the ſame Lord, and there are diverſities of operations, but it is the ſame God which worketh all in all*; that through the powerful teachings of the Lord, by his Spirit in his church, they might grow up in him. *Eph.* iv. 15. be conformed to his will. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 27. *And I will put my Spirit within you, and cauſe you to walk in my ſtatutes, and ye ſhall keep my judgments and do them.* 1 Pet. i. 2. *Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through ſanctification of the Spirit unto obedience.* And ſing praiſes unto his name. *Heb.* ii. 12. *I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midſt of the church will*

I ſing praiſe unto thee. 1 Cor. xiv. 15. *What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo; I will ſing with the Spirit, and will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.* And as he is our prophet, and king, lord, and law-giver. *Iſa.* xxxiii. 22. *For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our king.* Iſa. lv. 4. *Behold I have given him for a witneſs to the people, a leader and commander to the people.* Prince of life. *Acts* iii. 15. *And killed the prince of life, whom God hath raiſed from the dead.* Prince of peace, *Iſa.* ix. 6. Maſter of his people. *Matt.* xxiii. 8. *One is your maſter even Chriſt.* Head of his church. *Col.* i. 18. *And he is the head of the body the church.* The Almighty, *Rev.* i. 8. So he hath given rules unto us, by the which he ruleth over us. *Luke* vi. 46. *And why call ye me Lord, and do not the things which I ſay.* John x. 16. *And other ſheep I have, which are not of this fold, them alſo I muſt bring, and they ſhall hear my voice.* 1 John ii. 4. *He that ſaith I know him, and keepeth not my commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* John xiv. 15. *If ye love me keep my commandments.* Matt. 28. 20. *Teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you.* And ruleth over all things for his church. *Eph.* i. 22. *And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church.* Rev. xix. 16. And by the power of love ruleth by his Spirit in us. 2 *Cor.* v. 14. *For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us.* 1 John ii. 5. *But whoſo keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected.* Making us (in a meaſure) both able and willing to honour him. *Phil.* iv. 13. *I*

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can do all things through Chriſt that ſtrengtheneth me. Heb. xiii. 21. *Make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt.* Eph. vi. 10. *Finally, my brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.* Phil. ii. 13. *For it is God which worketh in you both to will, and to do of his good pleaſure.* And bow before him, *Pſal.* xcv. 6. *O come, let us worſhip and bow down.* Pſal. cx. 3. *Thy people ſhall be a willing people in the day of thy power.* Rev. iv. 10, 11. *The four and twenty elders fall down before him that ſat on the throne, and worſhip him that liveth for ever and ever, and caſt their crowns before the throne, ſaying; thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power.* Submitting our ſelves to him alone in all his commands with joy. *John* xv. 14. *Ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you.* Rev. xiv. 4. *Theſe are they which follow the lamb whitherſoever he goeth.* Rev. vii. 15. *Therefore are they before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his temple.* Pſal. cxix. 2, 47. *Bleſſed are they that keep his teſtimonies, and that ſeek him with the whole heart —— And I will delight my ſelf in thy commandments which I have loved.* Rev. xv. 3, 4. *And they ſung the ſong of* Moſes *the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the lamb, who ſhall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art worthy.*

XIX.

THAT the Spirit is adminiſtred by or through the word of faith preached. *Gal.* iii. 2. *This only would I learn of you? Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hear-*

hearing of faith. Which word was firſt declared by the Lord himſelf, and was confirm'd by them that heard him. *Heb.* ii. 3. *How ſhall we eſcape if we neglect ſo great ſalvation, which at the firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.* Which word is called the goſpel of God's grace, Acts xx. 24. The word of reconciliation, 2 *Cor.* v. 19. The ſword of the Spirit, *Eph.* vi. 17. The weapon of a Chriſtian, 2 *Cor.* x. 4. A faithful, *Rev.* xxii. 6. Quick, powerful, *Heb.* iv. 12. Plain, *Prov.* viii. 9. Comfortable, *Rom.* xv. 4. Pure, *Pſal.* xii. 6. Right, true, *Pſal.* xxxiii. 4. Sound, *Tit.* ii. 8. And wholeſome word, 1 *Tim.* vi. 3.

XX.

THAT this ſpirit of Chriſt, being adminiſter'd by the word of faith, worketh in us faith in Chriſt, *John* iii. 5. 1 *Pet.* i. 22. *Seeing ye have purified your ſouls in obeying the truth through the Spirit.* Acts xvi. 14. Gal. v. 22. *The fruit of the Spirit is faith,* &c. *whoſe heart the Lord opened, that ſhe attended unto the things which were ſpoken of* Paul. By virtue of which we come to receive our ſonſhip. *John* i. 12. *But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the ſons of God, even to them that believe on his name.* Gal. iii. 26. *For ye are all the children of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus.* And is further adminiſter'd unto us through faith in the promiſes of God. *Eph.* i. 13. *Alſo after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that Holy Spirit of promiſe.* Acts ii. 38, 39. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt,*

Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. Acts i. 4. *And being aſſembled together with them, commanded them that they ſhould not depart from* Jeruſalem, *but wait for the promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me.* Waiting on him in thoſe ways and means that he hath appointed in his word. *John* xiv. 15, 16, 17. *If ye love me keep my commandments, and I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth.* Luke xi. 9, 13. *And I ſay unto you ask and it ſhall be given unto you, ſeek and ye ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you — If ye being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more ſhall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.* This faith being the ground of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not ſeen, *Heb.* xi. 1.

XXI.

THAT juſtification is God's accounting and declaring that man juſtified from the guilt and condemnation of all his ſin, who hath received Jeſus Chriſt and doth believe in him (in truth and power) according to the record given of him by God in ſcripture. *Rom.* iv. 5. *But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteouſneſs.* 1 John v. 10, 11. *He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witneſs in himſelf: He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, becauſe he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. But this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son,* Joh. iii. 36.

XXII.

XXII.

THAT juſtification from the guilt and condemnation of ſin is only obtained through faith in that man Jeſus Chriſt, crucified at *Jeruſalem*, and by God raiſed from the dead. *Rom.* v. 1, 9. *Therefore being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Much more being now juſtified by his blood we ſhall be ſaved from wrath through him.* Acts xiii. 38, 39. Rom. iv. 25. *Who was delivered for our offences, and was raiſed again for our juſtification.* And, *Chap.* x. 9. *That if thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raiſed him from the dead thou ſhalt be ſaved.* And that thoſe who bring in any other way of juſtification, do therein make void, and acquit themſelves of having any intereſt in the goſpel and grace of Chriſt. *Gal.* ii. 21. and v. 4. *Whoſoever of you is juſtified by the law, is fallen from grace.*

XXIII.

THAT this faith being wrought in truth and power, it doth not only intereſt us in our juſtification, ſonſhip, and glory, but it produceth as effects and fruits, a conformity, in a meaſure, to the Lord Jeſus, in his will, graces and virtues. *Rom.* v. 3, 4. *And not only ſo, but we glory in tribulations alſo, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope.* 1 John iii. 23, 24. *And this is his commandment, that we ſhould believe on the name of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and love one another, as he gave*

us

us commandment, and he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him, and hereby we know that he abideth in us by the ſpirit which he hath given us. 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7. *And beſides this giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſs, and to godlineſs brotherly kindneſs, and to brotherly kindneſs charity.* Gal. v. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. 1 Theſ. i. 3.

XXIV.

THAT it is the duty of every man and woman, that have repented from dead works, and have faith towards God, to be baptized. *Acts* ii. 38. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins.* Acts viii. 12, 37, 38. *But when they believed* Philip *preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jeſus Chriſt, they were baptized both men and women* —— *And* Philip *ſaid, if thou believeſt with all thine heart, thou mayeſt, and he commanded the chariot to ſtand ſtill, and they went down both into the water, both* Philip *and the Eunuch, and he baptized him:* That is, dipped or buried under the water. *Rom.* vi. 3, 4. *Know ye not, that ſo many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death, therefore we are buried with him by baptiſm into death.* Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptiſm.* In the name of our Lord Jeſus. *Acts* viii. 16. *Only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus.* Or in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Spirit. *Matt.* xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*; therein to ſignify and repreſent a waſhing away of ſin. *Acts* xxii. 16. *Ariſe and be baptized and waſh away thy ſins.* And their death, burial, and reſurrection with Chriſt. *Rom.* vi. 5. *For if we have been planted together in the likeneſs of his death, we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his reſurrection.* Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptiſm, wherein alſo you are riſen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raiſed him from the dead.* And being thus planted in the viſible church or body of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* xii. 3. who are a company of men and women ſeparated out of the world by the preaching of the goſpel. *Acts* ii. 41. *Then they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the ſame day there were added unto them about three thouſand ſouls.* 2 Cor. vi. 17. *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord.* Do walk together in communion in all the commandments of Jeſus. *Acts* ii. 42. *And they continued ſtedfaſtly in the apoſtles doctrine and fellowſhip, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* Wherein God is glorified, and their ſouls comforted. 2 *Theſ.* i. 11, 12. *Wherefore we alſo pray always for you, that our God would count you worthy of this calling, and fulfil the good pleaſure of his goodneſs, and the work of faith with power, that the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt may be glorified in you.* 2 Cor. i. 4. *Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble by the comfort*

fort wherewith we our ſelves are comforted.

XXV.

THAT we believe ſome of thoſe commandments further to be as followeth.

1. CONSTANCY in prayer, *Col.* ii. 23, 24.

2. BREAKING of bread, 1 *Cor.* xi. 23, 24.

3. GIVING of thanks, *Eph.* v. 20.

4. WATCHING over one another, *Heb.* xii. 15.

5. CARING one for another, 1 *Cor.* xii. 25. by viſiting one another, eſpecially in ſickneſs and temptations, *Matt.* xxv. 36.

6. EXHORTING one another, *Heb.* iii. 13.

7. DISCOVERING to each other, and bearing one another's burdens, *Gal.* vi. 2.

8. LOVING one another, *Heb.* xiii. 1.

9. REPROVING when need is one another, *Matt.* xviii. 15.

10. SUBMITTING one to another in the Lord, 1 *Pet.* v. 5.

11. ADMINISTRING one to another according to the gift received, whether it be in ſpirituals, or temporals, 1 *Pet.* iv. 10.

12. THE offender to ſeek reconciliation, as well as the offended, *Matt.* v. 23, 24.

13. LOVE our enemies and perſecutors, and pray for them, *Matt.* v. 44.

14. EVERY one to work if he be able, and none to be idle, 2 *Theſ.* iii. 10, 11, 12.

15. THE women in the church to learn in ſilence, and in all ſubjection, 1 *Tim.* ii. 11. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 37.

16. PRIVATE admonition to a brother offending another; and if not prevailing, to take one or two more; if he hear not them, then

then to tell it to the church; and if he hear not them, to be accounted as an heathen and publican, *Matt.* xviii. 15.

17. PUBLICK rebuke to publick offenders, 1 *Tim.* v. 20.

18. THE brethren in miniſtring forth their gifts, ought to do it decently and in order, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 31, 40.

19. A SPECIAL care to aſſemble together, that their duty to God, and the church, may not be neglected, *Heb.* x. 24, 25.

20. AND all things in the church, done in the name and power of the head, the Lord Chriſt Jeſus, *Col.* iii. 17.

21. THAT in admitting of members into the church of Chriſt, it is the duty of the church, and miniſters whom it concerns, in faithfulneſs to God, that they be careful they receive none but ſuch as do make forth evident demonſtration of the new birth, and the work of faith with power. *John* iii. 3. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God.* Matt. iii. 8, 9. *Bring forth therefore fruits worthy amendment of life.* Acts viii. 37. *And* Philip *ſaid, if thou believeſt with all thy heart, thou mayeſt.* Ezek. xliv. 6, 7. *Let it ſuffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my ſanctuary, ſtrangers uncircumciſed in heart, and uncircumciſed in fleſh, to be in my ſanctuary to pollute it.* Acts ii. 38. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.* 2 Cor. ix. 14. *Be ye not unequally yoked together with the unbelievers, for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs*

teouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs; and what communion hath light with darkneſs. Pſal. xxvi. 4, 5. *I have not ſat with vain perſons, neither will I go in with diſſemblers: I have hated the congregation of evil-doers, and will not ſit with the wicked.* Pſalm ci. 7. *He that worketh deceit, ſhall not dwell within mine houſe.*

XXVI.

THAT thoſe that truly repent, and believe, and are baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus, are in a fit capacity to exerciſe faith, in full aſſurance to receive a greater meaſure of the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. *Acts* ii. 38, 39. *Then* Peter *ſaid unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit; for the promiſe is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God ſhall call.* Eph. i. 13. *In whom ye alſo truſted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the goſpel of your ſalvation, in whom alſo after ye believed ye were ſealed with that Holy Spirit of promiſe.*

Sic Origin.

XXVIII.

THAT it is the duty of the members of Chriſt in the order of the goſpel, tho' in ſeveral congregations and aſſemblies (being one in the head) if occaſion be, to communicate each to other, in things ſpiritual, and things temporal. *Rom.* xv. 26. *For it hath pleaſed them of* Macedonia, *and* Achaia, *to make a certain contribution for the poor ſaints which*

are at Jeruſalem. *Acts* xi. 29. *Then the diſciples every man according to his ability determined to ſend relief unto the brethren which dwelt in* Judea. *Acts* xv. 22. *Then pleaſed it the apoſtles and elders, with the whole church, to ſend choſen men of their own company to* Antioch, *with* Paul *and* Barnabas, *namely* Judas *ſirnamed* Barſabas, *and* Silas *chief among the brethren.* Acts xi. 22. *Then tidings of theſe things came to the ears of the church which was in* Jeruſalem, *and they ſent forth* Barnabas, *that he ſhould go as far as* Antioch.

XXIX.

THAT the Lord Chriſt Jeſus being the foundation and corner ſtone of the goſpel church whereon his apoſtles built. *Eph.* ii. 20. *And are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone.* Heb. ii. 3. He gave them power and abilities to propagate, to plant, to rule and order. *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20. *All power is given me in heaven and in earth, go ye therefore, and teach all nations* in his name. *Luke* x. 16. *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me.* For the benefit of that his body, by which miniſtry he did ſhew forth the exceeding riches of his grace, by his kindneſs towards it in the ages to come, *Eph.* ii. 7. which is according to his promiſe. *Matt.* xxviii. 20. *And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*

XXX.

XXX.

THAT this foundation and miniſtration aforeſaid, is a ſure guide, rule and direction, in the darkeſt time of the anti-chriſtian apoſtacy, or ſpiritual *Babyloniſh* captivity, to direct, inform, and reſtore us in our juſt freedom and liberty, to the right worſhip and order belonging to the church of Jeſus Chriſt. 1 *Tim.* iii. 14, 15. *Theſe things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee ſhortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayeſt know how thou oughteſt to behave thy ſelf in the houſe of God.* 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. *All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works.* John xvii. 20. *Neither pray I for theſe alone, but for them alſo which ſhall believe on me through their word.* Iſa. lix. 21. *As for me, this is my covenant with them, ſaith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeeds ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.* Rev. ii. 24. *But that which ye have already, hold faſt till I come.* Iſa. xl. 21. *Have ye not known? Have ye not heard? Hath it not been told you from the beginning? Have ye not underſtood?* Rev. ii. 5. *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works.* 1 Cor. xiv. 37. *If any man think himſelf to be a prophet, or ſpiritual; let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the command-*

ments of the Lord. Rev. i. 3. *Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this propheſy.* 2 Theſ. iii. 14. *And if any man obey not our word by this epiſtle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be aſhamed.* Rev. ii. 11. *He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit ſaith to the churches.* 1 Pet. i. 25. *But the word of the Lord endureth for ever, and this is the word which by the goſpel is preached unto you.* 1 John iv. 6. *We are of God, he that knoweth God heareth us: Hereby know we the ſpirit of truth, and the ſpirit of error.* 2 Pet. i. 15, 16. *Moreover I will endeavour that you may be able after my deceaſe, to have theſe things always in remembrance, for we have not followed cunningly deviſed fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his Majeſty.* Iſa. lviii. 11, 12. *And they that ſhall be of thee, ſhall build the old waſte places, thou ſhalt raiſe up the foundations of many generations: And thou ſhalt be called the repairer of the breach, the reſtorer of paths to dwell in.* 2 Pet. iii. 2. *That ye may be mindful of the words which were ſpoken by the holy prophets, and of the commandments of us, the apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour.* Iſa. viii. 20.

XXXI.

THAT the church of Jeſus Chriſt with its miniſtry may from among themſelves, make choice of ſuch members, as are fitly gifted and qualified by Chriſt, and approve and ordain ſuch by faſting, prayer, and laying on of hands. *Acts* xiii. 3. *And when they had faſted and prayed, and laid their hands on them.* Acts xiv. 23. *And when they had ordained*

dained them elders in every church, and had prayed with faſting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed. For the performance of the ſeveral duties, whereunto they are called, *Acts* xx. 28. *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 8. 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. *Acts* vi. 3. *Wherefore brethren, look ye out among you ſeven men of honeſt report, full of the Holy Spirit and wiſdom, whom we may appoint over this buſineſs.*

XXXII.

THAT ſuch a miniſtry labouring in the word and doctrine, have a power to receive a livelihood of their brethren, whoſe duty it is to provide a comfortable ſubſiſtance for them, if they be able, to whom for Chriſt's ſake they are ſervants. 1 *Cor.* ix. 4, 7. 1 *Tim.* v. 17, 18. *Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, eſpecially they which labour in the word and doctrine; for the ſcripture ſaith, thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn: And the labourer is worthy of his hire.* Yet it is commendable in caſes of neceſſity, for them, for example ſake, and that they may be able to ſupport the weak, to labour and work with their hands. *Acts* xx. 24, 25. *Ye your ſelves know that theſe hands have miniſtred unto my neceſſities, and to them that were with me, I have ſhewed you all things, how that ſo labouring ye ought to ſupport the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jeſus, how he ſaid, it is more bleſſed to give than to receive.*

XXXIII.

THAT the authority of Chriſt in an orderly miniſtry in his church, is to be ſubmitted unto. *Heb.* xiii. 17. *Obey them that have rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your ſouls.* 2 Theſ. iii. 14. *And if any man obey not our word by this epiſtle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be aſhamed.*

XXXIV.

THAT as it is an ordinance of Chriſt, ſo it is the duty of his church in his authority, to ſend forth ſuch brethren as are fitly gifted and qualified through the Spirit of Chriſt to preach the goſpel to the world. *Acts* xiii. 1, 2, 3. *The Holy Spirit ſaid, ſeparate me* Barnabas *and* Saul, *for the work whereunto I have called them, and when they had faſted and prayed, they ſent them away.* Acts xi. 22. *and* viii. 14.

XXXV.

THAT it is the duty of us believing *Gentiles*, not to be ignorant of that blindneſs that yet lieth on *Iſrael*, that none of us may boaſt. *Rom.* xi. 25. *For I would not, brethren, that you ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery, leſt you ſhould be wiſe in your own conceit, that blindneſs in part is happened to* Iſrael, *until the fulneſs of the* Gentiles *be come in.* But to have bowels of love and compaſſion to them, praying for them. *Rom.* x. 1. *Brethren, my hearts deſire and prayer to God for* Iſrael *is, that they might be ſaved.* Expecting their calling, and ſo much the rather, becauſe

cauſe their converſion will be to us life from the dead. *Rom.* xi. 15. *For if the caſting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what ſhall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead.*

XXXVI.

THAT it is the will of the Lord, and it is given to the ſaints not only to believe in him, but to ſuffer for his name. *John* xvi. 13. *In the world ye ſhall have tribulation.* Phil. i. 26. *For unto you it is given in behalf of Chriſt, not only to believe on him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake.* And ſo to paſs through many tribulations into the kingdom of God. *Acts* xiv. 22. *Confirming the ſouls of the diſciples, and exhorting to continue in the faith, and that we muſt through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* 2 Tim. iii. 12. *Yea, and all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* 2 Tim. ii. 12. *If we ſuffer we ſhall alſo reign with him; if we deny him, he will alſo deny us.*

XXXVII.

THAT the angels of the Lord are miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth for the good of thoſe that ſhall be the heirs of ſalvation. *Heb.* i. 14. *Are they not all miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation.* Pſal. xci. 11, 12. *For he ſhall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, they ſhall bear thee up in their hands, leſt thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.* Acts xxvii. 23. *For there ſtood by me this night, the angel of God, whoſe I am, and whom I ſerve, ſaying, fear not* Paul. Luke xxii. 43. *And*

there appeared unto him an angel from heaven ſtrengthening him.

XXXVIII.

THAT the wicked angels. *Pſal.* lxxviii. 49. *He caſt upon them the fierceneſs of his anger, wrath and indignation, and trouble, by ſending evil angels among them.* Kept not their firſt eſtate in which they were created. *Jude* 6. *And the angels which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains.* The prince of whom is called the devil. *Matt.* viii. 28. *And when he was come to the other ſide into the country of the* Gergeſenes *there met him two poſſeſſed with devils.* And the great dragon, and the old ſerpent, and ſatan. *Rev.* xii. 9. *And the great dragon was caſt out, that old ſerpent called the devil, and ſatan.* And the accuſer of our brethren, *Rev.* xii. 10. *And I heard a loud voice in heaven, ſaying, now is come ſalvation, for the accuſer of our brethren is caſt down.* And the prince of this world. *John* xiv. 30. *Hereafter I will not talk much with you, for the prince of this world cometh.* And a prince that ruleth in the air. A ſpirit working in the children of diſobedience. *Eph.* ii. 2. *Wherein in times paſt ye walked according to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the ſpirit that now worketh in the children of diſobedience.* And our adverſary. 1 *Pet.* v. 8. *Be ſober, be vigilant, becauſe your adverſary the devil as a roaring lion walketh about ſeeking whom he may devour.* Whoſe children the wicked are. *Matt.* xiii. 39. John viii. 44. *The tares are the children of the wicked one, the enemy that ſowed them is the devil.* To him

we

we ought not to give place, *Eph.* iv. 27. Whoſe power Chriſt hath overcome for us. *Heb.* ii. 14. *For as much then as the children are partakers of fleſh and blood, he alſo himſelf likewiſe took part of the ſame, that through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil.* And for him and his angels everlaſting fire is prepared. *Matt.* xxv. 41. *Then ſhall he ſay unto them on the left hand, depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.*

XXXIX.

THAT it is our aſſured expectation, grounded upon promiſes, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall the ſecond time appear without ſin unto ſalvation, unto his people, to raiſe and change the vile bodies of all his ſaints, to faſhion them like unto his glorious body, and ſo to reign with him, and judge over all nations on the earth in power and glory. *Phil.* iii. 20, 21. *For our converſation is in heaven, from whence alſo we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile body, that it may be faſhioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to ſubdue all things unto himſelf.* Heb. ix. 28. *And unto them that look for him ſhall he appear the ſecond time without ſin unto ſalvation.* Acts iii. 19, 20, 21. *That your ſins may be blotted out, when the time of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord. And he ſhall ſend Jeſus Chriſt, which before was preached unto you, whom the heaven muſt receive until the times of reſtitution of all things, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets ſince the world began.*

Matt.

Matt. xix. 28. *And Jeſus ſaid unto them, verily I ſay unto you, that ye that have followed me in the regeneration, when the ſon of man ſhall ſit on the throne of his glory, ye ſhall alſo ſit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of* Iſrael. *Rev.* ii. 26, 27. *And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron, as the veſſels of a potter ſhall they be broken to ſhivers, even as I received of my Father.* 1 Cor. vi. 2. *Do ye not know that the ſaints ſhall judge the world.* Pſal. lxxii. 8, 11. *He ſhall have dominion alſo from ſea to ſea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth; yea, all kings ſhall fall down before him, all nations ſhall ſerve him.* Dan. vii. 27. *And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt high: Whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all dominions ſhall ſerve and obey him,* Zach. xiv. 9. *And the Lord ſhall be king over all the earth. In that day ſhall there be one Lord, and his name one.* Pſal. ii. 8, 9. *Aſk of me and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt part of the earth for thy poſſeſſion; thou ſhalt break them with a rod of iron; thou ſhalt daſh them in peices like a potters veſſel.* Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. *Behold the day is come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto* David *a righteous branch, and a king ſhall reign and proſper, and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice in the earth. In his days* Judah *ſhall be ſaved, and* Iſrael *ſhall dwell ſafely: And this is his name whereby he ſhall be called, The Lord our righteouſneſs.* Ezek. xxi. 26, 27. *Thus ſaith the Lord God, remove the diadem and take off*

off the crown, this ſhall not be the ſame; exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high; I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it ſhall be no more until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him. Iſa. xxxii. 1. *Behold a king ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and princes ſhall rule in judgment.* Rev. xi. 15. *And the ſeventh angel ſounded, and there were great voices in heaven ſaying, the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.* Pſal. lxxxii. 8. *Ariſe, O God, judge the earth, for thou ſhalt inherit all nations.* Rev. v. 9, 10. *And they ſung a new ſong, ſaying, thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the ſeals thereof, for thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation, and haſt made us unto our God kings and prieſts, and we ſhall reign on the earth.* Rev. xx. 6. *Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection, on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power, but they ſhall be prieſts of God, and of Chriſt, and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.*

XL.

THAT there is a day appointed, when the Lord ſhall raiſe the unjuſt as well as the righteous, and judge them all in righteouſneſs. *John* v. 28, 29. *Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves ſhall hear his voice, and ſhall come forth, they that have done good, unto the reſurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the reſurrection of damnation.* Acts xxiv. 15. *And have hope towards God, which they themſelves alſo allow, that there ſhall be a reſurrection of the dead, both of the juſt and unjuſt.*

(But

(But every man in his own order.) 1 *Cor.* xv. 23. 1 *Theſ.* iv. 16. Taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe puniſhment will be everlaſting deſtruction from the preſence of the Lord. 2 *Theſ.* i. 7, 8, 9, 10. *Jude* 14, 15. *And* Enoch *alſo, the ſeventh from* Adam, *propheſied of theſe, ſaying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his ſaints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt him.* Rev. xx. 11, 12, 13, 14. *And I ſaw a great white throne, and him that ſat on it, from whoſe face the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I ſaw the dead ſmall and great ſtand before God, and the books were opened, and another book was opened which is the book of life, and the dead were judged of thoſe things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the ſea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them, and they were judged every man according to their works, and death and hell were caſt into the lake of fire; this is the ſecond death, and whoſoever was not found written in the book of life was caſt into the lake of fire.*

XLI.

THAT there is a place into which the Lord will gather all his elect, to enjoy him for ever, uſually in ſcripture called heaven. 2 *Cor.* v. 1. *For we know, that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were, diſſolved we have a build-*

building of God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. John xiv. 2,3. *In my father's houſe are many manſions; if it were not ſo I would have told you; I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my ſelf, that where I am there ye may be alſo.*

XLII.

THAT there is a place into which the Lord will caſt the devil, his angels and wicked men, to be tormented for ever, from his preſence and the glory of his power, uſually in ſcripture called hell. *Mark* ix. 43, 44, 45. *And if thy hand offend thee cut it off, it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, to go to hell, into the fire that never ſhall be quenched, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend thee cut it off, it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be caſt into hell, into the fire that ſhall never be quenched.* Pſalm ix. 17. *The wicked ſhall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.* Matt. xxv. 41. *Then ſhall he ſay alſo to them on the left hand, depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.* Matt. x. 28. *And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him, which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell.* Matt. xxiii. 33. *Ye ſerpents; ye generation of vipers; how can ye eſcape the damnation of hell.* Luke x. 15. *And thou* Capernaum, *which art exalted to heaven, ſhalt be thruſt down*

down to hell. Luke xvi. 23. *And in hell he lift up his eyes being in torment.*

XLIII.

THAT it is both the duty and privilege of the church of Chriſt (till his coming again) in their fellowſhip together in the ordinances of Chriſt, to enjoy, prize, and preſs after, fellowſhip through and in the Spirit with the Lord, and each with other. *Acts* ii. 42. *And they continued ſtedfaſtly in the apoſtles doctrine and fellowſhip, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.* 1 Cor. xi. 26. *For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do ſhew the Lord's death till he come.* Eph. ii. 21, 22. *In whom all the building fitly framed, groweth unto an holy temple, in whom alſo ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* Eph. iv. 3, 4, 5, 6. *Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one ſpirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, and one baptiſm, one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.* 1 Cor. xii. 13. *For by one ſpirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be* Jews *or* Gentiles, *whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one ſpirit. Now ye are the body of Chriſt and members in particular.* Eph. iii. 9. *And to make all men ſee, what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt.* Col. ii. 2. *That their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto the riches of the full aſſurance of underſtanding,*

derſtanding, to the acknowledgment of the myſtery of God, and of the Father, and of Chriſt. Which we believe to be attained through the exerciſe of faith, in the death, reſurrection, and life of Chriſt, 2 *Cor.* v. 14, 15, 16. *For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us, becauſe we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead, that they which live ſhould not henceforth live unto themſelves, but unto him which died for them, and roſe again, wherefore henceforth know we no man after the fleſh, yea though we have known Chriſt after the fleſh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.* Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptiſm, wherein ye alſo are riſen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raiſed him from the dead.* Phil. iii. 9, 10, 11. *And be found in him, not having mine own righteouſneſs, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God by faith, that I may know him and the power of his reſurrection, and the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the reſurrection of the dead.* 1 Pet. ii. 5. *Ye alſo as lively ſtones, are built up a ſpiritual houſe, an holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice, acceptable to God by Jeſus Chriſt.*

XLIV.

THAT the miniſtry of civil juſtice (being for the praiſe of them that do well, and puniſhment of evil-doers) is an ordinance of God, and that it is the duty of the ſaints to be ſubject thereunto not only for fear, but for conſcience ſake. *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *Let every*

every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God, whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation, for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power, do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame; for he is the miniſter of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the ſword in vain, for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil; wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. *Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* And that for ſuch, prayers and ſupplications are to be made by the ſaints. 1 *Tim.* ii. 1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that firſt of all, ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.*

XLV.

THAT nothing doth come to paſs by fortune or chance, but all things are diſpoſed by the hand of God, and all for good to his people. *Gen.* xlv. 5. *Now therefore be not grieved nor angry with your ſelves, that ye ſold me hither, for God did ſend me before you*

to preſerve Life, Gen. l. 20. *But as for you, ye thought evil againſt me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to paſs as it is this day, to ſave much people alive*, Rom. viii. 28. *And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are the called, according to his purpoſe*, Eph. i. 11. *In whom alſo we have obtained an inheritance, being predeſtinated according to the purpoſe of him, who worketh all things after the counſel of his own will*, Job xiv. 5. *Are not his days determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou haſt appointed his bounds which he cannot paſs*, Iſa. iv. 5, 7. *I form the light, and create darkneſs; I make peace and create evil; I the Lord doth all theſe things.*

XLVI.

AND that a church ſo believing, and ſo walking, though deſpiſed, and of low eſteem, is no leſs in the account of her Lord and King, than though

BLACK, yet comely, *Cant.* i. 5.
FAIREST, without ſpot, *Cant.* iv. 7.
PRECIOUS, *Iſa.* xliii. 4.
BEAUTIFUL, *Cant.* vii. 1.
HOLY, without blemiſh, *Eph.* v. 27.
PLEASANT, *Cant.* i. 15.
WHOSE ſoul loveth Chriſt, *Cant.* i. 7.
RUNNERS after Chriſt, *Cant.* i. 4.
HONOURABLE, *Iſa.* xliii. 4.
THE deſire of Chriſt, *Cant.* vii. 10.
COMPLEAT in Chriſt, *Col.* ii. 10.
LOVERS of the Father, *John* xvi. 27.
THE bleſſed of the Father, *Matt.* xxv. 34.
KEPT by the Lord, 1 *Pet.* i. 5. *Iſa.* xxvii. 3.

GRAVEN on the palms of his hands, *Iſa.* xlix. 16.

TENDER to the Lord as the apple of his eye, *Zach.* ii. 8.

TAUGHT of the Lord, *Iſa.* liv. 13.

ONE that hath obtained mercy, 1 *Pet.* ii. 10.

ONE that hath a redemption, *Eph.* i. 7.

THE gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it, *Matt.* xvi. 18.

IN *that church be glory unto God by Jeſus Chriſt, throughout all ages, world without end.* Amen. *Eph.* iii. 21.

NUMB. IV.

Some parts of a CONFESSION *of* FAITH, *publiſhed by certain perſons, termed Anabaptiſts, about the Year* 1611.

THOUGH the Confeſſion of Faith publiſhed by ſeven congregations in *London*, in the year 1644. appears to have been the firſt that has been put forth by the Calviniſtical Baptiſts; yet there were ſome who, for their rejecting infant-baptiſm, were called Anabaptiſts, that, long before this, publiſhed, in certain concluſions, the articles of their Faith. They appear to be ſuch as rejected the groſſer errors charged on the Anabaptiſts, but retained ſome of the *Arminian* Doctrines.

IT

IT came out in the reign of King *James* I. about the year 1611; and in 1614 Mr. *Robinſon*, paſtor of the *Engliſh* church at *Leyden*, printed ſome remarks upon it, and ſays it was publiſhed by the remainder of Mr. *Smith*'s company. We have none of its articles but from him: and he has pick'd out all thoſe paſſages, which to him appeared either dark or erroneous; and ſays of the reſt, he found it agreeable to the ſcriptures, ſo that what we have is only the worſt parts of it.

Concluſion 7. THAT to underſtand and conceive of God in the mind, is not the ſaving knowledge of God; but to be like to God in his effects and properties, to be made conformable to his divine and heavenly attributes, this is the true ſaving knowledge of God, whereunto we ought to give all diligence. 2 Cor. iii. 18. Mat. v. 48. 2 Pet. i. 4.

9. THAT God, before the foundation of the world, did foreſee and determine the iſſue and event of all his works. Acts xv. 8.

10. THAT God is not the author or worker of ſin; though he did foreſee and determine what evil the free will of men and angels would do; yet he gives no influence, inſtinct, motion or inclination to the leaſt ſin.

16. THAT *Adam* died the ſame day that he ſinned; for that the reward of ſin is death: and that his death was loſs of innocency, peace of conſcience, and comfortable preſence. Gen. ii. 17. Rom. vi. 13.

17. THAT *Adam* being fallen, did not loſe any natural power or faculty, which God created in his ſoul; becauſe the work of the Devil, which is ſin, cannot aboliſh God's works Gen. iii. 23, 24.

works and creatures; and therefore being fallen, he ſtill retained freedom of will.

Ezek. xviii. 20. Gen. ii. 17. Heb. xii 9.

18. That original ſin is an idle term; and that there is no ſuch thing as men intend by the word, becauſe God threatned death only to *Adam*, not to his poſterity, and becauſe God createth the ſoul.

Apoc. xiii. 8.

19. That if orginal ſin might have paſſed from *Adam* to his poſterity, yet is the iſſue thereof ſtayed by Chriſt's death, which was effectual, and he the lamb of God ſlain from the beginning of the world.

Gen. v. 2, & i. 27. 1 Cor. xv. 49. Rom. iv. 15. —— v. 13. Mat. xiii. 9. Neh. viii. 3. 1 Cor. xv. 49.

20. That infants are conceived and born in innocency, without ſin, and therefore they are all undoubtedly ſaved: where there is no law there is no tranſgreſſion: now the law was not given to infants, but to them that could underſtand.

21. That all actual ſinners bear the image of the firſt *Adam* in his innocency, fall, and reſtitution, in the offer of grace, and ſo paſs under this threefold eſtate.

Gen. iii. 8, 15. John iii. 16.

22. That *Adam* being fallen, God did not hate him, but love ſtill, and ſought his good; neither doth he hate any man, that falleth with *Adam*; but that he loveth mankind, and from his love ſent his only begotten Son to ſave that which was loſt.

Iſa. v. 4. Ezek. xviii. 23, 32. and xxxiii. 11. Luke xiii. 6, 9.

23. That God never forſaketh the creature till there be no remedy; neither doth he caſt away his innocent creature from all eternity; but caſteth away men irrecoverable in ſin.

Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Gen. i. 21, 15, 49. and v. 3.

24. That as there is in all creatures an inclination to their young, to do them good, ſo in the Lord towards man infinitely; who therefore doth not create, or predeſtinate any

to deſtruction, no more than a father begets his child to the gallows.

26. THAT God hath determined before the world, that the way of ſalvation ſhould be by Chriſt, and foreſeen who would follow it; and alſo who would follow the way of infidelity and impenitency. Eph. i. 4, 5. 2 Tim. i. 9. Jude 4.

27. THAT as God created all men according to his image, ſo hath he redeemed all that fall by actual ſin, to the ſame end; and that God, in his redemption, hath not ſwerved from his mercy, which he manifeſted in his creation. John i. 3, 16. 2 Cor. v. 19. 1 Tim. ii. 6. Ezek. iii. 3 John xvi.

28. GOD, in love to his enemies, gave Chriſt to die, and ſo bought them that deny him. Rom. v. 8. 2 Pet. ii. 2.

30. THAT Chriſt is become the mediator of the new covenant, and prieſt of the church, and hath eſtabliſh'd this new covenant in his blood.

31. THAT the ſacrifice of Chriſt's body and blood, offer'd unto God his Father upon the croſs, though a ſacrifice of ſweet ſavour, and that God be well pleaſed in him, doth not reconcile God unto us, who did never hate us, nor was our enemy, but reconcileth us unto God, and ſlayeth the enmity and hatred which is in us againſt God. 2 Cor. v. 19. Eph. ii. 14, 16. Rom. i. 30.

35. THAT the efficacy of Chriſt's death is only derived to them, which mortify their ſins, believe, *&c.*

56, 57, and 58. are concerning faith, repentance, and regeneration, and are ſaid to contain theſe erroneous aſſertions. That the new creature followeth repentance: That repentance goeth before faith: That man hath power to reject or receive the motions of Luke xiii. 6 Mat. xxiii. 37. Acts vii. 51. and vi. 10.

God's Spirit. That the new creature is part of our Juſtification before God *.

* *This laſt ſentence is not all in Italic, as thoſe are which are their own words.*

James i. 15. 1 Pet. i. 23.

59. THAT God doth not, in our regeneration, uſe the help of any creature; nor doth it by the doctrine of faith and repentance, but immediately in the ſoul.

1 Cor. xiii. 10. 1 John ii. 27. 2 Pet. i. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Eph. iv. 12, 13.

60, 61, 62, 63. THAT the new creature, which is begotten of God, needeth not the outward ſcriptures, creatures, or ordinances of the church to ſupport him, but is above them; ſeeing he hath in himſelf three witneſſes, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt; which are better than all ſcriptures or creatures: though ſuch as have not attained the new creature need them for inſtruction, comfort, and to ſtir them up.

64. THAT the outward and viſible church conſiſts of penitent perſons, and believing only; and that ſuch only are to be baptized.

Rev. i. 10, & xxi. 2, 13, 27

65. THE viſible church is a figure of the inviſible; and the inviſible conſiſts only of the ſpirits of juſt and perfect men.

67. THAT there is a root of ſin yet abiding in us, which we cannot pluck up out of our hearts.

74. THAT the ſacraments have the ſame uſe that the word hath, and teach to the eye of them that underſtand, as the word teaches the ears of them that have ears to hear; and that therefore they pertain no more to infants than the word doth.

Prov. ii. 12.

82. THAT there is no ſucceſſion in that outward church, but that all the ſucceſſion is from heaven, and that the new creature only hath the thing ſignified, and ſubſtance; whereof

Col. ii. 16, 17

the

the outward church and ordinances are ſhadows.

83. THE office of the magiſtrate is a permiſſive ordinance of God, *&c.*

85. THAT Chriſt's diſciples muſt love their enemies, and not kill them; pray for them, and not puniſh them, *&c.* And Chriſt's diſciples muſt, with him, be perſecuted, afflicted, murder'd, *&c.* and that by the authority of the magiſtrate.

THAT the magiſtrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conſcience, nor to compel men to this or that form of religion; becauſe Chriſt is the King and Lawgiver of the church and conſcience. James iv. 12

Laſtly, THAT Chriſtians muſt judge all their cauſes of difference among themſelves; and may not go to law before magiſtrates, nor uſe an oath. 1 Cor. vi. 1, 7. Mat. v. 34, 27. James v. 12.



NUMB. V.

The ADDRESS *of the* Anabaptiſts *to King* Charles II. *before his Reſtauration, with their* Propoſitions *annexed, and the* Letter *ſent along with it to his Majeſty, then at* Bruges, *in the year* 1657-8.

Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Folio Edit.* 1719. *Vol.* III. *p.* 359.

To his moſt Excellent Majeſty, Charles *the Second, King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

The humble ADDRESS *of the Subſcribers, in the behalf of themſelves, and many thouſands more, your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful ſubjects.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WHEN we ſit down and recount the wonderful and unheard of diſpenſations of God amongſt us; when we call to our remembrances the tragical actions and tranſactions of theſe late times; when we ſeriouſly conſider the dark and myſterious effects of providence, the unexpected diſappointment of counſels, the ſtrange and ſtrong convulſions of ſtate, the various and violent motions and commotions of the people, the many changes, turnings and overturnings of governors and governments, which, in the revolution of a few years, have been produced in this land of miracles, we cannot but be even

even ſwallowed up in aſtoniſhment, and are conſtrained to command an unwilling ſilence upon our ſometimes mutinous, and over enquiring hearts, reſolving all into the good will and pleaſure of that all diſpoſing one, whoſe wiſdom is unſearchable, and whoſe ways are paſt finding out.

But although it is, and we hope ever will be, far from us, either peeviſhly, or preſumptouſly, to kick againſt the irreſiſtible decrees of heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm deſigns of ours, to give an interruption to that over-ruling divine hand, which ſteers and guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country; and ſince it is our lot (we may ſay our unhappineſs) to be embarked in a ſhip-wreck'd common-wealth (which, like a poor weather beaten pinnace, has for ſo long a time, been toſſed upon the waves and billows of faction, ſplit upon the rocks of violence, and is now almoſt quite devoured in the quickſands of ambition) what can we do more worthy of *Engliſh-men*, as we are by nation, or of *Chriſtians*, as we are by profeſſion, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and to try if it be the will of our God, that ſuch weak inſtruments as we, may be in any meaſure helpful to bring it at laſt into the ſafe and quiet harbour of juſtice and righteouſneſs.

To this undertaking, though too great for us, we are apt to think our ſelves ſo much the more ſtrongly engaged, by how much the more

more we are ſenſible, that as our ſins have been the greateſt cauſes, ſo our many follies and imprudences have not been the leaſt means of giving both birth and growth to thoſe many miſeries and calamities, which we, together with three once moſt flouriſhing kingdoms, do at this day ſadly groan under.

It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleaſing unto us; nor can we believe it will be grateful to your Majeſty, that we ſhould recur to the beginning, riſe, and root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your royal father and the parliament. In ſuch a diſcourſe as this, we may ſeem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afreſh, than to endeavour the curing of them; yet, foraſmuch as we do profeſs that we come not with corroſives, but with balſoms, and that our deſire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar, but oil into the wounds, we hope your Majeſty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and diſcover our own paſt errors the more clearly.

In what poſture the affairs of theſe nations ſtood, before the noiſe of drums and trumpets diſturbed the ſweet harmony that was amongſt us, is not unknown to your Majeſty: That we were bleſt with a long peace, and together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, muſt ever be acknowledged with thankfulneſs to God, the author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of thoſe princes, your father and grandfather, by the propitious

ous influence of whoſe care and wiſdom we thus flouriſhed. But as it is obſerved in natural bodies, idleneſs, and fulneſs of diet, do, for the moſt part, lay the foundation of thoſe maladies, and ſecretly nouriſh thoſe diſeaſes which can hardly be expelled by the aſſiſtance of the moſt skilful phyſician, and ſeldom without the uſe of the moſt loathſome medicines; nay, ſometimes not without the hazardous trial of the moſt dangerous experiments; ſo did we find it by ſad experience, to be in this great body politick. It cannot be denied but the whole common-wealth was faint, the whole nation ſick, the whole body out of order, every member thereof feeble, and every part thereof languiſhing. And in this ſo general and univerſal a diſtemper, that there ſhould be no weakneſs nor infirmity, no unſoundneſs in the head, cannot well be imagin'd. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs; but, in general, we may ſay, and we think it will gain the eaſy aſſent of all men, that there were many errors, many defects, many exceſſes, many irregularities, many illegal and excentrical proceedings (ſome of which were in matters of the higheſt and greateſt concernments) manifeſtly appearing as blots and ſtains upon the otherwiſe good government of the late King. That theſe proceeded from the pravity of his own diſpoſition, or from principles of tyranny, radicated and implanted in his own nature, we do not ſee how it can be aſſerted without apparent injury to the truth; it being confeſſed, even by his moſt peeviſh enemies, that he was a gentleman, as of the moſt

ſtrong

ſtrong and perfect intellectuals, ſo of the beſt and pureſt morals of any prince that ever ſwayed the *Engliſh* ſcepter. This the then parliament being ſenſible of, and deſirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their ſovereign, to diſpenſe and diſpel thoſe black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might ſhine the more glorious in the beauty of his own luſtre, thought themſelves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem, and reſcue him from the violent and ſtrong impulſes of his evil counſellors; who did captivate him at their pleaſures to their own corrupt luſts; and did every day thruſt him into actions prejudicial to himſelf, and deſtructive to the common good and ſafety of the people: Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at firſt invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cauſe to conclude from what we have ſince ſeen acted, that under thoſe plauſible and guilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were ſecretly managed the helliſh deſigns of wicked, vile and ambitious perſons (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, providence, and the ſeries of things, have ſince diſcover'd to us) yet we bleſs God, that we went out in the ſimplicity of our ſouls, aiming at nothing more but what was publickly owned in the face of the ſun; and that we were ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of caſting off our allegiance to his Majeſty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the leaſt intentions of ſo much as abridging him of any of his juſt prerogatives, but only of reſtraining thoſe exceſſes of government, for the future, which were nothing

thing but the excreſcencies of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens than ornaments of his royal diadem.

THESE things, Sir, we are bold to make recital of to your Majeſty; not that we ſuppoſe your Majeſty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own, and the nation's misfortunes; but like poor wilder'd travellers, perceiving that we have loſt our way, we are neceſſitated, though with tired and irkſome ſteps, thus to walk the ſame ground over again, that we may diſcover where it was that we firſt turned aſide, and may inſtitute a more proſperous courſe in the progreſs of our journey. Thus far we can ſay, we have gone right, keeping the road of honeſty and ſincerity; and having yet done nothing, but what we think we are able to juſtify; not by thoſe weak and beggerly arguments, drawn either from ſucceſs, which is the ſame to the juſt and to the unjuſt, or from the ſilence and ſatisfaction of a becalmed conſcience, which is more often the effect of blindneſs than virtue, but from the ſure, ſafe, ſound, and unerring maxims of law, juſtice, reaſon and righteouſneſs.

IN all the reſt of our motions ever ſince, to this very day, we muſt confeſs, we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden paths of Fanatick and Enthuſiaſtick notions; till now, at laſt, but too late, we find our ſelves intricated and involved in ſo many windings, laberinths, and meanders of knavery,

very, that nothing but a divine clew of thread, handed to us from heaven, can be ſufficient to extricate us, and reſtore us. We know not, we know not, whether we have juſter matter of ſhame or ſorrow adminiſter'd to us, when we take a reflex view of our paſt actions, and conſider, into the commiſſion of what crimes, impieties, wickedneſſes, and unheard of villanies, we have been led, cheated, couſen'd, and betrayed by that grand impoſtor, that loathſome hypocrite, that deteſtable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that opprobium of mankind, that landſkip of iniquity, that ſink of ſin, and that compendium of baſeneſs, who now calls himſelf our protector. What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either helliſh policy was able to contrive, or brutiſh power to execute? We have trampled under foot all authorities; we have laid violent hands upon our own ſovereign; we have raviſhed our parliaments; we have deflower'd the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of our own countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bulwarks of the people's ſafety; we have broken often repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, proteſtations; we have betrayed our truſts; we have violated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceitfully; and that theſe our ſins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding ſinful, we have added hypocriſy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious ſtrumpet, wiped our mouths, and boaſted *that we have done no evil:* But in the midſt of all our abominations (ſuch as are too bad to be named amongſt

amongſt the worſt of Heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough to ſay, Let the Lord be glorified: let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted: let his kingdom be advanced: let the goſpel be propagated: let the ſaints be dignified: let righteouſneſs be eſtabliſhed: *Pudet hæc opprobia nobis aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe refelli.*

Will not the holy one of *Iſrael* viſit? will not the righteous one puniſh? will not he, who is the true and faithful one, be avenged for ſuch things as theſe? will he not, nay, has he not already come forth as a ſwift witneſs againſt us? has he not whet his ſword? has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has he not already begun to ſhoot his arrows at us? who is ſo blind as not to ſee, that the hand of the Almighty is upon us? and that his anger waxes hotter and hotter againſt us? how have our hopes been blaſted? how have our expectations been diſappointed? how have our ends been fruſtrated? All thoſe pleaſant goards, under which we were ſometimes ſolacing and careſſing our ſelves, how are they periſhed in a moment? how are they withered in a night; how are they vaniſhed and come to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We have ſown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have ſown faction, and have reaped confuſion; we have ſown folly, and we have reaped deceit; when we looked for liberty, behold ſlavery; when we expected righteouſneſs, behold oppreſſion; when we ſought for juſtice, behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry, throughout the whole nation.

EVERY

EVERY man's hand is upon his loins, every one complaining, ſighing, mourning, lamenting and ſaying, I am pained, I am pained! pain, and anguiſh, and ſorrow, and perplexity of ſpirit has taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in travail; ſurely we may take up the lamentation of the prophet, concerning this the land of our nativity. How does *England* ſit ſolitary? how is ſhe become as a widow? ſhe that was great amongſt the nations, and princeſs among the provinces, how is ſhe now become tributary? ſhe weepeth ſore in the night, her tears are on her cheeks; amongſt all her lovers, ſhe hath none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherouſly with her, they are become her enemies: ſhe lifted up her voice in the ſtreets; ſhe crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the places of chief concourſe; ſhe ſitteth, and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition: is it nothing to you all ye that paſs by? Behold and ſee, if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which is due unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my tranſgreſſions is bound by his hands; they are wreathed and come up upon my neck: he hath made my ſtrength to fall; the Lord hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to riſe up. The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men, in the midſt of me: he hath called an aſſembly to cruſh my young men: he hath trodden me as in a wine preſs: all that paſs clap their hands at me; they hiſs and wag their heads at me, ſaying, Is this the nation that men call the perfection of beauty, the

joy

joy of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened their mouths againſt me; they hiſs and gnaſh their teeth; they ſay, we have ſwallowed her up. Certainly this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we have ſeen it.

How are our bowels troubled? How are our hearts ſadned? How are our ſouls afflicted, whilſt we hear the groans, whilſt we ſee the deſolation of our dear country? It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that *Sion* ſhould lie any longer in the duſt. But alas! what ſhall we do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were ſometimes wiſe to pull down, but we now want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill to plant; we were ſtrong to deſtroy, but we are weak to reſtore. Whether ſhall we go for help? Or to whom ſhall we addreſs our ſelves for relief? If we ſay, we will have recourſe to parliament, and they ſhall ſave us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds ſhaken with the wind, they cannot ſave themſelves. If we turn to the army, and ſay, they are bone of our bone, and fleſh of our fleſh, it may be, they will at laſt have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruiſe us, rather than a ſtaff of ſtrength to ſupport us. If we go to him, who hath treacherouſly uſurped, and does tyrannically exerciſe an unjuſt power over us, and ſay to him, free us from this yoke, for it oppreſſeth us, and from theſe burthens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers were ever able to bear; behold, in the pride and haughtineſs of his ſpirit, he anſwers us, you are factious, you

are factious: If your burthens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier: If I have hitherto chaſtiſed you with whips, I will henceforward chaſtiſe you with ſcorpions.

THUS do we fly like partridges hunted from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no reſt; we look this way and that way, but there is none to ſave, none to deliver. At laſt we begun to whiſper, and but to whiſper only, among our ſelves; ſaying one to another, why ſhould we not return to our firſt husband? Surely it will be better with us then, than it is now. At the firſt ſtarting of this queſtion amongſt us, many doubts, many fears, many jealouſies, many ſuſpicions did ariſe within us. We were conſcious to our ſelves, that we had dealt unkindly with him; that we had treacherouſly forſaken him; that we had defiled our ſelves with other lovers; and that our filthineſs was ſtill upon our skirts. Therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us? Or if he does receive us, how can he love us? How can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him? How can he forget the unkindneſs we have ſhewn unto him in the day of his diſtreſs.

WE muſt confeſs (for we come not to deceive your Majeſty, but to ſpeak the truth in ſimplicity) that theſe cowardly apprehenſions did for a while make ſome ſtrong impreſſions upon us, and had almoſt frighted us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vaniſhed, and gave place to the

more noble and heroic conſiderations of common good, publick ſafety, the honour, peace, welfare, and proſperity of theſe nations; all which we are perſwaded, and do find, though by too late experience, are as inſeparably, and as naturally bound up in your Majeſty, as heat in fire, or light in the ſun. Contemning therefore, and diſdaining the mean and low thoughts of our own private ſafety (which we have no cauſe to deſpair of, having to deal with ſo good and ſo gracious a prince) we durſt not allow of any longer debate about matters of perſonal concernments; but did think our ſelves engaged in duty, honour and conſcience, to make this our humble addreſs unto your Majeſty, and to leave our ſelves at the feet of your mercy: Yet, leſt we ſhould ſeem to be altogether negligent of that firſt good, though ſince diſhonoured cauſe, which God has ſo eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the ſecurity of thoſe, who, together with our ſelves, being carried away with the deluſive and hypocritical pretence of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciouſly, been drawn into a concurrence with thoſe actions which may render them juſtly obnoxious to your Majeſty's indignation. We have preſumed, in all humility, to offer unto your Majeſty theſe few propoſitions hereunto annexed; to which, if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed graciouſly to condeſcend, we do ſolemnly proteſt in the preſence of Almighty God, before whoſe tribunal we know we muſt one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is

dear unto us, for the reſtoring, and re-eſtabliſhing your Majeſty in the throne of your Father; and that we will never be wanting, in a ready and willing compliance to your Majeſty's commands, to approve our ſelves

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

moſt faithful, and moſt devoted

Subjects and Servants,

W. Howard,
Ralph Jennings,
Edw. Penkaruan,
John Hedworth,
John Sturgion,
John Wildman,
John Aumigeu,
Randolph Hedworth,
Thomas ——
Richard Reynolds.

THE earneſt deſires of the ſubſcribers, in all humility preſented to your Majeſty, in theſe following propoſals, in order to an happy, ſpeedy, and well grounded peace in theſe your Majeſty's dominions:

1. FORASMUCH as the parliament, called and convened by the authority of his late Majeſty, your royal Father, in the year 1640. was never legally diſſolved, but did continue their ſitting until the year 1648. at which time, the army violently and treaſonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever ſince given a continued interruption to their ſeſſion, by taking away the whole houſe of lords, and ſecluding the greateſt part of the houſe of commons; it is therefore humbly deſired, that (to the end we may be eſta-

eſtabliſhed upon the ancient baſis and foundation of law) your Majeſty would be pleaſed, by publick proclamations, as ſoon as it ſhall be judged ſeaſonable, to invite all thoſe perſons, as well lords as commons, who were then ſitting, to return to their places; and that your Majeſty would own them (ſo convened and met together) to be the true and lawful parliament of *England*.

2. THAT your Majeſty would concur with the parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all thoſe things granted, and agreed unto by the late king your father, at the laſt and fatal treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*; as alſo in the making and repealing of all ſuch laws, acts and ſtatutes, as by the parliament ſhall be judged expedient and neceſſary to be made and repealed, for the better ſecuring of the juſt and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and deſtructive exceſſes of government for the future.

3. FORASMUCH as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by his death and reſurrection, has purchaſed the liberties of his own people; and is thereby become their ſole Lord and King; to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things ſpiritual: We do therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you would engage your royal word never to erect, nor ſuffer to be erected, any ſuch tyrannical, popiſh, and anti-chriſtian hierarchy (epiſcopal, preſbyterian, or by what name ſoever it be called) as ſhall aſſume a power over, or impoſe a yoke upon the conſciences of others;

but that every one of your Majeſty's ſubjects may hereafter be at liberty to worſhip God in ſuch a way, form and manner, as ſhall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Chriſt revealed in his word, according to that proportion, or meaſure of faith and knowledge, which they have received.

4. FORASMUCH as the exaction of tithes is a burthen, under which the whole nation groans in general, and the people of God in particular. We would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to your Majeſty's conſideration, That, if it be poſſible, ſome other way may be found out for the maintenance of that which is called the national miniſtry; and that thoſe of the ſeparated and congregated churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and ſtill are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. FORASMUCH as in theſe times of licence, confuſion and diſorder, many honeſt, godly, and religious perſons, by the crafty devices, and cunning pretences of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led, either into the commiſſion of, or compliance with many vile, illegal, and abominable actions, whereof they are now aſhamed: We do therefore moſt humbly implore your Majeſty, That an act of amneſty and oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and diſcharging all your Majeſty's long deceived and deluded ſubjects, from the guilt and imputation of all crimes, treaſons, and offences whatſoever, committed or done by them, or any of them, either againſt your Ma-

Majeſty's father, or your ſelf, ſince the begining of theſe unhappy wars; excepting only ſuch who do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls himſelf protector; or who, in juſtification of his, or any other intereſt, ſhall, after the publication of this act of grace, continue and perſevere in their diſloyalty to your Majeſty. The Letter was as followeth:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

TIME, the great diſcoverer of all things, has at laſt unmaſked the diſguiſed deſigns of this myſterious age, and made that obvious to the dull ſenſe of fools, which was before viſible enough to the quick-ſighted prudence of wiſe men, *viz.* That liberty, religion, and reformation, the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceitful baits, by which the eaſily deluded multitude are tempted to a greedy purſuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of theſe fools, I muſt confeſs my ſelf to have been one; who have nothing more now to boaſt of, but only that, as I was not the firſt was cheated, ſo I was not the laſt was undeceived; having long ſince, by peeping a little (now and then, as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impoſtor, got ſuch glimpſes, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under the painted pretences of ſanctity, as made me conclude, That the ſeries of affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would convince this blinded genera-

tion of their errors; and make them affrightedly to ſtart from him, as a prodigious piece of deformity, whom they adored and reverenced as the beautiful image of a deity.

NOR did this my expectation fail me: God, who glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged the ſearcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite; but, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of all his idolatrous worſhippers, has, by the unſearchable wiſdom of his deep-laid counſels, lighted ſuch a candle into the dark dungeon of his ſoul, that there is none ſo blind, who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, perfidiouſneſs, diſſimulation, atheiſm, hypocriſy, and all manner of villany, written in large characters on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares open his mouth in juſtification of him, for fear of incurring the deſerved character of being a profeſſed advocate for all wickedneſs, and a ſworn enemy to all virtue.

THIS was no ſooner brought forth, but preſently I conceived hopes of being able, in a ſhort time, to put in practice thoſe thoughts of loyalty to your Majeſty, which had long had entertainment in my breaſt; but till now were forced to ſeek concealment under a ſeeming conformity to the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to theſe deſigns, was happily adminiſtred by the following occaſion:

GREAT was the rage, and juſt the indignation of the people, when they firſt found the authority of their parliament ſwallowed

up

up in the new name of a protector; greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they observed, that under the silent, modest, and flattering title of this protector, was secretly assumed a power more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any king. The pulpits straightway sound with declarations *; the streets are filled with pasquils and libels; every one expresses a detestation of this innovation by publick invectives; and all the nation, with one accord, seems at once to be inspired with one and the same resolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that liberty, by arms and force, which was treacherously stolen from them by deceit and fraud.

* *I suppose it should be declamations.*

When they had for a while exercised themselves in tumultuary discourses (the first effects of popular discontents) at length they began to contrive by what means to free themselves from the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the chiefest of the male-contents enter into consultations amongst themselves, to which they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being taken into their counsels, and made privy to their debates, I thought it my work to acquaint my self fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and principles of them; which (though all meeting and concentring in an irreconcileable hatred and animosity against the usurper) I found so various in their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the distinction of different parties.

Some,

Some, drunk with enthuſiaſms, and beſotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a ſhare in government beſides the ſaints; and theſe are called *Chriſtian Royaliſts*, or *Fifth Monarchy-men*. Others, violently oppoſing this, as deſtructive to the liberty of the free-born people, ſtrongly contend to have the nation governed by a continual ſucceſſion of parliaments, conſiſting of equal repreſentatives; and theſe ſtile themſelves *Common Wealth's-men*. A third party there is, who, finding by the obſervation of theſe times, that parliaments are better phyſick than food, ſeem to encline moſt to *Monarchy*, if laid under ſuch reſtrictions as might free the people from the fear of *tyranny*; and theſe are contented to ſuffer under the opprobious name of *Levellers*: To theſe did I particularly apply my ſelf; and after ſome few days conference with them in private by themſelves apart, I was ſo happy in my endeavours as to prevail with ſome of them to lay aſide thoſe vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon paſſion than judgment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your Majeſty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to be leaders of the reſt, as could ſafely be intruſted with a buſineſs of this nature (the ſucceſs whereof does principally depend upon the ſecret management of it) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm and eſtabliſh them, as well as I could, in their infant allegiance, by engaging them ſo far in an humble addreſs unto your Majeſty,

jeſty, that they might not know how to make either a ſafe, or an honourable retreat.

I MUST leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy Gentleman, by whoſe hands it is conveyed, to make anſwer to any ſuch objections as may perhaps be made by your Majeſty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I would put your Majeſty in mind of, That they are but young proſelytes, and are not to be driven *lento pede*, leſt, being urged at firſt too violently, they ſhould reſiſt the more refractorily.

As to the quality of the perſons, I cannot ſay, they are either of great families, or great eſtates. But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not determine; they are ſuch who may be more ſerviceable to your Majeſty in this conjuncture, than thoſe whoſe names ſwell much bigger than theirs, with the addition of great titles. I durſt not undertake to perſuade your Majeſty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims your counſels are governed; but this I ſhall crave leave to ſay, that I have often obſerved, that a deſperate game at cheſs has been recovered after the loſs of the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and that the ſubſcribers may not be of the ſame uſe to your Majeſty, if well managed, I cannot deſpair; eſpecially at ſuch a time as this, when there is ſcarce any thing but pawns left upon the board; and thoſe few others that are left, may juſtly be complained of in the words of *Tacitus*, *Præſentia*

&

& tuta, quàm vetera & periculoſa malunt omnes.

I HAVE many things more to offer unto your Majeſty, but, fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I ſhall defer the mention of them at preſent; intending, as ſoon as I hear how your Majeſty reſents this overture, to wait upon your Majeſty in perſon; and then to communicate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compaſs of an addreſs of this nature. In the mean time, if our ſervices ſhall be judged uſeful to your Majeſty, I ſhall humbly deſire ſome ſpeedy courſe may be taken for the advance of two thouſand pounds; as well for the anſwering the expectation of thoſe whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of ſeveral other neceſſary expences, which do, and will every day inevitably come upon us in the proſecution of our deſign. What more is expedient to be done by your Majeſty, in order to the encouragement and ſatisfaction of thoſe gentlemen, who already are, or hereafter may be brought over to the aſſiſtance of your Majeſty's cauſe and intereſt, I ſhall commit to the care of this honourable perſon; who, being no ſtranger to the complexion, and conſtitution of thoſe with whom I have to deal, is able ſufficiently to inform your Majeſty by what ways and means they may be laid under the ſtrongeſt obligations to your Majeſty's ſervice.

FOR

For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your Majesty a full essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to your Majesty; so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

May it please your Majesty, &c.

FINIS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Engliſh Baptiſts,

FROM THE

REFORMATION

To the Beginning of the

Reign of King GEORGE I.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

Their Hiſtory from the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. to the End of his Reign.

By THO. CROSBY.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and ſold by him at his Houſe on *Horſly-down*, *Southwark*; and AARON WARD, Bookſeller, at the *King's-Arms* in *Little-Britain*.

MDCCXXXIX.

TO THE

READER.

IT *may be expected, and I did intend, that this Volume should have contained all I at first proposed to the publick. But since my publication of the former Volume, I have had such materials communicated to me, that I could not in justice to the communicators omit them, without incurring the just censure of a partial historian. Besides, it having been objected to me, that a more early account of the* English Baptists *might be obtained; it gave a new turn to my thoughts, and put me upon considering the state and condition of the Christian Religion, from the first plantation of the Gospel in* England. *Now in this enquiry, so much has occurred to me, as carries in it more than a probability, that the first* English *Christians were* Baptists. *I could not therefore pass by so material a fact in their favour: And because it cannot now be placed where it properly belongs, I have fixed it by way of preface to this second Volume. Moreover, in my first Volume, I did exhibit part of a* Confession of Faith, *published by the* Baptists *about the year* 1611, *taken from Mr.* Robinson, *pastor of the* English *Church at* Leyden; *who in the year* 1614, *printed some remarks upon it, and said, it was published by the remainder of Mr.* Smith's *company. Whether Mr.* Smith *had left this people, or whether upon some disagreement, they departed from him, I cannot say. It is not very material, nor at this distance of time very easy to determine. But as I have lately obtained a* Declaration of Faith *published by them; and as the same may give us some light, respecting the opinions of the* English Baptists, *in those early days of the Reformation; so I have placed it, tho' out of due time, in the* Appendix *of this Volume,* N°. I.

And the rather, becauſe they declare, ‘ *they are forced a-*
‘ *gainſt their whole minds to publiſh it, for the clearing of*
‘ *their innocency in ſuch things, as men do commonly keep up*
‘ *in their account ; and all to further their reckoning in con-*
‘ *tempt with men of all eſtates.*’ *I may juſtly add ; the ſame practice is continued among ſome of the* Pædobaptiſts, *even to the preſent time: as appears by the late hiſtories of the Reverend Mr.* Neal, *and Mr.* Lewis ; *both which I have already replied to.*

Alſo in my firſt Volume I took notice, that the Baptiſts *preſented an* Humble Supplication *to King* James I. *the Parliament then ſitting ; and gave only a ſhort account thereof. This has been queſtioned by ſome: and the Reverend Mr.* Lewis *ſeems to doubt it, becauſe he ſays,* The Anabaptiſts are ſaid *to have preſented unto King* James I. *in Parliament time, their Humble Supplication.* —— But this I have not ſeen. *Therefore I have now placed it alſo in the* Appendix *of this Volume,* N°. II.

I take this opportuntity to acknowledge and amend a miſtake, pointed out to me by a worthy learned gentleman, (whoſe modeſty deemed his information of ſo little importance, as to chuſe not to be mentioned) in the preface to the firſt Volume, p. 28. *where I denominate Monſieur* Bayle *a* Papiſt. *I did not then know he had again embraced the reformed religion: and deſire my Readers to correct that paragraph, by eraſing* being, *and over-writing* who had been.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

THE goſpel of *Chriſt Jeſus*, the Son of God, was begun by the miniſtry of *John*; who, as the herald of the Lord *Meſſias*, went before him to proclaim his firſt approaches, and prepare men, by *Repentance* and *Baptiſm*, for this new diſpenſation, which was the accompliſhment of ancient prophecies.

This was the firſt perſon that we read of in the Holy Scriptures, that uſed *Baptiſm* as a ſacrament, and initiated his diſciples by it. From hence he derived the title of *Baptiſt*, or *Baptizer*; as being therein the author of ſome new and ſtrange practice among them. For although there were *divers waſhings* uſed among the *Jews*, by God's appointment, yet that it was their cuſtom to baptize thoſe that were made proſelytes, and initiate them, and their children, into the myſtery of the *Jews* religion by *baptiſm*, as ſome pretend, is a groundleſs opinion. There is no ſuch thing mention'd in the law of *Moſes*;

John *the firſt baptizer.*

Moſes; and therefore, if there was ſuch a practice, it muſt be a *tradition of the elders*, and fell among their other ſuperſtitions, under the cenſure of our bleſſed Saviour. And is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, an Inſtitution of the goſpel was founded upon a ſinful cuſtom of the *Jews?* But the ſcriptures give no account of any ſuch practice. Thoſe *Rabbies* that do make mention of any ſuch thing, lived many years ſince the death of our bleſſed Saviour. Their writings are full of lies and blaſphemy, and therefore no credit can be given to them; nay, they contradict one another even in this very point; and thoſe who deny it, are as ancient and as learned as the affirmers of it.

Received his commiſſion from heaven. Luke iii. 2.

This great prophet *John*, had an immediate commiſſion from heaven, before he enter'd upon the actual adminiſtration of his office. And as the *Engliſh Baptiſts* adhere cloſely to this principle, that *John* the *Baptiſt* was by divine command, the firſt commiſſioned to preach the goſpel, and *baptize* by *immerſion*, thoſe that received it; and that this practice has been ever ſince maintained and continued in the world to this preſent day; ſo it may not be improper to conſider the ſtate of religion in this kingdom; it being agreed on all hands, that the plantation of the goſpel here was very early, even in the *Apoſtles* days. I ſhall therefore enquire, when, and by whom (as far as hiſtory can inform us) the goſpel was firſt preach'd in *Great Britain*. And here it muſt be granted, that hiſtorians give a very different account; yet they agree in this, that the early reception of the goſpel was either from an Apoſtle

Apoſtle or apoſtolical men; and that Chriſtianity was maintained at firſt in its purity, and preſerved it ſelf for ſome years, from the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*.

I ſhall begin with the account of that honeſt hiſtorian, the reverend Mr. *Fuller*; 'Who it was, *ſays he*, that firſt brought over 'the goſpel into *Britain*, is very uncertain. *Ch. Hiſtory*, Book I. p. 3. 'The converſioner (underſtand *Parſons* the 'Jeſuit) mainly ſtickleth for the Apoſtle '*Peter* to have firſt preach'd the goſpel here.' And having confuted *Parſons*'s five arguments, which he had brought to prove it, ſays; 'We have ſtaid the longer in confu-'ting theſe arguments, becauſe, from *Peter*'s 'preaching here, *Parſons* would infer an ob-'ligation of this *Iſland* to the ſee of *Rome*.' He further obſerves; That ſome would have Anno 41. *James*, the ſon of *Zebedee*; others St. *Paul*; others *Simon* the *Canaanite*; and others *Ariſtobulus*, though not an *Apoſtle*, yet an Apoſtle's mate, to be the firſt planters of religion in this *Iſland*. 'The reſult of all is this, ſays Ibid. p. 4. 'he, *Churches* are generally ambitious to entitle 'themſelves to *Apoſtles* for their founders; 'conceiving they ſhould otherwiſe be eſteem-'ed but as of the *ſecond form*, and *younger* '*houſe*, if they received the faith from any 'inferior preacher.—— Whereas, indeed, it 'matters not if the *doctrine* be the *ſame*, 'whether the *Apoſtles* preached it by them-'ſelves, or by their ſucceſſors. We ſee lit-'tle certainty can be extracted, who firſt 'brought the goſpel hither. 'Tis ſo long 'ſince, the *Britiſh church* hath forgotten her 'own *infancy*, who were her firſt *Godfathers*.

'We ſee the *light* of the *Word ſhined* here; 'but ſee not who *kindled it.*'

Anno 63. Now amongſt the converts of the natives of this Iſland, in this firſt age to Chriſtianity, *Claudia*, ſurnamed *Ruffina*, is reputed a principal; ſhe was wife to *Pudens*, a *Roman* ſenator; and that this is the *Claudia*, a *Briton* 2 Tim. iv. 21. born, mentioned by St. *Paul*, then living at *Rome*. Mr. *Fuller* endeavours to prove againſt the exceptions of *Parſons* the Jeſuit, by anſwering his objections to the contrary; and then ſays, 'The iſſue of all is this: *Clau-* '*dia*'s ſtory, as a *Britiſh* Chriſtian, ſtands 'unremov'd, for any force of theſe objecti- 'ons; tho' one need not be much engaged here- 'in.—— But now to return again to the prime 'planters of religion in *Britain*. As for all 'thoſe formerly reckon'd up, there is in au- 'thors but a tinkling mention of them; and 'the ſound of their preaching low and little, 'in compariſon of thoſe loud peals which are 'rung of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* his coming Ibid. p. 6, 7. 'hither.—— Whilſt *Philip* (whether the 'Apoſtle or Deacon, is uncertain) continued 'preaching the goſpel in *France*, he ſent *Jo-* '*ſeph* of *Arimathea* over into *Britain*, with '*Joſeph* his ſon, and ten other aſſociates, to 'convert the natives of that Iſland to Chri- 'ſtianity. Theſe coming into *Britain*, found 'ſuch entertainment from *Arviragus* the king, 'that though he would not be diſſuaded from 'his idolatry by their preaching, yet he al- 'low'd them twelve hides of ground (an hide 'is as much as, being well manur'd, will 'maintain a family; or, as others ſay, as 'much as one plow can handſomely manage) 'in a deſolate Iſland, full of fens and bram- 'bles,

'bles, called the *Ynis Wittrin*; ſince, by 'tranſlation, *Glaſſenbury*. Here they built 'a ſmall church; and, by direction from '*Gabriel* the Archangel, dedicated it to the 'Virgin *Mary*, encompaſſing it about with a 'church-yard; in which church, afterwards, '*Joſeph* was buried: And here theſe twelve 'lived many years, devoutly ſerving God, 'and converting many to the Chriſtian re-'ligion.'

Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he 'dares not wholly 'deny the ſubſtance of this ſtory, though 'the leaven of monkery hath much ſwollen, 'and puffed up the circumſtance thereof; —— 'and that as this relation is preſented unto 'us, it hath a young man's brow with an old 'man's beard. I mean, ſays he, novel ſu-'perſtitions diſguiſed with pretended an-'tiquity. In all this ſtory of *Joſeph*'s living 'at *Glaſſenbury*, there is no one paſſage re-'ported therein beareth better proportion to 'time and place than the church which he is 'ſaid to erect; whoſe dimenſions, materials, 'and making, are thus preſented unto us. 'It had in length ſixty foot, and twenty ſix 'in breadth, made of rods watled or interwo-'ven:— In this ſmall oratory, *Joſeph* with 'his companions, watched, prayed, faſted, 'and preached, having high meditations un-'der a low roof, and large hearts betwixt nar-'row walls. Let not then ſtately modern 'churches diſdain to ſtoop with their higheſt 'ſteeples, reverently doing homage to this 'poor ſtructure, as their firſt platform and 'precedent. And let their chequer'd pave-'ments no more diſdain this Oratory's plain

'floor, than her thatched covering doth envy 'their leaden roofs.

Ibid. p. 8. 'By all this it does not appear, says *Ful-* 'ler, That the firſt preachers of the goſpel 'in *Britain* did ſo much as touch at *Rome*; 'much leſs that they received any command 'or commiſſion thence to convert *Britain*.

Vol. I. p. 69. Mr. *John Fox*, when treating of the firſt planters of the goſpel in *Britain*, cites *Nicephorus*; who ſaith, 'That *Simon Zelotes* 'came into *Britain*. Some others alledge, 'out of *Gildas*, *de Victoria Aurel. Ambroſii*, 'That *Joſeph* of *Arimathy*, after the diſper- 'ſion of the *Jews*, was ſent by *Philip* the '*Apoſtle*, from *France* to *Britain*, about the 'year of our Lord, threeſcore and three; 'and here remained in this land all his time; 'and ſo, with his fellows, laid the firſt 'foundation of Chriſtian faith among the '*Britain* people. Whereupon other preach- 'ers and teachers coming afterward, con- 'firmed the ſame, and increaſed it more." And, for confirmation hereof, he alledges the teſtimonies of *Gildas*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and the words alſo of the letter of *Eleutherius*; which import no leſs, but that the faith of Chriſt was here in *England*, among the *Britiſh* people, long before *Eleutherius*'s time, and before *king Lucius* was converted.

Vol. I. p. 137. '*Gildas*, our countryman, *ſays he*, in his 'hiſtory affirmeth plainly, That *Britain* re- 'ceived the goſpel in the reign of *Tiberius* 'the emperor, under whom Chriſt ſuffered.

'The ſecond reaſon is out of *Tertullian*; 'who living near about, or rather ſomewhat

'before

'before the time of this *Eleutherius*, in his 'book *Contra Judæos*, manifeſtly importeth 'the ſame. Where the ſaid *Tertullian*, te- 'ſtifying how the goſpel was diſperſed abroad 'by the ſound of the *Apoſtles*, and there rec- 'koning up the *Medes*, *Perſians*, &c. reciteth 'alſo the parts of *Britain* which the *Romans* 'could never attain to; and reporteth the 'ſame now to be ſubject to Chriſt.— Note 'here, how, among other, divers believing 'nations, he mentioneth alſo the wildeſt 'places of *Britain*, to be of the ſame num- 'ber, and theſe, in his time were *chriſtned*, 'who was in the ſame *Eleutherius*'s time, 'as is aboveſaid. Then was not Pope *Eleu- 'therius* the firſt which ſent the Chriſtian 'faith into this realm; but the goſpel was 'here received before his time, either by '*Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as ſome chronicles 'record, or by ſome of the *Apoſtles*, or of 'their ſcholars, which had been here preach- 'ing Chriſt before *Eleutherius* wrote to '*Lucius*.

'My third probation I deduct out of *Ori- 'gen. Hom.* IV. *in Ezchielem*, whoſe words 'be theſe: *Britanniam in chriſtianam conſen- 'tire religionem.* Whereby it appeareth, 'that the faith of Chriſt was ſparſed here 'in *England*, before the days of *Eleuthe- 'rius*.

'For my fourth probation, I take the 'teſtimony of *Beda*; where he affirmeth, 'That, in his time, and almoſt a thouſand 'years after Chriſt here in *Britain*, *Eaſter* 'was kept after the manner of the Eaſt- 'church, in the full of the moon, what day 'in the week ſoever it fell on; and not on

'the *Sunday*, as we do now: Whereby it is 'to be collected, that the firſt preachers in 'this land, have come out from the Eaſt part 'of the world, where it was ſo uſed, rather 'than from *Rome*.

'*Fifthly*, I may alledge the words of *Nice-'phorus*, lib. ii. cap. 40. where he ſaith, 'That *Simon Zelotes* did ſpread the goſpel of 'Chriſt to the Weſt ocean, and brought the 'ſame unto the Iſles of *Britain*.

'*Sixthly*, May be here added alſo the 'words of *Petrus Cluniacenſis*; who writing 'to *Bernard*, affirmeth, That the *Scots*, in 'his time, did celebrate their *Eaſter*, not after 'the *Roman* manner, but after the *Greeks*, &c. 'And as the ſaid *Britains* were not under 'the *Roman* order, in the time of this ab-'bot of *Cluniake*; ſo neither were they, nor 'would be under the *Roman* legate, in the 'time of *Gregory*; nor would admit any pri-'macy of the *biſhop* of *Rome* to be above 'them.

'For the *ſeventh* argument, moreover, I 'may make my probation by the plain 'words of *Eleutherius*; by whoſe epiſtle [a], 'written to *king Lucius*, we may underſtand 'that *Lucius* had received the faith of Chriſt 'in this land, before the king ſent to *Eleu-'therius* for the *Roman* laws; for ſo the ex-'preſs words of the letter do manifeſtly pur-'port. By all which conjectures, it may 'ſtand, probably, to be thought, that the '*Britons* were taught firſt by the *Grecians* 'of the Eaſt church, rather than by the '*Romans*.'

[a] Which may be ſeen both in *Fuller* and *Fox*.

Mon-

Monſieur *Rapin*, a late author, gives this account of the firſt plantation of the goſpel in *Britain*. He ſays; 'Before the birth of our 'Saviour, the *Britons*, like the reſt of the 'world, the *Jews* only excepted, were *groſs* 'idolaters; they not only worſhipped *falſe* 'gods, but, if their own hiſtorians are to be 'credited, had as *many*, and as *extravagant* 'ones, as the *Egyptians* themſelves.——— *Hiſt. of* Engl. Vol. I. p. 27.

'Though it be difficult to know the pre-'ciſe time, yet all agree the goſpel was 'preached in *Great Britain* ſoon after our 'Saviour's death. But thoſe who place this 'event in the reign of *Tiberius*, do not con-'ſider, the firſt Gentile *Cornelius*, was not 'converted till the year of our Lord 40; 'that is, three years after the death of that 'emperor.

'*Baronius*, upon the queſtionable autho-'rity of *Simeon Metaphraſtes* [b], which he 'himſelf juſtly rejects on ſeveral other occa-'ſions, ſays; St. *Peter* firſt preach'd to the '*Britons*. This opinion is the more impro-'bable, becauſe it is certain St. *Peter* per-'form'd the office of an Apoſtle chiefly in 'the *Eaſtern* countries. Others affirm, That '*Simon Zelotes*, one of the twelve Apoſtles, 'undertook the converſion of the *Britons*. '*Nicephorus Calliſtus*, *Dorotheus*, in his *Sy-'nopſis*, and the *Greek Kalendar*, ſay; This 'Apoſtle was crucified and buried in *Britain*. 'At the ſame time, we find in the *Roman* '*Martyrology*, and in thoſe of *Bede*, *Adon*,

[b] A writer of the tenth century, ſays Mr. *Tindal*; ſo called from writing the lives of the ſaints. He was a lay-man. *Notes upon* Rapin, *p.* 28.

'and

'and *Uſuard*, that St. *Simon* ſuffer'd martyr-'dom in *Perſia*.

'The moſt current opinion, for ſome time, 'was, That *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* firſt preach-'ed to the *Britons*. Though this tradition, 'ſupported by the ſole teſtimony of *William* 'of *Malmsbury* [c], in proof of the antiquity 'of the church of *Glaſton*, or *Glaſſenbury*, 'ſays, after *Frecu'phus*, that upon the mar-'tyrdom of ſaint *Stephen*, the Apoſtles were 'diſperſed throughout the whole world. St. '*Philip* (continues the hiſtorian) at his com-'ing among the *Francs*, ſent twelve of his 'diſciples, with *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as 'their head, to propagate the goſpel in '*Great Britain*; where they arrived in the 'year of our Lord 61. After ſome oppo-'ſition from the inhabitants, a certain king 'gave them a little ſpot of ground, ſurround-'ed with fens and buſhes to dwell in. Not 'long after, two other neighbouring kings, 'having allow'd them twelve *hides* of land 'for their ſubſiſtance, the Angel *Gabriel* 'commanded them, from God, to build a 'church in the place now called *Glaſton*, but, 'at that time, *Inſwitrin*. This chuch was 'finiſhed in the year 63; and, as the hiſto-'rian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour 'himſelf, as a mark of diſtinction to the *Vir-'gin Mary*.'

Rapin, after a refutation of the proofs brought in vindication of this tradition of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, obſerves, That 'though

[c] A writer of the twelfth century ſtands upon no better foundation than thoſe above mention'd; it has however been deem'd inconteſtable. *Malmsbury*,

'the

'the exact time of the converſion of the 'Britons be uncertain, it is very probable 'the goſpel was preached in the Iſland not 'long after the death of Chriſt. *Theodoret* 'aſſures us, the *Britons* were converted by 'the Apoſtles. *Euſebius*, ſpeaking of the 'dangers the Apoſtles were expoſed to in 'propagating the goſpel in the moſt remote 'countries, mentions, among the reſt, the '*Britiſh* Iſles. Now, ſays he, the likelieſt 'time to be aſſigned for the converſion of the '*Britons*, if it was in the apoſtles days, is 'that between the victory of *Claudius* and 'the defeat of *Boadicea*. For, at the time of 'the general revolt, there were in the Iſland 'above eighty thouſand *Romans*, among 'whom, very probably, were ſome *Chri-* 'ſtians, the goſpel having now got footing 'in many places, particularly at *Rome:* Up- 'on this ſuppoſition there is no abſurdity in 'aſſerting, with ſeveral modern authors, 'that St. *Paul* firſt preach'd the goſpel in '*Britain*. It is certain this Apoſtle, in the 'eight years between his firſt impriſonment 'at *Rome*, and his return to *Jeruſalem*, pro- 'pagated the *Chriſtian* religion in ſeveral 'places, eſpecially in the *Weſtern* countries. 'He informs us of his deſign of going to '*Spain*; and it is not unlikely but his deſire 'of converting the *Britains* might carry him 'into their Iſland. This opinion may be 'ſupported by the teſtimony of *Venutius For-* 'tunatus, in his poem upon the life of ſaint '*Martin*; where he ſpeaks of the travels of 'St. *Paul*. But after all, theſe are only con- 'jectures, and of no other uſe but to make it 'more credible, that the goſpel was planted

'in

'in *Britain* ſoon after the death of our 'Lord.'

The true *Chriſtian* doctrine, and form of worſhip, as delivered by the *Apoſtles*, was mantained in *England*, and the *Romiſh* government and ceremonies zealouſly withſtood, till the *Saxons* enter'd into *Britain*, about the year 448. during which time there is no mention of any baptizings in *England*, but of adult perſons only. And from this ſilence in hiſtory, touching the baptizing of any *Infants* in *England*; from the *Britons* being ſaid to keep ſo ſtrictly to the holy Scriptures, in doctrine and ceremonies; in which there is no mention of baptizing *infants*; and from the accounts of thoſe who were baptized, which expreſly mention their faith and converſion, the *Engliſh Baptiſts* have concluded, that there was no ſuch practice as baptizing of *Infants* in *England*, for the firſt three hundred years after it received the goſpel; and certainly he would have a very hard taſk that ſhould undertake to prove there was.

Fuller, Hiſtory, ib. i. p. 10. Mr. *Fuller* informs us, That *Lucius*, king of *Britain*, in the year 167, 'being much 'taken with the miracles which he beheld 'truly done by pious Chriſtians, fell in ad- 'miration of, and love with their religion; 'and ſent *Elvanus* and *Meduinus*, men of 'known piety and learning in the ſcriptures, 'to *Eleutherius*, biſhop of *Rome*, with a 'letter; requeſting ſeveral things of him, 'but principally that he might be inſtructed 'in the Chriſtian faith. The reaſon why he 'wrote to *Rome* was, ſays *Fuller*, becauſe, 'at this time, the church therein was the

'moſt eminent church in the world, ſhining 'the brighter, becauſe ſet on the higheſt *can-* 'dleſtick, the *imperial city*. We are ſo far 'from grudging *Rome* the happineſs ſhe 'once had, that we rather bemoan ſhe loſt 'it ſo ſoon, degenerating from her primi- 'tive purity.

'*Eleutherius*, ſays he, at the requeſt of king *Lucius*, ſent unto him *Faganus* and '*Derwianus*, or *Dunianus*, two holy men, 'and grave divines, to inſtruct him in the 'Chriſtian religion; by whom the ſaid king '*Lucius*, called by the *Britains*, *Lever-Maur*, 'or the *Great light*, was baptized, with ma- 'ny of his ſubjects. Ibid. p. 12.

Mr. *John Fox* thus relates the ſtory of king *Lucius*. 'About the time and year of 'the Lord 180, ſays he, king *Lucius*, ſon 'of *Coilus*, which builded *Colcheſter*, king 'of the *Britains*, who then were the inha- 'biters and poſſeſſors of this land, which 'now we *Engliſhmen* call *England*, hearing 'of the miracles and wonders done by the 'Chriſtians at that time, in divers places, as '*Monumetenſis* writeth, directed his letters to '*Eleutherius*, biſhop of *Rome*, to receive of 'him the Chriſtian faith.—— The good bi- 'ſhop, hearing the requeſt of this king, and 'glad to ſee the godly towardneſs of his well 'diſpoſed mind, ſendeth him certain teachers 'and preachers, called *Fugatius*, or, by ſome, '*Faganus*, and *Damianus*, or *Dunianus*; 'which converted firſt the king and people 'of *Britain*, and baptized them with the 'baptiſm and ſacrament of Chriſt's faith.' *Martyrology*, Vol. I. p. 138.

In the year 178, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, 'Some 'report, That, at this time, three thouſand 'philo- *Church Hiſt.* p. 13.

'philoſophers of the univerſity of *Cambridge*, 'were converted and baptized; that king '*Lucius* came thither, and beſtowed many 'privileges and immunities on the place, with 'much more improbable matter.'

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 28. *Rapin* obſerves, That 'from the conver-'ſion of *Lucius*, to the *Dioclefian* perſecution, 'the *eccleſiaſtical* hiſtory of *Britain* is intirely 'unknown. It is very probable, however, 'ſays he, that, during that interval of eighty 'years, the *Chriſtian* religion made great 'progreſs in the Iſland; as appears from '*Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Bede*, and *Gildas:* But 'what puts the thing out of all diſpute, is, 'the multitude of *Britiſh* martyrs [whom I muſt (till the Pædobaptiſts convince me to the contrary) believe were all *Engliſh* Baptiſts] 'that ſuffer'd during the dreadful per-'ſecution under *Dioclefian* and *Maximian* his 'collegue.'

It was in the year 469, that the *Saxons* invaded *England*. They made a compleat conqueſt; overthrew *Chriſtianity*, and ſet up the Heathen *idolatry*. But thoſe *Chriſtians* which eſcaped, fled into *Cornwall* and *Wales*; where they ſecur'd themſelves, and maintained the true Chriſtian faith and worſhip. *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*, in his book, *De Britannorum Geſtis*, Lib. iv. cap. 4. as cited

Treat. of Baptiſm, p. 333. by Mr. *Danvers*, tells us, 'That in the 'country of the *Britains*, Chriſtianity flou-'riſhed, which never decayed, even from 'the *Apoſtles* times. Amongſt whom, ſays 'he, was the preaching of the goſpel, ſincere 'doctrine, and living faith, and ſuch form of 'worſhip, as was delivered to the churches 'by the *Apoſtles* themſelves; and that they,

'even

'even to death it ſelf, withſtood the *Romiſh* 'rites and ceremonies; and that about the 'year 448, the *Engliſh Saxons* began to poſ- 'ſeſs *Britany*; and that about 593, they 'having made a compleat conqueſt of the '*Britains*, and began to ſettle their *Heptar-* '*chy*.'— That, 'as long as the *Britiſh* chur- 'ches poſſeſſed the country, they kept them- 'ſelves ſound in the faith, and pure in the 'worſhip, order, and diſcipline of Chriſt, as 'it was deliver'd to them from the *Apoſtles*, 'or their *Evangeliſts*.' But to ſtrengthen this teſtimony, I will cite others.

Mr. *John Fox* thus introduces the entering and reigning of the *Saxons* in the realm of *England*. 'This, ſays he, was the coming 'in firſt of the *Angles* or *Saxons* into this 'realm, being yet *unchriſten'd* and *Infidels*; 'which was about the year of our Lord, as '*William Malmsbury* teſtifieth, four hundred 'ſixty and nine; the captains of whom were '*Hengiſtus* and *Horſus*——— and at length 'poſſeſs'd all, driving the *Britains*, ſuch as 'remained, into *Cambria*, which we call 'now *Wales*.' This, as Mr. *Fox* obſerves, 'was by *Gurmundus*, a *Pagan*, king of the '*Africans*; who, joining in league with the '*Saxons*, wrought much grievance to the '*Chriſtians* of the land: Inſomuch that *Theo-* '*nus*, biſhop of *London*, and *Thadioccus*, bi- 'ſhop of *York*, with the reſt of the people, 'ſo many as were left, having no place 'wherein to remain with ſafety, did fly ſome 'to *Cornwall*, and ſome to the mountains of '*Wales*, about the year of our Lord 550.

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 141.

Ibid. p. 149.

'Moſt miſerable, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, at this 'time, was the *Britiſh* commonwealth, croud- 'ed

Church Hiſt. Lib. i. p. 39.

'ed up into barren corners, whilſt their ene-
'mies, the *Pagan Saxons*, poſſeſſed the Eaſt
'and South, if not the greateſt, the beſt part
'of the *Iſland* —— needs then muſt reli-
'gion, now in *Britain*, be in a doleful con-
'dition; for he who expects a flouriſhing
'church in a fading common-wealth, let him
'try whether one ſide of his face can ſmile,
Ibid. p. 40. 'when the other is pinch'd. —— The intire
'body of the *Britiſh* church, at this time,
'was in *Wales*; where *Banchor* on the
'*North*, and *Caer-lion* on the *South*, were
'the two *Eyes* thereof, for learning and
'religion.'

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. Lib. ii. p. 43. *Rapin*, upon the ſtate of the *Britiſh* church, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the retreat of the *Britons* into *Wales*, begins thus: 'After,
'ſays he, having ſeen what calamities *Britain*
'was expoſed to by the *Saxon* wars of a hun-
'dred and thirty years, a regular account of
'the *Britiſh* church is not to be expected
Ibid. p. 44. 'during that ſpace. —— It is very likely,
'ſays he, all the monuments of the *Britiſh*
'churches were deſtroy'd, where-ever the
'*Saxons* became maſters; and that it was
'not poſſible to preſerve any but thoſe of the
'churches of *Wales*, where the *Saxons* could
'never penetrate. It is eaſy to imagine,
'that the church was in a very mournful ſtate,
'while the *Saxons* were exerciſing their fu-
'ry. Theſe mercileſs idolaters, as well out
'of duty as wantonneſs, not only trampled
'upon every thing relating to the Chriſtian
'religion, but let looſe their rage againſt the
'Chriſtians themſelves. *Gildas* and *Bede*
'have painted out their inhuman proceedings,
'in ſuch a manner as ſhows their barbarities

'were

'were carried to the higheſt Degree imagi-
'nable. *From the eaſt to the weſt*, ſays *Gil-*
'*das*, *nothing was to be ſeen but churches*
'*burnt, and deſtroy'd to their very founda-*
'*tions. The inhabitants were extirpated by*
'*the ſword, and buried under the ruins of*
'*their own houſes. The altars were daily*
'*profaned by the blood of thoſe ſlain thereon.*
'*Bede*, who was a *Saxon*, and therefore not
'to be ſuppoſed to aggravate the cruelty of
'his country-men, expreſſes himſelf thus:
'*By the hands of the* Saxons, *a fire was light-*
'*ed up in* Britain, *that ſerved to execute the*
'*juſt vengeance of God upon the wicked* Bri-
'tons, *as he had formerly burnt* Jeruſalem *by*
'*the* Chaldeans. *The Iſland was ſo ravaged*
'*by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of*
'*God, making uſe of them as inſtruments;*
'*that there ſeemed to be a continued flame*
'*from ſea to ſea, which burnt up the cities,*
'*and covered the ſurface of the whole Iſle.*
'*Publick and private buildings fell in one com-*
'*mon ruin. The prieſts were murdered on the*
'*altars; the biſhop, with his flock, periſhed*
'*by fire and ſword, without any diſtinction,*
'*no one daring to give their ſcattered bodies*
'*an honourable burial.*

'To theſe mournful deſcriptions, ſays *Ra-*
'*pin*, may be added, That the *Britons*, who
'eſcaped the fury of their enemies, not find-
'ing wherewithal to ſubſiſt in the woods and
'mountains, were forced, at length, to ſur-
'render to the conquerors, deeming them-
'ſelves happy in being able to purchaſe their
'lives, with the loſs of their liberty. Some
'fled into foreign parts, and thoſe whom the
'love of their native country kept at home,

'and the dread of ſlavery prevented from ſub-
'mitting to the *Saxons*, dragged on a wretch-
'ed life, in miſerable want and perpetual
'fear. It is therefore no wonder that the
'accounts of the *Britiſh* church are ſo imper-
'fect; ſince the *Saxons* uſed their utmoſt en-
'deavours to deſtroy all the monuments that
'might have been preſerved.'

The Chriſtian *Britons* being thus pent up in *Wales*, kept their ground a good while there; till at length they were intirely ſubdued by a maſſacre, procured, as ſome think, by St. *Auſtin*, for their refuſing to comply with him in embracing the erroneous principles of the church of *Rome*.

The Accounts of this *Auſtin* are as follow:

Fox's *Martyr.* p. 149. About the year 596. ſaint *Auſtin*, with about forty more, were ſent into *England* by *Gregory* biſhop of *Rome*, to preach the goſpel, and endeavour to plant Chriſtian churches among the *Saxons*. He met with great ſucceſs, the king, and great numbers of the people, being converted and bap-

Ibid. p. 154. tized. Yea, they came in ſo faſt, that he is ſaid to have baptized ten thouſand on a *Chriſtmas* day, in the river *Swale* by *York*. Mr. *Fuller* gives an account of the manner how this was performed; though he is in doubt whether ſaint *Auſtin* or *Paulinus* were the doer thereof; and ſays, it would argue too much moroſity in us to demur in our

Church Hiſt. Lib. ii. p. 66. faith to the whole fact. 'And if ſo many, '*ſays he*, were baptized in one day, it ap-
'pears plainly, that in that age, the admini-
'ſtration of that ſacrament, was not loaded
'with thoſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies, as eſſen-
'tial thereunto, of croſſing, ſpittle, oil, cream,
'ſalt,

'ſalt, and ſuch like trinkets; which *Proteſtants* generally as little know what they 'are, as *Papiſts* why they uſe them. I ſay, 'in that age, nothing was uſed with baptiſm, 'but baptiſm; the *Word* and the *Water* 'made the ſacrament. Yea, the archbiſhop 'is ſaid to have *commanded, by the voice of 'cryers, that the people ſhould enter the river 'confidently, two by two, and in the name of 'the Trinity baptize one another by turns:* 'This, indeed, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, was the 'moſt compendious way; otherwiſe *Joſhua*'s 'day, wherein the ſun ſtood ſtill, had been 'too ſhort for one man's perſonal perform-'ance of ſuch an employment.'

Rapin, after having given an account of St. *Auſtin*'s miſſion by *Gregory*, and the kind reception he met with from *Ethelbert* the king, ſays; 'The queen got leave for the 'miſſionaries to ſettle at *Canterbury*, the ca-'pital of *Kent*; where ſhe took care to pro-'vide them with convenient lodgings, and 'procure them the liberty of preaching to as 'many as had the curioſity to hear them. 'They made ſo good uſe of this favourable 'juncture, that in a ſhort time, ſeveral of 'the principal *Saxons* embraced the Chriſtian 'faith. The ſwift progreſs of the goſpel at '*Canterbury*, raiſed the king's curioſity to 'be more particularly inſtructed in the nature 'of the religion theſe ſtrangers preached. At 'length, by the perſuaſions of the queen, 'and frequent conferences with *Auſtin*, he re-'ceived baptiſm, about a Year after the ar-'rival of the *miſſionaries*. The converſion 'of the king being followed by that of mul-'titudes of his ſubjects, the queen's chapel, 'which

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 66.

'which ſtood without the city, ſoon became 'too little to hold them.——— Thus began 'the converſion of the *Saxons* in *England.* '*Auſtin* and his fellow labourers were the In'ſtruments made uſe of, by divine Provi'dence, to turn them from their idolatrous 'ſuperſtitions, to the light of the goſpel; a 'bleſſing their brethren in *Germany* enjoyed 'not till two hundred years after, in the 'reign of *Charles* the Great. *Ethelbert* pro'moted to his utmoſt, the converſion of his 'ſubjects, but without uſing the leaſt vio'lence or compulſion; having learn'd of his 'inſtructors, as *Bede* expreſly obſerves, that 'God requires none to ſerve him, but thoſe 'who do it with a willing mind. It were to 'be wiſhed, ſays *Rapin* [with whom all Baptiſts, and ſincere Chriſtians, will unite] 'that all Chriſtian princes would follow his 'example! The *Saxons* were ſo eager to em'brace the goſpel, that, if hiſtorians may be 'credited, *Auſtin*, in one day, baptized ten 'thouſand in the river *Swale*, which runs in'to the *Thames*.'

Baptiſm was not, in thoſe times, adminiſter'd in a font in the church (much leſs in houſes) but in rivers; nor attended with ſo many ceremonies as practiſed now by thoſe of the *Roman* faith, as Mr. *Fox* obſerves, ſpeaking of St. *Auſtin*; 'After he had baptized 'and chriſten'd, *ſays he*, ten thouſand *Saxons*, 'or *Angles*, in the *Weſt* river, that is called '*Swale*, beſide *York*, on a *Chriſtmas* day; 'perceiving his end to draw near, he or'dained a ſucceſſor, named *Laurentius*, to 'rule after him the archbiſhop's ſea of *Doro*'*bernia*. Where note, by the way (Chri-

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 154.

'ſtian

'ſtian reader) that whereas *Auſtin* baptized 'then in rivers, it followeth, there was then 'no uſe of fonts. Again, if it be true that '*Fabian* ſaith, he baptized ten thouſand in 'one day, the rite then of baptizing at *Rome* 'was not ſo ceremonial; neither had ſo many 'trinkets at that time, as it hath had ſince; 'or elſe it could not be, that he could baptize 'ſo many in one day.'

Auſtin meeting with ſuch ſucceſs, in that part of *Britain* called *England*, held a ſynod near the borders of *Wales*, and ſent to the biſhops of the ancient *Britons*, who had fled into thoſe parts, and were now encreaſed to a very great number, to perſuade them to ſubmit to the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, as many *Saxons* had done, and to embrace the ceremonies of that church, particularly in the time of keeping *Eaſter*, *and in baptizing their children.* 'To theſe, ſays Mr. *Fox*, 'the *Scots* and *Britains* would not agree, 'refuſing to leave the cuſtom which they ſo 'long time had continued.'

Anno 604. Fox's *Martyr.* Vol. I. p. 153. Fuller's *Ch. Hiſt.* p. 61.

Thus far it appears, that the doctrine and worſhip which the *Britains* received from the *Apoſtles*, they cloſely adhered to, cleaving to the ſcriptures, utterly renouncing all *Romiſh* Traditions and Superſtitions: But inaſmuch as they refuſed to be ſeduced by *Auſtin*, he not only threaten'd their ruin, but accompliſhed the ſame in a ſhort time after. For,

When *Auſtin* found the *Britons* refuſed to comply with his extravagant propoſals, he abated in his demands, and only deſired their compliance with him in three things. His words, according to *Fabian*, were theſe: 'Sins ye wol not aſſent to my heſts general-

Part v. p. 119.

'ly, aſſent ye to me ſpecially in iii things. 'The *firſt* is, that ye keep *Eſter* day in due 'fourme and tyme as it is ordayned. The '*ſecond*, that ye geve Chriſtendome to chil-'dren: And the *thyrde* is, that ye preach 'unto the anglis the word of God as afore-'times I have exhorted you. And all the 'other deale, I ſhall ſuffer you to amende 'and refourme within your ſelves. But, *ſaith* '*he*, they would not thereof. Then *Auſtayne* 'ſaid unto them, and warned them by man-'ner of inſpyracion, that ſins they wolde not 'receave peace of their brethren, they ſhould 'of other receive warre and wretche.'

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 68.

Bede, an author much more ancient than *Fabian*, as cited by *Rapin*, expreſſes this threat of St. *Auſtin* thus: 'Since you refuſe 'peace from your brethren, you ſhall have 'war from your enemies; and ſince you will 'not join with us in preaching the word of 'eternal life to your neighbours, you ſhall 'receive death at their hands: Which, ſaith 'Mr. *Danvers*, *Auſtin* accompliſhed accor-'dingly, by bringing the *Saxons* upon them 'to their utter ruin.'

How far St. *Auſtin* might be concerned in bringing upon the *Britons* their ruin, does not appear. *Fabian* commends him as a great ſaint and a prophet: indeed, immediately after his words above quoted, and at the end of the paragraph, he adds, 'the which was 'put in experience by *Ethelfridus* king of '*Northumberland*.' Some authors do look upon it as the accompliſhment of his prediction: But be that as it will, the *Britains* ſtill held their integrity; neither promiſes nor threats could prevail with them to admit

mit of the leaſt change in their ancient cuſtoms.

Rapin, upon this head, obſerves; 'That *Auſtin* had not only preſſed the *Britons* to a 'conformity with the *church of Rome*, and 'obedience to the *Papal* authority, but alſo 'had reproached them for their negligence 'and want of zeal, in not promoting the con-'verſion of the *Saxons*. Perhaps, *ſays he*, 'he deſigned to intimate to them, that the 'converſion of all *England* ſtuck only at the 'union he propoſed to them. However this 'be, theſe words of *Auſtin* were looked upon 'as a prediction of the *maſſacre* of the monks 'of *Bangor*:' Which, ſays Mr. *Fox*, 'not 'long after, ſo came to paſs, by the means 'of *Ethelfride*, king of *Northumberland*; 'who being yet a *Pagan*, and ſtirred with 'a fierce fury againſt the *Britains*, came, 'with a great army, againſt the city of *Che-'ſter*, where *Brockmaile*, the conſul of that 'city, a friend and helper of the *Britains* 'ſide, was ready with his force to receive 'him. There was at the ſame time at 'Bangor in *Wales*, an exceeding great *Mo-'naſtery*, wherein was ſuch a number of monks, 'as *Galfridus* with other authors do teſti-'fy, that if the whole company were divided 'into ſeven parts, in every of the ſeven parts 'were contained not ſo few as three hun-'dred monks, which all did live with the 'ſweat of their brows, and labour of their 'own hands, having one for their ruler na-'med *Dino*. Out of this *Monaſtery* came 'the monks of *Cheſter*, to pray for the good 'ſucceſs of *Brockmile*, fighting for them a-'gainſt the *Saxons*. Three days they conti-'nued

Ibid. p. 68.

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 154.

'nued in fasting and prayer. When *Ethel-*
'*fride*, the aforesaid king, seeing them so
'intentive to their prayers, demanded the
'cause of their coming thither in such a com-
'pany; and when he perceived it was to
'pray for their consul; then saith he, al-
'though they bear no weapon, yet they fight
'against us; and, with their prayers and
'preachings they persecute us. Where-
'upon, after that *Brockmaile* being over-
'come did flee away, the king commanded
'his men to turn their weapons against the
'silly unarm'd monks, of whom he slew, at
'the same time, or rather martyr'd, eleven
'hundred [*Fuller* says twelve] only fifty
'persons of that number did flie and escape
'away with *Brockmaile*; the rest were all
'slain.'

The late reverend Dr. *Calamy*, who seems to have taken not a little pains on this head: He quotes *Gildas*, who wrote about the year of Christ 564. and said; 'That *Christ* 'shewing his bright light to all the world, 'afforded his rays, that is, his precepts, in 'the latter end of the reign, as we know, of 'Tiberius Cæsar, when his religion was pro-'pagated without any hindrance. And if he 'meant this, says the doctor, of the publica-'tion of the gospel in *Britain*, which has 'been the most prevailing opinion, we must 'allow him to have had better advantages 'for the *knowing* this with certainty then, 'than we can have at this distance. Accord-'ing to this account, this Island had Christi-'anity preach'd in it, within five years of 'our Saviour's crucifixion, which was very 'early; perhaps too early, says he, all cir-

God's Concern for his glory in the British *Isles*, p. 6.

'cum-

'cumſtances conſider'd, for a place that lay 'ſo remote. A late learned writer therefore 'aſſerts, That thoſe words of *Gildas* have 'been miſunderſtood, and applied to the 'particular preaching of the goſpel in *Bri-* '*tain*; whereas they were meant of the ge- 'neral liberty of preaching it throughout the 'world. But be it as it will, as to that, all 'ancient writers agree, that Chriſtianity was 'planted in this land very ſoon, conſidering 'its diſtance from *Judea*. Stillingfleet's *Orig.* Brit. Lib. I. Ch. i.

'—'Tis evident, that after Chriſtianity ob- 'tained here, a great part of the inhabitants 'ſtill continued *Pagans*, and yet our holy 'religion made a progreſs. As it got ground, 'the temples of their ancient idols were ſome 'of them deſtroy'd, and others of them de- 'dicated to the true and living God. We 'have no account of ſuch ſeverities here in 'the primitive times againſt the followers of 'a crucified Jeſus as in other countries. That 'which was the laſt of the ten perſecutions 'under the *Roman* emperors ſeems to have 'been the firſt that affected this Iſland. But 'in that general calamity, in the reign of '*Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, about the year 303, 'the Chriſtians here were very great ſufferers. '*Tis ſaid, That Maximian *almoſt rooted out* 'the *Chriſtian religion from* Britain; *and* 'that they who ſuffered martyrdom were almoſt 'beyond number. *Gildas* tells us, That *their* 'churches were thrown down, and all the 'books of holy ſcriptures that could be found, 'were burnt in the ſtreets; and the choſen 'prieſts of the flock of our Lord, together 'with the innocent ſheep, murdered. St. *Al-* 'ban of *Verulam*, and *Aaron*, and *Julius* of Uſſer Brit. *Eccl. Antiq.* Cap. 7.

'*Carliſle*

'*Carliſle* upon *Uſk* in *Monmouthſhire*, and 'many others, ſealed the truth of Chriſtia-'nity with their blood.

'But when the ſtorm was over, which did 'not laſt much above a year, the Chriſtians 'here, as well as in other parts, fled out of 'the woods and dens and caves, where they 'had hid themſelves, and rebuilt their demo-'liſhed churches, and flouriſhed to a great 'degree, both in peace and unity. They 'were much favour'd by *Conſtantius*, the 'father of *Conſtantine*, who continued for 'the latter part of his life here in *Britain*; 'and would ſuffer no man to die for his reli-Euſeb. *de vit.* Conſt. M.I.1. c. 13. *ſoz. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* I. 1. c. 6. 'gion in his dominions. It was here alſo that '*Conſtantine* himſelf, who was a native of 'this Iſland, firſt declared himſelf a Chri-'ſtian, or inclined that way; which it is not 'likely he would have publickly done, had 'not a good part of his army been of that 'religion: And upon his advancement to the 'imperial throne, 'tis not to be wonder'd at, 'if more ſplendor attended Chriſtianity as it 'was here profeſſed, than had been known 'before. But I have not, ſays the doctor, 'upon the ſtricteſt enquiry I have been able 'to make, hitherto been able to diſcern ſuf-'ficient ground to apprehend, that from the 'beginning, churches, or places of worſhip, 'were ſo nobly adorn'd, or church govern-'ment ſo modelled in this Iſland, as ſome 'time after; or that the prelatical form of 'government was any part of that *glory* that 'was at firſt *declared* in this Iſland.' And he ſpends ſome pages in vindication of his own opinion thereupon, in oppoſition to what had been written in favour of the prelatical par-

'ty; which I paſs, as foreign to my deſign.

'*Britain*, ſays the doctor, was alſo ſadly 'infeſted with the *Picts* and *Scots*; which, 'after various ſtruggles, when no more help 'could be had from the *Romans*, was the 'occaſion of calling the *Saxons* to their aſſi-'ſtance. Theſe *Saxons*, whom *Gildas* calls, '*A nation, odious both to God and Man*, 'came hither to be a ſcourge to the *Britons*, 'about the year of Chriſt 450. They were 'at firſt received as gueſts, and treated as 'ſtipendiaries, in oppoſition to the barbari-'ans; but at length found themſelves ſtrong 'enough to ſet up for maſters; laid the 'whole country waſte, and drove the old '*Britiſh* Chriſtians into the barren mountains 'of *Wales*; and occaſion'd ſuch confuſion 'and deſolation, as *Gildas*, who wrote a few 'years after, thought could never be enough 'lamented. That writer deſcribes their cruel-'ties, and the judgment of heaven upon a ſin-'ful people, which they were the inſtruments 'of inflicting, in ſuch a manner, as muſt 'needs affect all that read his account. He 'ſays, That *all the towns, with the beating 'of the rams, and all the townſmen, paſtors 'prieſts and people, with naked ſwords, that 'glittered on all ſides, and crackling flames, 'were together whirled to the ground.* And 'our hiſtorians ſay, that they ſcarce left the 'face of Chriſtianity where they prevailed. 'And yet pure religion was not even then 'extirpated out of the Iſland.' Ranulph. *Nig. in Chronic. and* Mat. Weſtmonaſt. A. D. 586, 596.

The doctor goes on, and ſays; '*Bede*, 'who wrote his hiſtory about the year 731, 'gives us a great deal of light; though al-'lowance muſt be made for his being himſelf

'a

'a *Saxon*, and not very friendly to the *Bri-*
'*tiſh* churches, and for his having a mona-
'ſtick tincture. Chriſtianity, in a new edi-
'tion of it, with great improvements, as to
'outward pomp, was, during this period,
'received from *Rome*, through the hands of
'*Auſtin* the monk, about the year 598. But
'there was a purer Chriſtianity in the Iſland
'before, that was much freer from adultera-
'tions and corruptions, than that which was
'now introduced under the ſame name. There
'were great conteſts between thoſe of the old
'ſtamp, and thoſe of the new. The former
'lived in *Wales* and *Scotland*, and the latter
'in the heart of the country. So that there
'were conſiderable debates on foot in this
'Iſland, between *Conformiſts* and *Nonconfor-*
'*miſts*, in ancient as well as in modern times:
'And the one ſort was apt to carry it with
'an high hand, and the other was forced to
'be ſatisfied with the conſcience of their own
'integrity then, as well as now. The *Con-*
'*formiſts* then were, in all things, for the me-
'thods of the church of *Rome*; and the *Non-*
'*conformiſts* were for the ways and methods
'of the ancient Chriſtians, and diſowning
Hiſtorical Account, p. 69. 'impoſitions. And *they were called* too, *The*
'*Schiſmaticks of* Britain *and* Ireland; *becauſe*
'*they would not receive the Romiſh altera-*
'*tions, nor ſubmit to the authority by which*
Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. ii. Cap. ii. '*they were impoſed.* In the year 601, *ſays*
'*the doctor*, there was a ſynod, called by
'*Auſtin*, to which, *Bede* tells us, the biſhops,
'or doctors of the next province of the *Bri-*
'*tons*, were ſummon'd; in which the abbot
'of *Bangor* gave him a free anſwer to his de-
'mand of conformity to *Rome*. He told
'him,

'him, That *they, the ancient Chriſtians of 'this Iſland, were obedient, and ſubjects to 'the church of God, and to the pope of* 'Rome, *and to every godly Chriſtian; to 'love every one in his degree, in perfect cha-'rity; and to help every one of them by word 'and deed, to be the children of God: And 'other obedience than this he knew not to be 'due to him whom he called the pope*, &c. 'And many of the poor monks, not long 'after, loſt their lives, in return for this free-'dom and reſolution.'

The doctor, having ſhewn the great conteſt in the church about *Eaſter*, ſays, 'It ought 'not to be forgotten, that the difference be-'tween theſe old *Conformiſts* and *Nonconfor-'miſts*, did not lie only in the time of keep-'ing *Eaſter*; they differed alſo about *Bap-'tiſm:* For that was one of the three things '*Auſtin* inſiſted on in his converſation with 'the *Britiſh* doctors; that they ſhould, for 'the future, adminiſter baptiſm after the man-'ner of the church of *Rome*; which is an 'argument they did not uſe to do ſo before.'

The doctor here ſeems to be at a ſtand, leſt his ancient *Nonconformiſts*, which may very well be ſuppoſed to be *Engliſh Baptiſts*, ſhould, by his readers, be taken as ſuch: And therefore, in a comment upon the ac-count he has given, tells us thus: 'Where-'in the difference, *ſays he*, between the old '*Britons* and the *Romans*, properly lay about '*Baptiſm*, is not ſo evident. *Pits* frankly 'owns, he did not know what it was. *Relat. 'Hiſt. de rebus anglicis*, p. 19. Nor does '*Bede* explain it, nor any of our ancient 'writers that I have converſed with. Some

'have

'have thought they differ'd about the *ſubjects* 'of *baptiſm*; and that whereas the *Romans* 'baptized infants, the *Britons* were againſt 'infant baptiſm; and an argument has been 'drawn from thence by the *Antipædobap-* 'tiſts: But an anſwer is returned to it by 'Mr. *Wall*, in his *Hiſtory of infant baptiſm*, 'p. 327. where he obſerves, that *Pelagius* 'being a native of *Britain*, his declaring 'that he never heard of any Chriſtian, Ca- 'tholick or Sectary, that deny'd infant bap- 'tiſm, is a good evidence that his country- 'men did not do it. It ſeems more likely, 'that this difference ſhould have been about 'the *mode of Baptiſm*, and the very words 'of *Auſtin*, as *Bede* relates the matter, ſeem 'to look that way. For he would have them 'adminiſter baptiſm, for the future, *after* 'the manner of the church of Rome. Now I 'know of nothing ſo remarkable in the man- 'ner of baptizing in the church of *Rome* at 'that time, as the *trine immerſion*. That 'this was cuſtomary in that church, is aſſert- 'ed by *Walafridus Strabo*, *de rebus Eccleſiæ*, 'Cap. 26. And though we have no poſitive 'evidence, as I know of, that a ſingle im- 'merſion, or aſperſion, or pouring of water, 'was uſed among the ancient *Britons* in their 'baptiſm; yet, till ſomething elſe is menti- 'on'd, with a ſurer appearance of probability, 'I am inclined to believe, this was the mat- 'ter of that part of the difference.'

I muſt beg leave to obſerve here, That this worthy gentleman, upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, as he ſays, could not diſcern ſufficient ground to apprehend, that churches, or places of worſhip, were ſo nobly adorned; or

or church-government ſo modelled in this Iſland, as ſometime after; or that the prelatical form of government was any part of that glory, that was at firſt declared in this Iſland; and takes ſome conſiderable pains to prove it, in oppoſition to a venerable prelate of the church of *England*, who, in an hiſtorical account of church government, as it was in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, when they firſt received the Chriſtian religion, undertook to prove, that it was much the ſame from the firſt, that it is at preſent. But the doctor did not tell us he could not diſcern ſufficient ground for *infant* baptiſm; which, I think, is as undiſcernable as the other: Neither has he taken notice of any of thoſe many inſtances we have of the churches practice reſpecting baptiſm. It may be, his eyes were ſo fixed on the *prelatical* point, he could not ſee thoſe trifling points of *adult* baptiſm, and by *immerſion*; which were apparently the practice of the church in thoſe days: For we have no mention of the practice of chriſtening or baptizing children in *England* before the coming of St. *Auſtin*: And it is evident, he being the pope's legate, brought it from *Rome*: And the doctor himſelf owns, the *Britiſh* church was not yet corrupted with the ſuperſtitions of the *Romiſh* church. But the doctor ſeems to be under a neceſſity to own (becauſe he ſays it ought not to be forgotten) That one of the points in difference between St. *Auſtin* and the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, was that of baptiſm; and ſhould we allow the doctor his way of reaſoning on the *trine* immerſion (which we cannot) what will become of his *ſprinkling?*

But,

But, to me, the evidence of *Fabian*, for ought that appears to the contrary, is as good, if not much better, than that of *Pelagius*: Becauſe, if *Pelagius* did ſay ſo, it is rather a proof of his great ignorance. For it is undeniable, that many, before his time, denied infant baptiſm. Beſides, that he did ſay ſo, only depends upon the veracity of a pope; and but few Proteſtants will believe what the pope ſays, merely upon his own word, in oppoſition to any of their doctrines. However, the arguments for and againſt this point, you may ſee in *Wall*, *Wills* and *Danvers*. But this is evident, *Auſtin* did not uſe many ceremonies in baptiſm; as appears by his performing it in rivers, and baptizing ten thouſand in one day, as aforeſaid; and therefore could not inſiſt upon their baptizing after the manner of *Rome*, as one of the three fundamental points, to be comply'd with by the *Britains*; unleſs the *Romiſh* manner of baptizing was quite different then from what it has been ſince: Becauſe *Bede*, an author vaſtly more ancient than *Fabian*, does affirm, that one of the three things inſiſted on by *Auſtin* was, That the *Britons* ſhould 'compleat the miniſtration of baptiſm (by which 'we are born again unto God) according to 'the cuſtom of the holy *Roman* and apoſtolic 'church.' *Lib.* ii. *Cap.* ii.

That the controverſy about the baptizing of infants, was agitated in *England*, at this time, appears from hence; becauſe one of thoſe difficulties that *Auſtin* met with was this. For when he ſent over certain difficult caſes to the biſhop of *Rome*, for his advice and direction, after he had deſired to know, what

what he ſhould do with the biſhops of *Britain*, who had rejected his propoſals, he made this enquiry; *How long a child may be left unbaptized, if there was no preſent danger of death.* Fox's *Martyr.* Vol. I. p. 151.

The *ſubject* of baptiſm being now changed in *England*, and by a *Romiſh* emiſary, ſo ignorant in the rite, as appears by his queſtion to the pope, and introduced by ſuch a *bloody maſſacre* of thoſe glorious witneſſes of Chriſt, which did ariſe from their Chriſtian courage and zeal againſt thoſe antichriſtian impoſitions of the *Romiſh* church: One would think the *pædobaptiſt* Proteſtants could not be ſo tenacious about a rite ſprung from ſo foul a beginning, as to martyr ſuch a multitude as has been martyr'd in this kingdom for oppoſing it. Yet the *mode* of baptiſm (which has been, and is ſtill too much ridicul'd by the rigid part of the *pædobaptiſts*) continued about one thouſand Years longer; and baptiſm was performed by *dipping* thoſe who were baptized, into the water.

Baptizing in churches did not begin in *England* till about the year 627; when king *Edwin* built one on purpoſe to be baptized in himſelf. He was one of the *Saxon* kings in *England*; and having a Chriſtian queen, was perſuaded to have his daughter, and twelve more, baptized by *Paulinus*; and afterwards was baptized himſelf at *York*, by the ſame perſon. From the converſion of this king, to the end of his reign, which was about ſix years, *Paulinus*, biſhop of *York*, continued chriſtening in the rivers *Gwenie* and *Swala*, uſing the ſaid rivers for his *fonts*. He was forced to fly from his biſhoprick in a time of

perſecution; but one *James*, his deacon, a good and holy man, continued there baptizing and preaching in the north parts of *England.*

Ch. Hiſtory, Lib. ii. p. 73. Mr. *Fuller*'s Account is this: He ſays, 'King *Edwine*, almoſt three years a *candidate at large* of Chriſtianity, cordially embraceth the ſame; and, with many of his nobles, and multitudes of his ſubjects, is ſolemnly baptized by *Paulinus*, in the little church of St. *Peter*'s in *York*, haſtily ſet up by the king for that purpoſe, and afterward by him changed into a firmer and fairer fabrick.'

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 156. Mr. *Fox* tells us, That 'after this [an intended aſſaſſination which king *Edwin* eſcaped] about *Whitſontide*, the king being ſcantly whole of his wound, aſſembled his hoſt, intending to make war againſt the king of *Weſt Saxons* [who ſent the aſſaſſin privily to ſlay him] promiſing to Chriſt to be chriſtened, if he would give him the victory over his enemies; and in token thereof cauſed his daughter, born of *Edelburge*, the ſame *Eaſter* day when he was wounded, named *Euſled*, to be baptized, with twelve others of his family, of *Paulinus*'— who addreſſed himſelf to the king, after his conqueſt, in theſe words; 'Behold, O king, you have vanquiſhed your enemies; you have obtained your kingdom; now perform the third thing, which you promiſed, that is, to receive the faith of Chriſt, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon, ſays Mr. *Fox*, the king conferring with his counſel, and his nobles, was baptized of the ſaid *Paulinus* at *York*, with many of his

'other

other ſubjects with him.' And in the margin ſays, he was baptized in St. *Peter's* church at *York*; which he firſt cauſed to be made of wood, which after, by St. *Oſwald*, was builded of ſtone—— 'From that time 'forth, during the life of *Edwin*, which was 'the term of ſix years more, *Paulinus* chri- 'ſten'd continually in the rivers of *Gwenie* 'and *Swala*, in both provinces of *Deira* and '*Bernicia*, uſing the ſaid rivers for his *fonts*, 'and preached in the ſhire of *Linceſcie*, 'where he builded alſo a church of ſtone at '*Lincolne*.' And in the margin, ſays, Note, *Paulinus* chriſten'd in rivers.

Rapin agrees in his teſtimony as to this; and gives a full account from *Bede*, of the ſeveral facts before related. He ſays, '*Que-* '*celin*, one of the kings of *Weſſex*, bore the 'yoke of *Edwin* with that impatience, that 'he reſolved to free himſelf from it, by 'means of an aſſaſſin, whom he ſent to him 'on ſome pretence, privately armed with 'a poiſoned dagger. The Ruffin being in- 'troduced into the preſence chamber, took 'his opportunity, and made ſo furious a *paſs* 'at the king, that he was wounded through 'the body of *Lilla* his favourite, who inter- 'poſed himſelf, and received the blow. *Pau-* '*linus* being informed of this accident, ha- 'ſtily ran into the room; and finding *Edwin* 'in a great rage with the king of *Weſſex*, told 'him, God, to whom ſuch wretches were an 'abomination, would not fail to puniſh ſo 'horrid a villany. It is ſaid, that *Edwin*, 'whom the queen had hitherto ſolicited in 'vain, promiſed, at the ſame time, to re- 'nounce idolatry, if the God of the Chriſti- 'ans

Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

'ans would revenge him of his enemy. At 'the ſame inſtant news was brought him, 'That the queen, after a hard labour, was 'brought to bed of a princeſs; for which he 'returned thanks to his gods. *Paulinus*, for 'his part, having been in great fears for the 'queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked 'God for her deliverance. The prelate's zeal 'was ſo pleaſing to the king, that immedi-'ately conceiving a favourable opinion of 'the Chriſtian religion, he conſented, *Pauli-'nus* ſhould baptize the new born infant—— 'Edwin however, not forgetting the perfidi-'ouſneſs of the king of *Weſſex*, marched with 'an army into his dominions; and, after 'defeating him ſeveral times, compelled him 'humbly to ſue for peace, and make him 'ample ſatisfaction. But though he returned 'with victory, according to his wiſh, he de-'ferred the performance of his promiſes. 'When the queen and *Paulinus* preſſed him 'upon that head, he told them, the quitting 'his religion ſeemed to him to be of that im-'portance, that he could not reſolve upon it 'without a thorough examination of mat-'ters. —— The queen and *Paulinus* continued 'to ſolicit the king to perform his promiſe; 'and to give the greater weight to what they 'ſaid to him, they got the *pope* to write 'him a letter. But all would not do; *Ed-'win* ſtill demurred, and could not come to 'a reſolution: at laſt, the circumſtances of the '*viſion* he had formerly ſeen in the garden of '*Redowald*, being, as it is pretended, re-'vealed to *Paulinus*, the work was accom-'pliſhed in an extraordinary way. *Bede* re-'lates, How that one day, as the king was

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'surrounded with a cowd of courtiers, *Paulinus* 'came in ſuddenly, and laying his hand on '*Edwin*'s head, aſk'd him, Whether he un-'derſtood the meaning of that *token*. At 'theſe words, *Edwin* recollecting what had 'paſſed between him and the *ſtranger* in *Re-'dowald*'s garden, threw himſelf at *Pauli-'nus*'s feet; who, with an air of authority, 'ſaid to him thus: *My Lord, You have eſca-'ped the hands of your enemies, and are be-'come a great king. All that was foretold 'you is come to paſs; it is your duty now to 'make good your promiſe.* Upon hearing this, '*Edwin* is ſaid to reply, he was fully ſatis-'fied, and ready to receive the *Chriſtian 'faith.* From that moment he ſtrove not 'only to be better informed himſelf, but alſo 'to prevail with his ſubjects to follow his ex-'ample and embrace the goſpel.—— *Edwin* 'being ſure of the concurrence of the high 'prieſt, and ſome of his principal courtiers, 'called a *Wittena gemot*, or parliament, to 'debate whether the Chriſtian religion ſhould 'be received or not.—— It paſſed without 'any oppoſition.—— The ſame day *Ed-'win* was baptized, with his neice *Hilda*, af-'terwards *Abbeſs* of *Whitby*.

'The *Northumbrians* following the exam-'ple of their king; *Paulinus*, who till then 'had lain idle, on a ſudden found himſelf 'fully employ'd by the prodigious crowds 'that daily came to be taught and baptized.'

[*Bede* ſays, that *Paulinus* coming one time with the king and queen, to a place called *Adregrin*, ſpent there thirty ſix days from morning till night, in inſtructing and baptizing (in the river *Gleni*) the people that Tindal's *note on* Rapin, p. 70.

flocked to him from all quarters] 'But if it 'be true, as ſome affirm, That he baptized 'in one day ten thouſand, his inſtructions Ibidem 'muſt needs have been very conciſe.' [The ſame is ſaid of St. *Auſtin*, and both the rivers are called *Swale*. It may ſeem incredible, that *Paulinus* ſhould baptize ſo many in one day. But this difficulty is removed in an ancient fragment quoted by Mr. *Cambden*: The archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated the river *Swale*, commanded by the cryers and principal men, that they ſhould, with faith, go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity baptize each other.] 'A church 'of timber was haſtily run up at *York* for 'the new converts, who were very numerous. 'Shortly after, *Edwin* laid the foundation 'of a church of freeſtone round the former, 'which ſtood till the other of ſtone was 'built. He had not the ſatisfaction to finiſh Anno 640. 'it; which was done by *Oſwald* his ſucceſſor.'

The cuſtom of having godfathers for adult perſons as well as children, I find was uſed ſo early as the year 640.

Martyrology, Vol. I. p. 158. Mr. *Fox*, after having related a fable of *Berinus*'s walking upon the ſea, ſays; 'This '*Berinus* being received in the ſhip again, 'with a great admiration of the mariners, 'who were therewith converted and baptized, was driven, at laſt, by the weather, 'to the coaſt of the *Weſt Saxons*; where *Kinigilſus*, and his brother *Quicilinus*, did 'reign. Which two kings, the ſame time, 'by the preaching of *Berinus*, were converted and made Chriſtian men, with the people 'of the country, being before rude and barbarous.

'barous. It happen'd the ſame time, when 'the foreſaid kings ſhould be chriſten'd, 'that *Oſwaldus*, king of *Northumberland*, 'was then preſent, and the ſame day marri-'ed *Kinigilſus* his daughter, and alſo was '*godfather* to the king.'

Mr. *Fuller* agrees as to the fact; but places it in the year 636. His words are theſe: *Church Hiſt.* Lib. ii. p. 79.

'*Birinus* here [in the South-weſt part of '*England*] ſets up his ſtaff epiſcopal; fixeth 'himſelf; falls a preaching; converts many, 'and amongſt the reſt, *Kyngils*, the *Weſt* '*Saxon* king, whom he baptized. *Oſwald*, 'king of *Northumberland*, chanced to be 'preſent at that time, and was firſt *godfather*, 'then father in law to king *Kyngills*, to 'whom he gave his daughter to wife.'

St. *Chad* 'was, ſays Sir *John Floyer*, one 'of the firſt converters of our nation, and 'uſed *immerſion*, in the baptiſm of the *Saxons*. 'And the well near *Stow*, which may bear 'his name, was, probably, his *baptiſtry*, it 'being deep enough for *immerſion*, and con-'veniently ſeated near the church, and that 'has the reputation of curing ſore eyes, ſcabs, '*&c.* as moſt holy wells in *England* do; 'which got that name from the baptizing the 'firſt Chriſtians in them, and to the memory 'of the holy biſhops who baptized in them, 'they were commonly dedicated, and called 'by their names.' *Hiſtory of cold bathing*, p. 17.

This ſaint *Chad* lived about the year 656; and, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, was 'born in *Nor-*'*thumberland*, bred likewiſe in *Holy iſland*, 'and ſcholar to *Aidanus*. He was biſhop of '*Litchfield*, a mild and modeſt man— who 'made Anno 656. *Church Hiſt.* Lib. ii. p. 84.

'made many Chriſtians, and amongſt the 'reſt *Wulfade* and *Rufine*.'

Anno 689. Among the eccleſiaſtical laws of *Inas*, or *Iva*, one of the *Weſt Saxon* kings, who began his reign in the year 689, and reigned Fox. Vol I. p. 1016. thirty ſeven years, this was one; 'That in-'fants ſhould be baptized within thirty days:' Which ſuppoſes that ſome, in thoſe times, were for delaying their baptiſm.

Hiſtory of cold bathing, Pt. I. p. 57. '*Wilfrid*, ſays Sir *John Floyer*, converted 'the *South Saxons* to the faith, *et lavacrum* '*ſalutis miniſtrabat*. *Edilmalch*, their king, 'was baptized in *Mercia*, whoſe king, *Wulf-*'*here* being preſent, *Bede*, in his fourth book, 'makes him his godfather: *A quo etiam de* '*fonte egreſſus loco filii ſuſceptus eſt*. *Bede*, in 'his firſt book, relates how *Ceadwella*, the 'king of the *Weſt Saxons*, left his kingdom 'and went to *Rome*; *ut ad limina beatorum* '*apoſtolorum fonte baptiſmatis abluеretur*; 'and that he was baptized, *die ſancti ſabbati* '*paſchalis*, Anno 689.' And in another Ibid. p. 11. place, ſays Sir *John*, 'The Chriſtian bap-'tiſm ſucceeded the *Gentile* purifications; 'and that was performed by *immerſion* in '*England*, and all parts, at the firſt planting 'of Chriſtianity. In the life of *Ælfredus* Anno 872. '[who began his reign over *England* in the 'year 872.] we find that *Guthrumnus the* '*Dane*, with thirty of his companions, were 'baptized in a fountain; and *Alfredus de* '*baptiſterio ſuſceptum nominat Athelſtan*; 'and they uſed a ſecond rite of ablution, *cum* '*veſtes candidæ deponerentur*, ſuch practices 'of ablution of children, which is both reli-'gious and phyſical, is practiſed in the *Eaſt-*'*Indies*,

'*Indies*, as *Albert de Mandeſhoes* informs us 'in his travels among them.—— And be-'cauſe it is uſually objected, ſays Sir *John*, 'that theſe religious practices of immerſion 'are ſuitable to hot regions, and not to cold, 'I will give ſome quotations from the wri-'ters of travels into thoſe cold countries; to 'ſhew that the northern people uſe ſuch 'practices.

'The *Muſcovites*, ſays Sir *John*, from *Olearius*, believe themſelves the only Chri-'ſtians, becauſe they are immerſed into the 'water, and not ſprinkled; and they will 'receive no proſelytes till they are rebaptized 'by immerſion. They therefore dip their 'children in the fonts; and all perſons of 'riper years are plunged into rivers at their 'baptiſms. And *Olearius* farther affirms, '*page* 96. That they often break the ice to 'get them into the water. Ibid. p. 13.

'*Olearius* alſo delivers the manner of the baptiſm of the *Arminians*, who ſet their 'children naked in the font, and pour water 'on their heads and bodies three times. Ibid. p. 14.

'In *Tavernier*'s travels 'tis obſerved, that 'the Chriſtians of *Balſara* in *Aſia*, who anci-'ently lived near *Jordan*, never baptize but in 'rivers; and that the godfathers plunge the 'child all over into the water. And every 'year theſe diſciples of St. *John* celebrate a 'feaſt for five days; during which time 'they are baptized, according to the bap-'tiſm of St. *John*. *Tavernier* alſo farther 'obſerves, That the *Arminians* plunge their 'children into rivers at *Chriſtmas*; and he 'wonders that the extremity of the weather 'does not kill the children. The king of

'*Perſia*

'*Perſia* is oft preſent at this ceremony, per-
'formed at *Chriſtmas*, near *Iſpahan*.'

I have been informed, ſays Sir *John*, that our *Highlanders* oft dip their children in cold water.

Anno 976. King *Ethelred*, who came to the crown in the year 976, appears to have been baptized by a total *immerſion*, from an accident that happen'd at his *baptiſm*.

Acts and Monuments, Vol. I. p. 206. Mr. *Fox*, who calls him *Egelred*, ſays: 'Of this *Egelred*, it is read, That when *Dun-
'ſtan* the archbiſhop ſhould chriſten him,
'as he did hold him over the font, ſome-
'thing there happen'd that pleaſed not *Dun-
'ſtan*; whereupon he ſware, *per ſanctam
'Mariam, iſte ignavus homo erit*, by the
'mother of Chriſt, he will be a prince unto-
'ward and cowardly.'

Ch. Hiſtory, Lib. ii. p. 135. Mr. *Fuller* is more plain; and ſays, '*Ethelred* —— with whom *Dunſtan* had a
'quarrel from his cradle; becauſe, when an
'infant, *he left more water in the font then
'he found there* at his baptizing —— from
'ſuch his *addition*, *Dunſtan* prognoſticated an
'inundation of *Danes* would enſue in this
'Iſland.'

Sir *John Floyer*, plainer yet, in anſwer to the objection, That it never was the cuſtom to immerſe children in *England*, ſays, 'I
'will give this remarkable inſtance of the
'*baptiſm* of king *Edgar*'s ſon *Ethelred*, in
'*Polydore Virgil*'s own words: *Is dum bapti-
'zabatur, cum ſubito in ſacrum fontem con-
'fecti cibi reliquias ex alvo emiſiſſet, traditur
'Dunſtanus predixiſſe ita futurum, ut ille
'quandoque ingens patriæ incommodum dede-
'cuſque afferret.*'

Dedication.

Mr.

Mr. *Fox*, to ſhew that the government of Chriſt's church in *England*, did not depend upon the pope, but hath been directed by ſuch princes as God had placed under him to govern the people of this realm, has given us a table of the eccleſiaſtical laws made by ſeveral of the kings of *England*, for the government of the *Britiſh* church. I ſhall only take notice of that of *Canutus* the *Dane*, who began to reign in this land *Anno* 1016. Among many other eccleſiaſtical laws, he made this: 'That every Chriſtian man underſtand the points of his faith; and that, at the leaſt, he learn perfectly the Lord's-prayer and the creed; and that whoſoever cannot, the ſame ſhall be excluded from the eucharift, and ſhall not be received, to undertake for others in baptiſm.' Anno 1016. *Acts and Mon.* Vol. I. p. 1017.

Though the *baptiſm* of infants ſeems now to be pretty well eſtabliſhed in this realm; yet the practice of *immerſion* in *baptiſm* continued many years longer; and there were not perſons wanting to oppoſe *infant baptiſm*. For in the time of *William* the conqueror, and his ſon *William Rufus*, it appears; that the *Waldenſes* and their diſciples, out of *France*, *Germany* and *Holland*, had their frequent recourſe and reſidence, and did abound in *England*. Mr. *Danvers* cites biſhop *Uſher*, who, he ſays, tells us, 'That the *Beringa-rian*, or *Waldenſian* hereſy, as the chronologer calls it, had, about that time, *viz.* *Anno* 1080. generally corrupted all *France*, *Italy* and *England*. And further, the ſaid biſhop tells us, out of *Guitmond*, a popiſh writer of that time, That not only the *meaner ſort* in the *country villages*, but the *Treat. of Bapt.* p. 275.

'*nobi-*

'*nobility* and *gentry* in the chiefeſt towns and 'cities, were *infected* therewith; and there-'fore doth *Lanfrank*, who was *archbiſhop* 'of *Canterbury*, in the time of both theſe 'kings, about the year 1087, write a book 'againſt them.

'In the time of *Henry* I. and king *Ste-'phen*, the ſaid biſhop *Uſher* tells us, out of '*Popliner*'s hiſtory of *France*, That the *Wal-*
Anno 1100. '*denſes* of *Aquitain* did, about the year 1100. 'ſpread *themſelves* and their *doctrines* all '*Europe over*, whereof he mentions *England* 'in particular.'

Anno 1158. About the year 1158, there came about thirty perſons of the *Waldenſian* ſect over into *England*, and endeavour'd to ſeminate their doctrines here: Theſe are ſuppoſed to reject *infant baptiſm*; the two chief of them were *Gerherdus* and *Dulcinus*.

Acts and Mon. Vol. I. p. 262. Thus, ſays Mr. *Fox*, '*Gerhardus and Dul-'cinus Nauarenſis*, who, in their time, ac-'cording to their gift, did earneſtly labour and 'preach againſt the church of *Rome*, defend-'ing and maintaining, that prayer was not 'more holy in one place than in another; 'that the pope was antichriſt; that the clergy 'and prelates of *Rome* were reject, and the 'very whore of *Babylon* prefigured in the 'apocalypſe, *&c.* Peradventure, ſays Mr. '*Fox*, theſe had received ſome light of know-'ledge of the *Waldenſes*, who, at length, 'with a great number of their followers, 'were oppreſſed and ſlain by the pope.

'*Illyricus*, in his book *De teſtibus*, refer-'reth the time of theſe two to the year of our 'Lord 1280. But, as I find in the ſtory of '*Robert Guisbarne*, theſe two, about the

'year

'year of our Lord 1158, brought thirty
'with them into *England*; who, by the king
'and the prelates, were all burnt in the fore-
'head, and ſo driven out of the realm; and
'after, were ſlain by the pope.'

Mr. *Danvers* cites *Roger Hoveden*; who in his annals upon the year 1182, ſaith, 'That *Henry* II. was then very favourable to 'the *Waldenſian* ſect in *England*; for where-'as they burnt them in ſome places of '*France*, *Italy* and *Flanders*, by great num-'bers, he would not in the leaſt ſuffer any 'ſuch thing here, he being in his own wives 'right, poſſeſt of *Aquitain*, *Poictou*, *Guien*, '*Gaſcoyn*, *Normandy*, &c. the principal pla-'ces where the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* in-'habited, and who being his ſubjects in '*France*, had the freer egreſs into his *terri-'tories* here. *Treat. of Bapt.* p. 277.

'In the time of *Richard* I. and king *John*, 'we read of no oppoſition made againſt 'them, being times of great trouble, what 'by *Richard*'s abſence in the *holy wars*, and 'his impriſonment by the *emperor* at his re-'turn; and the grievous wars, both foreign 'and domeſtic, that attended king *John*, 'and the great conteſts he had with the '*pope*, who interdicted his kingdom, forbad 'all publick *worſhip* in the nation, for the 'ſpace of *ſix years*, only admitting of pri-'vate baptiſm to infants, procured the greater 'freedom to the Chriſtians, as well as the 'greater opportunity in thoſe diſturbances to 'propagate the truth.——

'In the time of *Henry* III, about the year '1235, as ſaith biſhop *Uſher* out of *Matth. Paris*, The orders of the *Friers Minorites* 'came

'came into *England*, to ſuppreſs this *Wal-*
'*denſian* hereſy.'

Anno 1315. In the time of king *Edward* the ſecond, about the year 1315. *Walter Lollard*, a *German* preacher, a man of great renown among the *Waldenſes*, came into *England*; he ſpread their doctrines very much in theſe parts; ſo that afterwards they went by the name of *Lollards*.

Ch. Hiſtory, Lib. iv p. 163. Says Mr. *Fuller*: 'By *Lollards*, all know 'the *Wicklivites* are meant; ſo called from '*Walter Lollardus*, one of their *teachers* 'in *Germany*, flouriſhing many years before '*Wickliffe*, and much conſenting with him in 'judgment.'

Of *Wickliff*, his opinions, and his followers, who were called *Lollards*, I have given an account in *Chap.* i. of the firſt volume. I ſhall only now further obſerve, That the practice of *immerſion* or dipping in *baptiſm*, continued in the church until the reign of king *James* I. or about the year 1600. which I ſhall tranſcribe from that ingenious and worthy gentleman, Sir *John Floyer* of *Litchfield*, Knt. who begins his third letter concerning the ancient *immerſion* of infants in baptiſm, thus:

Hiſtory of cold bathing. Ed. 3. p. 50. '*To the Reverend the Dean and Canons, Re-*
'*ſidentiaries of the Cathedral Church of*
'Litchfield.

'*My Reverend friends*,

'MY deſign being to recommend the 'uſe of cold bathing to this country, 'I thought it neceſſary for the aſſuring all 'people of the innocency of that practice, to 'repreſent

'repreſent to them the ancient cuſtom of our 'church in the immerſion of infants, as well 'as all other people at their baptiſm. And I 'do here appeal to you, as perſons well verſed 'in the ancient hiſtory, and canons, and ce-'remonies of the church of *England*; and 'therefore are ſufficient witneſſes of the mat-'ter of fact which I deſign to prove, *viz.* 'That *immerſion* continued in the church of '*England* till about the year 1600. And from 'thence I ſhall infer, that if God and the 'church thought that practice innocent for '1600 years, it muſt be accounted an unrea-'ſonable nicety in this preſent age, to ſcruple 'either *immerſion* or cold bathing as danger-'ous practices.'

To prove that it was the general practice of the primitive church to baptize their converts in fountains, ponds, or rivers; 'After 'that manner, ſays he, all nations, whether '*Northern* or *Southern*, received the baptiſ-'mal ablution.

'The holy ſcriptures inform us, that St. '*John* baptized in *Jordan*; and this was part 'of our *Engliſh* liturgy, *That by the baptiſm 'of thy well beloved ſon, Jeſus Chriſt, did 'ſanctify the flood* Jordan, *and all other waters.* '*Paul* baptized *Lydia* in a river. And *Phi-'lip* baptized the eunuch in a water; of 'whom 'tis writ, *That they went both down 'into the water.* *Tertullian* affirms, That '*Peter* baptized many in the *Tyber*.

''Tis certain, ſays he, that there were no 'baptiſteries built till after the ſecond century; 'and then they were not built in the church, 'but out of it, and near to ſome cathedral;

'where the biſhop uſed to baptize at the *Eves* 'of *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide.*'

He cites St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Cyprian*, to prove that *baptiſm* was perform'd by *immerſion*: And then tells us, That 'in the time of *Cludoveus*, the *French* king's 'baptiſteries were built in the *Weſtern* church, 'and placed near the door on the left hand; 'they were parted in the middle by a travers 'of wood; one part was allotted to the wo-'men, and the other to the men; and Dea-'coneſſes were appointed to aſſiſt in the bap-'tizing of the women ——

'In all theſe baptiſteries, ſays he, they 'uſed *immerſion*; and they deſcended by 'ſteps into them as into a ſepulchre; be-'cauſe we are ſaid to be *buried with him* '*in baptiſm*; and it was the cuſtom of the 'godfathers to receive the men, and the God-'mothers the women, as they came out of 'the water.'

To anſwer the objection, That this practice may be fitter for hot climates than the cold. He cites the baptiſm of king *Lucius* and his people by *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus*; and how *Paulinus* baptized king *Edwin* at *York*, and great numbers in the rivers *Glen*, *Swalva*, and *Trakenta*, with other inſtances to the ſame purpoſe. And in concluſion ſays; 'By 'all the preceding quotations from *Bede*, 'tis 'clearly prov'd, that *immerſion* was the gene-'ral practice in the firſt planting of Chriſti-'anity in *England*, and by the following in-'ſtances it will appear, that it was continued 'in the *Engliſh* church till the time of king '*James* I.

'In

'In *Spelman*'s *Concilia*, part the firſt, in 'the ſynod of *Cheluchyth*, under *Wulfred* 'archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *An.* 821. *cap.* 22. 'I find theſe words; *Sciant etiam presbyteri,* '*quando ſacrum baptiſma miniſtrant, ut non* '*effundant aquam ſanctam ſuper capita in-* '*fantum, ſed ſemper mergantur in lavacro,* '*ſicut exemplum præbuit per ſemet ipſum Dei* '*filius omni credenti, quando eſſet ter merſus* '*in undis Jordanis.*

'That the ſame cuſtom continued after- 'wards, appears by the *Caſſillian* council in '*Ireland, Anno* 1172. in part ſecond of *Spel-* '*man*'s *Concilia*; where it was order'd, *Ut* '*pueri deferrentur ad eccleſiam, et ibi bapti-* '*zentur in aqua munda, trina merſione.* And 'in the year 1195, in the council at *York*, it 'was order'd, *Ne in baptiſmate plures quam* '*tres ſuſcipiant puerum de ſacro fonte.* And '*Spelman* ſhews the continuance of *immer-* '*ſion*, by a ſtatute made in the council at '*London*, held 1200; *Si vero puer in neceſſi-* '*tate baptizetur a laico*; *ſequentia immerſio-* '*nem, non præcedentia per ſacerdotem exple-* '*antur.* Many more teſtimonies of the *im-* '*merſion* may be obſerved in *Spelman.*

'In the conſtitutions of *Ric. Epiſc. Sa-* '*rum*, 1217, 'tis order'd, That in baptizing 'of a boy, there ſhall be but three, *ad* '*levandum puerum de fonte.* And in the con- 'ſtitutions of *Ric. Epiſc. Dunelm.* 1220, 'tis 'order'd, That the water where the child is 'baptized, ſhall not be kept above ſeven 'days: And in the *Synodus Wigornienſis,* '*Trina ſemper fiat immerſio baptizandi,* An- 'no 1240. And in the *Synodus Exonienſis,* '1287. *Si puer rite baptizatus, non ipſa ſub-*

'*merſio*, *nec præcedentia*, *ſed ſubſequentia per* '*ſacerdotem ſuppleantur*. And the *Synodus* '*Wintonienſis*, Anno 1306, mentions the '*immerſion*. I have quoted all the preceding 'paſſages, ſays Sir *John*, from *Spelman*, 'whoſe credit cannot be queſtioned: and I 'deſire alſo thence to obſerve, That the *im-*'*merſion* was always uſed to children as well 'as adult perſons.

'I will next, ſays he, produce *Linwood*, 'who began to write his *Conſtitutiones An-*'*gliæ*, about the year 1422. And he gives 'the provincial conſtitutions of *Edmund Epiſc.* '*Cant. Anno Dom.* 1234. *Baptiſterium habe-*'*atur in qualibet eccleſia baptiſmali lapideum*, '*vel aliud competens*. And a competent bap-'tiſtery *Linwood* interprets big enough for the 'immerſion of the perſon to be baptized. 'And *Linwood*, p. 242. gives theſe remarks 'on the different ways of baptizing; al-'though *baptiſm* may be performed by *aſper-*'*ſion*, or *effuſion* of water, where there is 'ſuch a cuſtom, yet the more laudable cu-'ſtom is, that it ſhould be done by *immerſion*; 'and though the *immerſion* may be one, yet 'the cuſtom of the trine *immerſion* is more to 'be approved, becauſe it ſignifies our faith in 'the Trinity, and the three days ſepulture of 'Chriſt. Though this was the opinion of the '*Canoniſts* in his days, yet, 'tis plain, that the 'trine *immerſion* continued longer in *England*; 'for *Eraſmus* noted it as a piece of ſingularity 'in the *Engliſh* church; becauſe, in his time, 'they uſed immerſion. And it is evident, by 'the rubrick in king *Edward* VIth's days, 'that the *Engliſh* church uſed that practice.

'Then

'Then ſhall the prieſt take the child in his 'hands, and aſk the name, and naming the 'child, ſhall dip it in the water thrice; *firſt*, 'dipping the right ſide, *ſecondly*, the left ſide, 'and the *third* time, dipping the face towards 'the font, ſo it be diſcreetly and warily done. 'In the Common-prayer-book, in queen *Eli-* 'zabeth's days, the *rubrick* ſays, naming the 'child, you ſhall *dip* it in the water, ſo it 'be diſcreetly and warily done; but if the 'child be weak, or be baptized privately, 'in caſe of neceſſity, it was ſufficient to pour 'water upon it.

'King *Edward*'s injunctions were pub- 'liſh'd, 1547. by which all people were for- 'bid the breaking obſtinately the laudable 'ceremonies of the church. And in *Sparrow*'s '*collection of articles*, &c. in the articles of 'queen *Elizabeth*, 1564, 'tis order'd, That 'the font be not remov'd, nor that the curate 'do baptize in any pariſh churches in any ba- 'ſon, nor in any other form than is already 'preſcribed. And 1571, *Liber canonum*, '*poſtremo curabunt ut in ſingulis eccleſiis ſit* '*ſacer fons*, *non pelvis*, *in quo baptiſmus mi-* '*niſtretur*, *riteque*, *decenter et mundè con-* '*ſervetur*.

'I have now given, ſays Sir *John*, what 'teſtimony I could find in our *Engliſh* authors, 'to prove the conſtant practice of *immerſion*, 'from the time the *Britons* and *Saxons* were 'baptized, till king *James*'s days, when the 'people grew peeviſh with all ancient cere- 'monies; and through the love of novelty, 'and the niceneſs of parents, and the pretence 'of modeſty, they laid aſide *immerſion*; 'which never was abrogated by any canon;

'but is ſtill recommended by the preſent 'rubrick of our church; which orders the 'child to be *dip'd* diſcreetly and warily.'

Hiſt. of cold bathing, p.63. He obſerves, That 'when Chriſtianity was 'firſt planted, the bath ſtructures were turn-'ed into temples, and the *Piſcina*'s or cold 'baths, were called *Baptiſteria* by *Pliny*, ju-'nior, and in them they baptized frequently.

Ibid. p. 164. 'And that the *Saxons* who ſucceeded the *Ro-'mans*, brought in the *German* cuſtom of 'waſhing in rivers for the preſerving of their 'healths; and that made them receive the 'baptiſmal *immerſion* in rivers and fountains, 'without any ſcruple; and, 'tis probable, 'that on theſe the firſt Chriſtians impoſed the 'names of their ſaints, and religion taught the 'Heathens to change the names of their 'ſprings, and dedicate them to their Chriſtian 'ſaints; which, for their great cures, were 'formerly dedicated to their demons. So '*Virgo*, the famous ſpring at *Rome*, which 'was dedicated to *Diana*, was afterwards 'conſecrated *Divæ Mariæ Virgini*, as the 'learned *Baccius* affirms.'

Though the practice of *immerſion* was now generally diſuſed in *England*, yet there were ſome who were unwilling to part with this laudable and ancient practice.

Ibid. p. 61. 'I have been credibly informed, ſays Sir '*John Floyer*, by a perſon of quality, who 'had the relation from Mrs. *Shaw*, an anci-'ent midwife; that Sir *Robert Shirly*, in 'king *Charles* I's days, cauſed three of his 'ſons to be *dipped* in the font without any 'prejudice to them: and that one of that ho-'nourable family, who was thus baptized is 'now living. I mention this, ſays he, to

'ſhew the opinion of ſome in thoſe days, 'who thought that *immerſion* innocent; and 'tis probable, that many others were very 'unwilling to part with this laudable and 'ancient practice of *immerſion*.'

And in another place he ſays, 'That I may 'farther convince all my countrymen, that '*immerſion* in *baptiſm* was very lately left off in '*England*; I will aſſure them, that there are 'yet perſons living who were ſo *immerſed*; 'for I was informed by Mr. *Berisford*, mini-'ſter of *Stretton* in *Derbyſhire*, that his pa-'rents *immerſed* not only him, but the reſt 'of his family at his *baptiſm*. He is now 'about ſixty ſix years old;' which, by the date of the letter muſt be about the year 1640. Ibid. p. 182.

In another place, ſays Sir *John*, 'A per-'ſon of eighty years old, who was then ve-'ry ſenſible, told me, that in his time he 'could not remember the dipping of infants 'in *England* at their baptiſm, but that his 'father oft ſpoke of it; and farther told him, 'That the parents uſed always at the bap-'tiſm of their children, to deſire the prieſt to 'dip that part very well, in which any diſ-'eaſe uſed to afflict themſelves, to prevent its 'being hereditary.' Ibid. p. 14.

And he aſſerts, That 'it has been a pro-'verbial ſaying amongſt the old people, *That 'if any one complained of any pain in their 'limbs, ſurely that limb had never been dip-'ped in the font.* Ibid. p. 65.

'The *Welſh*, ſays he, have more lately left '*immerſion*; for ſome middle aged perſons 'have told me, That they could remember 'their *dipping* in *baptiſm*.' And he endea-vours to prove that cuſtom uſeful to the Ibid. p. 14.

Ibid. p. 15. health of infants and others; and ſays, 'That 'it is only a vain fear in the parents, which 'has occaſioned the diſuſe of it; to which the 'Canon 1603, in king *James*'s days, might 'a little contribute, through the miſtake of 'its ſenſe; for there all baptiſm, whether by '*immerſion* or *aſperſion*, is declared valid.'

Thus have I traced the practice of the *Britiſh* churches in the point of baptiſm till ſprinkling took place. And to me it ſeems evident beyond contradiction, that about three hundred years after the firſt plantation of the goſpel in *Britain*, no other baptiſm was uſed but that of *adult perſons*, by immerſion, or dipping the body of the perſon, upon the profeſſion of his faith; and that after the ſubject was changed, and infant baptiſm introduced by a maſſacre of almoſt all that refuſed to comply with the change; yet the *mode of baptiſm* by immerſion continued about twelve hundred years; and though the *mode* be now changed, and ſprinkling has gained the aſcendant, yet I muſt beg of the pædobaptiſt gentlemen (and I doubt not but all the *Engliſh baptiſts* will join with me) to ſhew us, where Chriſt has given to any men or church, a diſpenſation to change his laws and ordinances, or make them void by their traditions, ſeeing they are all, except the *Papiſts*, ready to join with us, in declaring God's word to be our rule in all points of faith and practice, to the end of the world; as I ſhall ſhew in my preface to the next volume.

How doth God complain, by the prophet, of his people of old, for preſuming to change his laws? He gave a particular command, that his altars ſhould be made of earth or rough

rough ſtone; and reprov'd their horrid tranſgreſſion and diſobedience in acting contrary to his expreſs inſtitution; *A people, ſaith God,* Iſa. lxv. 3. *that provoke me to anger continually to my face, that ſacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incenſe upon altars of brick.*

I ſhall leave the reader to judge, whether *changing baptiſm*, which God has expreſly commanded to be adminiſtred by dipping believers, on profeſſion of repentance and faith, into that of ſprinkling infants, be not a tranſgreſſion of his precept, in as bad or worſe a manner, than that of building altars of brick, which God himſelf declares was a provoking him continually to his face.

But the *Engliſh Baptiſts* dare not do thus, though the Pædobaptiſts have ſaid much, and they think to little purpoſe, to prove that the word *baptiſm* may be taken in a larger ſenſe than ſtrictly to ſignify immerſion in water; becauſe, unleſs it can be ſhewed from the holy ſcriptures, that the word *baptiſm* was, or may be taken for *ſprinkling* or *pouring* water upon a perſon, as well in the adminiſtration of this ordinance, as in any common uſe, they conceive, there cannot be from thence drawn any ſolid argument for the change of this ſacred rite.

It is true, ſome attempts have been made by gentlemen of great learning towards it; and they have been replied to by the *Baptiſts*. And as far as I can find, in purſuing their hiſtory, they have always had an open ear to conviction, and been a people who love and honour all men fearing God, whether they agree with, or diſagree from them, in their opinion concerning baptiſm. But inſtead of a fair and

candid conviction in a Chriſtian way, it has too much been their lot to be render'd by their opponents, *as odious as they could, and as if they had nothing to ſay for their practice.* Thus the reverend Mr *Neal*, in his *Hiſtory of the Puritans*, a work that is a ſufficient evidence of his great induſtry and good judgment, yet labours under this prejudice againſt the *Baptiſts*; not for want of being better informed, for then ſomething might be ſaid in his excuſe. He ſays, 'The advocates of 'this doctrine were, for the moſt part, of 'the meaneſt of the people; their preachers 'were generally illiterate.'

This Gentleman's candour and juſtice will appear, if we do but compare this with the account Captain *Richard Deane* gave to that worthy prelate Dr. *Barlow*, biſhop of *Lincoln*, of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, in this very time Mr. *Neal* mentions. He ſays, he hopes they will, in his lordſhip's charity (ſo far as their converſation ſuits with their doctrine) be admitted among the number of ſincere Chriſtians: and further, thus expreſſes himſelf.

Letter, p. 7. 'That your lordſhip may make the better 'judgment of the diſciples and ſtate of this 'Sect, concerning whom I write this; I 'crave leave to bring to your remembrance 'ſome of their leaders, and the occaſions 'which prepared the way for the increaſe of 'their numbers.

'About thirty eight years ſince, in the heat 'of our late troubles, *Epiſcopacy being laid 'aſide, and Presbytery* only, as it were by 'way of experiment, for a ſeaſon attempted, 'but never, in a national way proſecuted with 'effect, every man was at liberty to purſue

'the

'the perſuaſions of his own mind, as to entering into church fellowſhip in diſtinct congregations, and therein to join with ſuch as he conceived came neareſt to the primitive pattern in worſhip and diſcipline.

'About that time, ſays he, and a little after, there were many miniſters, ſome who had been before ordained, and others who were admitted to parochial and other publick charges. Among whom, of my acquaintance, were Mr. *Tombes*, ſometime preacher at the *Temple*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Blackwood* in *Kent*, Mr. *Benjamin Cox* at *Bedford*, Mr. *Edward Harriſſon*, Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, and ſome others in or near *Hertfordſhire*, Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, and many others, who did openly profeſs, and ſeveral of them write, and publiſh their opinions concerning the proper ſubject and manner of baptiſm. Some of them voluntarily left their parochial charges and benefices, as not approving the baptizing of infants, and collected diſtinct congregations of ſuch as agreed with them in this doctrine of baptiſm; which, by a ſucceſſion of ordained miniſters, in the place of ſuch as are dead, remain to this day.'

I ſhall add to this, the names of other worthy Gentlemen who left the practice of *Infant baptiſm*, were themſelves baptized by immerſion, and joined themſelves with the baptized churches, *viz. John Harding*, D. D. —— *Duveil*, D. D. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, Mr. *James Brown*, Mr. *Robert Brown*, Mr. *Henry Jeſſey*, Mr. *Thomas Hardcaſtle*, Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, Mr. *John Goſnold*, Mr. *Henry Denne*, Mr. *Samuel Fiſher*, Mr. *Henry Mor-*

Morriſs, Mr. *Richard Claridge*, Mr. *John Keith*, Mr. *Francis Bampfield*, Mr. —— *Abbot*, Mr. —— *Seykmore*, Mr. *William Kaye*, Mr. *William Britten*, Mr. *Henry Forty*, Mr. *Joſeph Maiſters*, Mr. *Robert Steed*, Mr. —— *Williams*, Mr. —— *London*, Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Canne*.

Theſe were *Advocates*, who the reverend Mr. *Neal* would have us to eſteem, *illiterate, and of the meaneſt of the people.* And if ſo, I hope he will not look upon it as an hard taſk to make a reply to the account which the Captain has given of their judgment and practice (the which I have placed in the *Appendix*, N°. 3.) and the rather, becauſe, in my opinion, all the *Baptiſts* ever ſince have, by their doctrine and converſation atteſted what is aſſerted by this author.

THE

THE

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ERRATA.

PREFACE.

PAGE 37. line 1. for *cowd* read *croud*.

HISTORY.

Page 17. line 10. for *they* read *have*.
—— 98. —— 1. for *diſtuburbance* r. *diſturbance*.
—— 103. —— 2. read *in* all.
—— 125. —— 22. read *to* them.
—— 132. —— 13. read *of* them.
—— 206. —— 11. for *he which* r. *which he*.
—— 294. —— 15. for *from* r. *of*.
—— 299. —— 21. for *abſured* r. *abſurd*.
—— 363. —— 29. for *any* r. *an*.

APPENDIX.

Page 24. line 33. for *Trinty* read *Trinity*.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Engliſh Baptiſts.

CHAP. I.

From the reſtoration of King Charles II. *to the baniſhment of the Earl of* Clarendon *in* 1667.

SAD and melancholy was the ſtate of theſe kingdoms, during the late uſurpation. Whether they were *Papiſts*, *Epiſcopalians*, *Preſbyterians*, *Independants*, or *Baptiſts*, who were the inſtruments made uſe of by Providence to bring about that ſad revolution, is not much material Anno 1660.

to the preſent generation. Tho' great pains have been taken by hiſtorians, to clear the party on whoſe ſide they wrote, from the *odium* thereof, and to fix it upon the reſt; the truth is, in my judgment, they were all in ſome meaſure concern'd in it. This is certain, and beyond contradiction, that the *Preſbyterians* aſſumed the government; and had not Providence in ſo wonderful a manner appeared, and defeated their deſigns, the whole kingdom muſt have ſpeedily conformed, or have felt the ſmart of their government.

BUT becauſe ſome have charged the *Baptiſts*, upon a preſumption, from the favour of *Cromwell* towards them, till his aſſuming the ſupreme power; I ſhall cite the evidence of Capt. *Richard Dean*, who in his letter to Dr. *Barlow*, biſhop of *Lincoln*, having ſpoken of the great increaſe of the *Baptiſts* in the year 1649, ſays: That 'in that time, did this opi- *Edit.* 1693, p. 10, &c. 'nion ſpread itſelf alſo into ſome of the 'regiments of horſe and foot in the ar- 'my; and that in 1650, and afterwards, 'ſome profeſſing this opinion were called 'from their private employments, and 'preferr'd to commands at ſea. Among 'others, Capt. *Mildmay*, to command 'the Admiral Flagſhip, under the late 'Duke of *Albemarle*, when he was 'one of the generals at ſea. Capt. '*Pack* to command the Flagſhip under

'Sir

'Sir *George Aſcue*, Rear-Admiral; Sir
'*John Harman*, to command the Ad-
'miral Flagſhip, under his Royal High-
'neſs the Duke of *York*.

'BUT notwithſtanding ſome of this
'ſect had that countenance given them,
'as I have mentioned, by ſuch as had
'the principal management of affairs;
'yet this ſect in general, as they have
'publiſh'd in their *Apologies*, were the
'leaſt of any ſort of people concern'd in
'any viciſſitudes of government that hap-
'pen'd among us: My ſtation within the
'afore mention'd ten years, gave me op-
'portunity to know moſt perſons and
'actions of note, in reference as well to
'civil, as martial affairs, and particular-
'ly thoſe of this ſect. And although in
'and after the year 1649, their numbers
'did encreaſe, inſomuch that the princi-
'pal officers in divers regiments of horſe
'and foot became *Anabaptiſts*; particu-
'larly in *Oliver Cromwell*'s own regiment
'of horſe, when he was Captain-General
'of all the Parliament's forces; and in
'the Duke of *Albemarle*'s own regiment
'of foot when he was General of all the
'*Engliſh* forces in *Scotland*: Yet by the beſt
'information I could have, there were not
'at any time, before the year 1649,
'twenty *Anabaptiſts* in any ſort of com-
'mand in the whole army; and until
'after the year 1648, there were no more

'than two; *viz.* Mr. *Laurence*, and Mr. '*John Fiennes*, one of the Lord *Say*'s 'ſons, who made profeſſion of this opi-'nion, choſen into the Common's Houſe 'of Parliament; and both theſe did in that 'year, and in the life-time of K. *Charles* I. 'as I have been credibly inform'd, vo-'luntarily depart from that Parliament, 'as not approving their proceedings 'againſt the perſon of the King, and 'ſat no more in it, but liv'd privately 'until about ſix years aferwards, a new 'form of government being then formed, 'and in appearance ſettled, Mr. *Laurence* 'was called again into publick employ-'ment.

'I CONFESS to your Lordſhip, I ne-'ver heard of any *Anabaptiſt* in the King's 'army, during the conteſt between his 'Majeſty and the Parliament. And per-'haps, becauſe there were ſome in the 'Parliament's army, and none in the 'King's army, ſome perſons have from 'thence taken occaſion to affirm, that 'the opinion of Anabaptiſm in the church 'is oppoſite to monarchy in the ſtate. 'It is true, ſays he, as before is men-'tion'd, that this opinion was no gene-'ral bar to the continuance of ſuch as 'did embrace it, in publick employment, 'tho' I have cauſe to believe, one ſpecial 'reaſon of diſbanding one entire regiment 'in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s army, was, for

'that

'that the Colonel entertained and gave 'countenance to *Separatiſts* and ſome *A-* 'nabaptiſts. And that which occaſion'd 'Oliver Cromwell, after he uſurped the 'government of Lord Protector, to diſ- 'charge at once all the principal officers 'of his own regiment upon other pre- 'tences, was, for that they were all *A-* 'nabaptiſts.' *Colonel* Holm-ſtead's.

HENCE I think it evidently appears, that the *Baptiſts* were not in power, at the time of the King's death; and that afterwards they were not ſo much in favour with the Protector, who was the chief author of the King's death, as to give any grounds to charge that action upon them.

KING *Charles* II. was receiv'd with the general acclamation of the people. 'At 'his arrival, ſays *Rapin* [a], the face of 'England was entirely changed; and 'joy, pleaſures, publick and private re- 'joicings, ſucceeded to trouble, fear and 'conſternation. The people were ſo ti- 'red of the life they had led for twenty 'years paſt, that they did not believe it 'poſſible to be in a worſe ſtate. Every 'one rejoiced to ſee at laſt a calm, af- 'ter ſo long a ſtorm; and expected to 'enjoy a tranquillity, ſought in vain for 'ſo many years. The *Royaliſts* and *E-* 'piſcopalians were at once raiſed to the *King* Char. II. *reſtor'd.*

[a] Vol. II. p. 618.

'height of their wiſhes, in beholding '*Charles* II. on the throne of his anceſ-'tors, and the church of *England* about 'to reſume her former luſtre. The '*Preſbyterians* flatter'd themſelves, that 'their late ſervices for the King, would 'at leaſt procure them an entire liberty 'of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of 'their religion. The *Republicans*, *Inde-'pendants*, *Anabaptiſts*, could not indeed 'hope to be reſtor'd to the ſtate, they 'had enjoy'd ſo many years; but expec-'ted at leaſt an intire impunity, agreea-'bly to the *Breda* declaration.' In which was this clauſe[b]: 'And becauſe the paſ-'ſion and uncharitableneſs of the times 'have produc'd ſeveral opinions in reli-'gion, by which men are engaged in 'parties, and animoſities againſt each o-'ther, which, when they ſhall hereafter 'unite in a freedom of converſation, will 'be compoſed or better underſtood: We 'do declare, *a liberty to tender conſci-'ences; and that no man ſhall be diſquiet-'ed, or called in queſtion, for differences of 'opinion in matters of religion, which do 'not diſturb the peace of the kingdom*; 'and that we ſhall be ready, to conſent 'to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon 'mature deliberation ſhall be offered un-'to us for the full granting that indul-'gence.'

[b] Rapin, Vol. II. p. 616.

THE

'THE *Regicides*, says *Rapin* [c], that is, 'the late King's judges, were the only 'persons, that could not but expect the 'punishment they justly deserved. And 'yet, even they despaired not of the 'King's clemency, as indeed, such as 'cast themselves upon it were not wholly 'disappointed. It is not therefore strange, 'that the whole kingdom should resound 'with joyful transports, and unite in re-'ceiving with loud acclamations, a King, 'who, according to the general expecta-'tion, was to restore the publick tran-'quillity and happiness, and put all things 'in their natural order.

'As soon as the King was arriv'd in *England* [d], the Assembly which from 'the 25th of *April*, had been honoured 'with the name of *Parliament*, was on-'ly called the *Convention*, the King be-'ing unwilling to own for Parliament an 'assembly which had not been summon-'ed by his writs. But this change of 'name was of no long continuance. Two 'days after his arrival, the King went to 'the House of Lords; where he sent for 'the Commons, and gave the royal assent 'to three acts; the first was to change 'the *Convention* into a *Parliament*.' And to prevent all doubts and scruples concerning this Parliament, it was enacted; *Stat.* 12. Car. II. *c.* 1.

Declares the Convention a free Parliament.

[c] Rapin, Vol. II. p. 618.
[d] Ib. Vol. II. p. 619.

That the Lords and Commons, then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, were the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſo ſhould be declar'd and adjudg'd to be, notwithſtanding any want of the King's writs of ſummons.

THIS Parliament began with the act of *indemnity*: And the Commons in an addreſs preſented to the King, declar'd, they accepted the gracious pardon offer'd by his Majeſty in his declaration from *Breda*, with reference to the excepting of ſuch as ſhould be excepted in an act of pardon. The Lords likewiſe, ſays *Rapin* [e], preſented a petition of the like import.

Publiſhes a proclamation.

IMMEDIATELY after, the King publiſh'd a proclamation; declaring, that all ſuch of the late King's judges, as did not ſurrender themſelves within fourteen days, ſhould be abſolutely excluded from the general pardon. In conſequence of this proclamation, twenty of them voluntarily ſurrendred themſelves; others withdrew out of the kingdom, and ſome were taken in attempting to eſcape. During the adjournment of the Parliament [f], the King appointed commiſſioners for trial of the *Regicides*. The number of thoſe concern'd in the late King's death, as judges, officers of the court of juſtice and others, amounted to fourſcore and one; of whom

The Regicides tried.

[e] Rapin, Vol. II. p. 619.
[f] Ib. Vol. II. p. 621.

twenty

twentyfive were dead, *nineteen* had made their eſcape; *ſeven* others, for having been leſs engaged in the crime, were thought worthy of the King's clemency; and *twentynine* were condemn'd to die, *ten* only were executed; the reſt were pardoned as to life; but reſerv'd for other penalties, as impriſonment, baniſhment, and forfeiture of eſtate. Of thoſe that were executed, ſays *Rapin*, they were almoſt all *Anabaptiſts*, *Enthuſiaſts*, *Fifth Monarchy-men*, &c. *And ſome executed.*

I DO not find that any of the King's judges were *Baptiſts*, except Major-General *Harriſon*; and if there were more of them ſuch, it reflects no more *odium* on the profeſſion of the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, than on the other denominations to which the reſt belonged. But it is eaſy to ſee the partiality of *Rapin* towards the Diſſenters, who were not of his own profeſſion. And I believe none will deny the difficulties that muſt conſequently attend thoſe, be their profeſſion of religion what it will, when they are under the power of them, who have the ſword of government in their hands. *Major Gen.* Harriſon.

MR. *Baxter* records the Major as an *Anabaptiſt*; and yet acknowledges, that he was a man of excellent natural parts for affection and oratory: And further tells us, that *Cromwell*, when he thought himſelf well ſettled in his Protectorſhip, began *Life*, Part I. p. 57. *Ib.* p. 74.

began to undermine the *Sectarians*, of whom Mr. *Harriſon* he ſays, was become the head and tho' *Cromwell*; had often ſpoken for the *Anabaptiſts*, he deſign'd now to ſettle himſelf in the people's favour by ſuppreſſing them. Hereupon Mr. *Harriſon* was by him made contemptible, who, but yeſterday, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, thought himſelf not much below him.

THE controverſy between him and the ſtate is a point too tender to be touch'd upon. But his behaviour under his ſufferings, publiſh'd in the year 1660, ſhews him to be a man of great piety, and one who believ'd in his conſcience he was not culpable: Nor did he upon his trial attempt to evade any thing he was charg'd with, but own'd his hand to the warrant for convening the *High Court* of *Juſtice*, and alſo to that for execution of the ſentence againſt the King. 'I do not come, 'ſays he, to be denying any thing, that 'in my own judgment and conſcience I 'have done or committed, but rather to 'be bringing it forth to the light.' And in his defence he ſaid, he had two things to offer to the court in matter of law. One is ſays he, 'That this, that hath been 'done, was done by a *Parliament* of '*England*, by the Commons of *England* 'aſſembled in *Parliament*; and that be-'ing ſo, whatever was done by their 'commands, or their authority, is not 'queſ-

Trial of the Regicides, p. 54.

Ib. p. 59.

'queſtionable by your *Lordſhip's*, as be-
'ing, as I humbly conceive, a power in-
'ferior to that of an *High Court* of *Par-*
'*liament*.' That's one. A ſecond is this;
'That what therefore any did in obedi-
'ence to that power and authority, they
'are not to be queſtion'd for it; other-
'wiſe we are in a moſt miſerable condi-
'tion, bound to obey them that are in
'authority, and yet to be puniſh'd if obey'd.
'We are not to judge what is lawful or
'what is unlawful. My *Lords*, upon
'theſe two points I do deſire, that thoſe
'that are learned in the laws may ſpeak
'to on my behalf. It concerns all my
'countrymen. There are caſes alike to
'this, you know in King *Richard* IId's
'time; wherein ſome queſtion had been,
'of what had been done by a *Parlia-*
'*ment*; and what follow'd upon it, I
'need not urge in it. I hope it will
'ſeem good to you, that *Councel* may be
'aſſign'd; for it concerns all my country-
'men.'

THERE are ſome circumſtances attending the conduct of Sir *Robert Tichborne's* family, reſpecting the baptiſm of his grandchildren, which may give ſome ground to ſuſpect that Sir *Robert* was a Baptiſt, tho' I do not find it recorded in any books I have perus'd. However it appears, that he was a man of ſtrict piety, an excellent

Sir Rob. Tichborne.

lent magiſtrate, and one that aim'd at the publick good.

IN his book intitled, a *Cluſter of Canaan's Grapes*, licenſed by Mr. *Joſeph Caryll*, and printed in the year 1649, when he is proving, that love to all ſaints ſhews union with Chriſt; it plainly appears that he was againſt the *Preſbyterian* eſtabliſhment. For he thus expreſſes himP. 11. ſelf: 'If the world, like itſelf, be froward to us, we can ſoon be ſenſible and complain of it; when at the ſame time we, *altogether unlike ſaints*, are froward, and become thorns in the ſides of our brethren; and can ſooner ſay, 'tis impoſſible to be otherwiſe, than complain of our baſe hearts. And, ſays he, with an index in the margin, *I may juſtly fear, that many a ſoul, which but few years ſince would creep into corners with other ſaints, to complain to God of the injuſtice and unkindneſs of the world to them; yet now their feet have been out of the ſtocks, are become the firſt that lift up their hands againſt their brethren.*' And further adds, 'Perſecution is ſuch a foreigner to heaven, that I may ſafely ſay, whatever brings it into a perſon or a nation never came from God; and it will beget a pale countenance at the day of death, when conſcience ſhall witneſs, that ſaints have

'done

'done that to ſaints, which they judg'd 'unjuſt from the world to them.'

WHETHER Sir *Robert* was a *Baptiſt* or not, my long and intimate acquaintance with the family, and the reſpect I bear to them, having been both an eye and ear witneſs of ſome inſults on them upon his account, will not permit me to paſs him, without ſome further notice.

WHEN he was before his judges, he declared, it was his unhappineſs to be called to ſo ſad a work, and that he could ſay with a clear conſcience, he had no more enmity in his heart to his Majeſty, than he had to his wife that lay in his boſom; and ſo pleaded *guilty* to his indictment. The council replied thus; 'We ſhall give no evidence againſt the 'priſoner; he ſays he did it ignorantly: 'and I hope and do believe he is peni- 'tent; and as far as the Parliament thinks 'fit to ſhew mercy, I ſhall be very glad.' *Trial of the regicides, p. 293.*

IT is recorded of him by the author *of his caſe*, that he was of an honeſt and genteel parentage in the city of *London*; a linnendraper, anciently deſcended from a worſhipful family, well eſteem'd and honoured, no picque, blemiſh, or ſtain upon them, his growth and education advancing him alike, to be ſoon a man, which put him very early into action. He ſoon became *Captain* over a foot company in the trained-bands. This he diſcharged abroad *His parentage.*

abroad with valour and diſcretion; and at home with courteſy, his enemies bearing him witneſs. During the war he aſcended the ſeveral ſteps of military honours in order; made *Colonel* of a regiment, and for a time *Lieutenant* of the tower; not taxed by them whom he ſerved with any baſeneſs or deficiency.

Made Sheriff of London. *p.* 7.

HE was made *Sheriff* of *London* in the year 1650. And, ſays the author *of his caſe*, 'During his ſeſſion and continu-'ance in the court of *Aldermen*, betwixt 'his *ſhreivalty* and *maioralty*, he perform-'ed the office of a good citizen, to com-'mon juſtice. Many can bear him wit-'neſs of much uprightneſs and integrity 'manifeſted by him in private buſineſſes, 'the deciſion whereof being referred to 'committees of *aldermen* (of which very 'ſeldom, but he was one, thro' the ſenſe 'that court had of his abilities) he al-'ways juſtly and impartially accommo-'dated; and envy her ſelf cannot ſpeak 'leſs, but gratitude —— would ſpeak 'more.

Lord Mayor.

'WE will take a full view of him in 'this his next dignity, the ſupreme ma-'giſtracy of the *city*, as *Lord-maior* of 'London. And we uſe to ſay, *magiſ-'tratus indicat virum*; but here, *vir in-'dicat magiſtratum*; very few perſons that 'arrived at this honour, after a full ripe-'neſs of years, and digeſtion of a long 'obſer-

'obſervation of cuſtom and manners, go-
'verned the *city* better, nor revived
'more wholeſome laws, and reduced
'things methodically to their firſt ſtate;
'the ſevereſt puniſher of fraud and in-
'juſtice, a moſt rigid exactor of all dues
'and rights belonging to the *city*; keep-
'ing a conſtant inquiſition of all the
'abuſes and treſpaſſes committed or ſuf-
'fered on its privileges; neither favour
'nor affection, as we uſe to ſay, making
'him to connive at ſuch unlawful prac-
'tices.

HE was not againſt the reſtoration of the King; but ſtood ſtill, and engaged in no new deſigns, counſels, or practices, to withſtand that bleſſed work, but with all ſubmiſſion and patience expected the reſults of providence. There were few of that temper and moderation in that critical juncture of time, who yet were in leſs danger than himſelf; which afterwards amounted to a confidence of ſurrendering himſelf, according to the proclamation, and putting himſelf within the danger of the law. *Surrenders himſelf.*

WHAT he did as a member of the *committee of ſafety*, was rather of neceſſity than choice. And doubtleſs had he had that ſtate inſight, he might have taken hold on occaſion's foretop, and redeemed himſelf by ſome ſignal ſeaſonable demon-

demonſtration of *loyalty*, as well as others in the ſame predicament.

p. 11. ‘ How he behaved himſelf, ſaith the ‘ author *of his caſe*, as to his impriſon- ‘ ment in that place where he once com- ‘ manded, with all humility and fair car- ‘ riage, the noble Sir *John Robinſon*, and ‘ his *warders* and *officers*, will give him ‘ a ſufficient and good character. At that ‘ late ſtrange, and rebellious inſurrection ‘ in the *city* by the *Fifth Monarchiſts*, he ‘ profeſſed an utter deteſtation thereof, ‘ and not ſo much for the butchery and ‘ murder committed, as that the peace ‘ of the kingdom was thereby endan- ‘ gered, by ſuch a riotous wicked attempt. ‘ The danger and ſcandal brought by it ‘ on him and his fellow-ſufferers, to the ‘ acceleration of their ends, he weighed ‘ not ſo much; being reſolved either liv- ‘ ing or dying to pray for the proſperity ‘ of the King's government.

‘ He hath continued ever ſince his firſt ‘ reſtraint a moſt ſtrict, auſtere, and mor- ‘ tified life, without any grudgings or re- ‘ pinings at theſe his ſad diſpenſations; ‘ bearing with an even mind the loſs of ‘ a conſiderable eſtate, beſides ſundry diſ- ‘ comforts in his near relations grieving ‘ exceſſively at his condition. And a ‘ deeper wound can hardly be given to a ‘ man in miſery: ſo falls it out in the ‘ extreams of ſorrow, that even our friends ‘ invo-

'involuntarily ſhall contribute to the load 'of it.'

IN the many volumes I have peruſed, I do not find many *Engliſh Baptiſts* acting in high *magiſtratical ſtations*. But when it has ſo happened, they have appeared to be men of ſtrict juſtice, great humility, and ſuch as aimed at the publick good, not enriching themſelves by the benefits of their *high ſtations*. It is obſerved of this great and good gentleman, that notwithſtanding the ſeveral rich *places* and *offices* he went through during the *uſurpation*, his wealth did not anſwer the ſum requir'd to a *Lord-Mayor*'s eſtate; and that his conſtant affability, and humility, was ſufficient to convince all men that he was not arrogant.

A proclamation concerning religion.

THE King publiſh'd a proclamation concerning Religion, containing eight articles; moſt of which preſcribed certain rules to the Biſhops, in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual juriſdiction. The two laſt deſerve a particular notice, becauſe they diſcover, that the Diſſenters were not like to continue long undiſturb'd.

'THE ſeventh ran, ſays *Rapin* *, that 'a certain number of Divines ſhould be 'appointed to reviſe the Liturgy, and 'make ſuch alterations in it, as ſhould 'be judg'd neceſſary; and that *ſcrupu-*

* Vol. II. p. 261.

'*lous perſons* ſhould not be puniſh'd or 'troubled for not uſing it, at preſent.'

'THE eighth was, concerning *cere-* '*monies*; to which for the preſent, no 'perſon ſhould be oblig'd to conform.'

ABOUT this time was publiſh'd by the *General Baptiſts*, a brief confeſſion or declaration of faith, ſubſcrib'd by certain Elders, Deacons, and Brethren met at *London*, in behalf of themſelves and many others unto whom they belong, in *London* and in ſeveral counties of this nation, who were of the ſame faith with them.

IT was preſented to, and approv'd of by his Majeſty: And the ſame was reprinted at *London*, in the year 1691, with the addition of ſome names thereunto. I have plac'd it in the *Appendix*, Nº IV.

THE great encreaſe of the *Baptiſts*, ſtirr'd up their enemies to reproach and villify them, and to render them odious to the government. They are generally charg'd, as a people whoſe principles tended to the deſtruction of the civil power: But I do not find, that their enemies were ever able to produce any thing upon which they could juſtly found ſuch a charge. Indeed, I have receiv'd from the Revd. Mr. *Calamy*, a declaration ſign'd but by three perſons, who apologize for their paucity, and are very zealous againſt *bearing of arms*, and *taking an oath*, and ſeem to be not pleas'd with their

their brethren, for not being of their judgments in theſe points. They are ſo far from oppoſing magiſtracy, that if the greateſt zealots for *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, had been of their judgment, King *James* II. might quietly have kept his throne, and impos'd what religion and laws he had pleas'd upon theſe kingdoms. I have plac'd their declaration in the *Appendix*, N° V.

ON the 26th of *July* 1660, was preſented to the King a petition, with a narrative and complaint, and the confeſſion of faith of ſundry honeſt and well-diſpos'd *Baptiſts*; the meſſengers whereof, by the aſſiſtance of an honourable Member of Parliament, were procur'd to deliver the ſame into his Majeſty's own hand; to which he was pleas'd to return a moſt gracious anſwer. Part of this narration and complaint, which may ſuffice to ſhew the innocency of the complainants, and the cruelty of their perſecutors, is recorded by Mr. *Jeſſey*, and is as followeth: *The Lord's loud Call to* England, *p.* 15.

May it pleaſe you, &c.

'BEING commanded thereto by the Lord, we have met often together, to acquaint each other, what God hath done, doth daily, and will do for our ſouls, and what therefore, we

'ought to do towards him, each other,
'and all men.

'FROM which aſſemblings, O King!
'we have been diſcharg'd by ſome in
'magiſtratical capacity in theſe parts; al-
'though therein, we bleſs God, none
'hath ever found us with multitude or
'with tumult. But being taught of God
'to obey him in the things by him com-
'manded, rather than man, though in
'the place of magiſtracy, when com-
'manding things contrary; we therefore
'durſt not receive that diſcharge. Where-
'fore ſome of us have been ſilenc'd from
'making mention of the name of the
'Lord, as formerly, by being intangled
'in bonds, pretendedly impos'd upon us
'for this good behaviour. To which in
'our innocency we readily yielded; be-
'ing bound to the good behaviour in
'conſcience, we fear'd not to be bound
'thereto by law. But ſuch is the ſad
'eſtate of this generation, that *they call*
'*good evil, and evil good*; with ſorrow
'we ſpeak it; taking their advantage a-
'gainſt us, in our ſerving the Lord. Up-
'on account of the condition of theſe obli-
'gations, accounting us, O King! peace-
'breakers, when in the ſincerity of our
'hearts, and innocency of our ſouls, we
'peaceably meet to worſhip our God in his
'fear, we affirm it. Since thus entangl'd,
'O King! we have been much abus'd as

'we

'we paſs in the ſtreets, and as we ſit in
'our houſes; being threatned to be
'hang'd, if but heard praying to the
'Lord in our families, and diſturb'd in
'our ſo waiting upon God, by uncivil
'beating at our doors, and ſounding of
'horns; yea, we have been ſton'd, when
'going to our meetings, the windows of
'the place where we have been met,
'ſtruck down with ſtones, yea, taken
'as evil-doers, and impriſon'd, when
'peaceably met together to worſhip the
'Moſt High, in the uſe of his moſt pre-
'cious ordinances. We have, O King!
'ſpread theſe things before them in au-
'thority in theſe parts, but can have no Lincoln-
'redreſs from them; but the rage of our ſhire.
'adverſaries hath been augmented, by
'hearing us abus'd by ſome of them in
'open court, who ſat on the bench of
'juſtice, under the odious terms of *kna-*
'*viſh*, *juggling*, *impudent*, *and phanatick*
'*fellows*, &c. And as if all this were too
'little, they have, to fill up their mea-
'ſure, very lately indicted many of us at
'the *Seſſions*; and intend, as we are in-
'form'd, to impoſe on us the penalty of
'*twenty pounds per month*, for not com-
'ing to hear ſuch men, as they provide
'us, of whoſe principles and practices,
'we could give a moſt ſad and doleful, yet,
'O King! a moſt true relation, *&c.*'

THIS was ſign'd by thirty five men, in the behalf of many others.

THE ſubſtance of the King's anſwer to the meſſengers, that were ſent with this narration and petition was this: 'That 'it was not his mind, that any of his 'good ſubjects who liv'd peaceably, 'ſhould ſuffer any trouble upon the ac-'count of their judgments, or opinions 'in point of religion; and that he had 'declar'd the ſame in ſeveral declarations. 'He promiſed us alſo, ſay they, upon 'our declaring our grievances, that he 'would have particular care over us, that 'none ſhould trouble us upon the account 'of our conſciences in things pertaining to 'religion. And while we were preſent 'before him, he order'd an honourable 'Member of Parliament to go to the Lord '*Chancellor* and *Secretary*, and get ſome-'thing done to that purpoſe. The 'Member of Parliament promis'd he 'would do as the King had order'd him.'

The petition and repreſentation of the Baptiſts in Maidſtone goal.

IN this year alſo was publiſh'd, *The humble petition and repreſentation of the ſufferings of ſeveral peaceable and innocent ſubjects, call'd by the name of* Anabaptiſts, *inhabitants of the county of* Kent, *and priſoners in the goal of* Maidſtone, *for the teſtimony of a good conſcience*; and was as followeth:

To

'*To his Majeſty* Charles II. *King of* Eng-
'land, Scotland, France *and* Ireland,
'*and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

'*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

'FORASMUCH as by authority
'deriv'd from yourſelf, ſeveral of
'us your ſubjects, inhabitants in the coun-
'ty of *Kent*, are now impriſon'd; it
'therefore much concerns thee, O King!
'to hear what account we give of our
'preſent diſtreſs'd condition. Thou haſt
'already ſeen our *Confeſſion of Faith*,
'wherein our peaceable reſolutions were
'declar'd. We have not violated any
'part thereof, that ſhould cauſe that *li-*
'*berty* promis'd from *Breda* to be with-
'drawn. And now for our principles,
'that moſt particularly relate to magiſ-
'trates and government, we have with
'all clearneſs laid them before thee;
'humbly beſeeching they may be read
'patiently, and what we ſay weighed in
'the ballance of the ſanctuary; and then
'judge how worthy we are either of
'bonds or impriſonment. And this we
'the more earneſtly deſire, becauſe not
'only our own lives are in danger, but
'alſo an irreſiſtable deſtruction cometh on
'our wives and little ones, by that vio-

'lence which is now exercis'd on us. Disdain not our plainneſs of ſpeaking, ſeeing the great God accepts of the like. And now, O King! that all thy proceedings, both towards us and all men, may be ſuch as may be pleaſing unto the Eternal God, in whoſe hands your, and our breath is, who e'er long will judge both quick and dead, according to their works, is the prayers of thy faithful ſubjects and ſervants,

'The priſoners in the goal of '*Maidſtone*, for the teſtimony of a good conſcience.'

THEN follows, their free and faithful acknowledment of the King's authority and dignity in civil things, over all manner of perſons eccleſiaſtical and civil, within his Majeſty's dominions. Where-
P. 5. in they thus complain: 'We, thy impriſon'd ſubjects, have ſome of us, had our houſes broken open in the dead of the night, without producing any authority from thee, or any inferior miniſter under thee; our goods and cattle taken away from ſome others, and yet detained from us; our bodies, ſome taken from our own dwellings, and others from our peaceable meetings, and made priſoners; and this done unto many of us,

'ſome

'some days before thy proclamation was 'publiſh'd: which proceedings doth bring 'great diſtreſs and ruin to ourſelves and 'families.'

THEN follows their reaſons for meriting the King's protection, in their ſpiritual and civil rights, equal with other his Majeſty's obedient ſubjects. After which they ſay: 'From all that we have P. 13. 'ſaid, Thou, O King! mayſt ſee, that 'not without grounds do we deny the 'taking the oath of thy ſupremacy, which 'calls for obedience, as well in ſpiritual 'and eccleſiaſtical things and cauſes, as 'temporal; not but that we can freely 'acknowledge thee to be ſupreme go'vernor of all perſons, as well eccleſiaſ'tical as temporal, but ſtill in temporal 'cauſes and things.'

THEY conclude thus: 'And now hav- P. 15. 'ing faithfully laid our condition and prin'ciples, ſo far as they relate to *magiſtrates* 'or *government*, before thee. We there'fore beſeech thee, O King! that liberty 'may be given us to worſhip our God; 'and ſuch bowels of compaſſion be in 'thee, as to give us ſuch ſpeedy relief, 'as may be agreeable to the mind of 'God, *Which made heaven and earth,* Pſa. cxlvi. '*which executed judgment for the oppreſ-* 7. '*ſed, which giveth food to the hungry: the* 'Lord looſeth the priſoners.'

SIGNED

SIGNED by us in the name of the *Baptiſts*, now *priſoners* in the goal at *Maidſtone*.

William Jeffery.
George Hammon.
John Reve.
James Blackmore.

Vavaſor Powel *impriſon'd.*

IN this year Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, a famous *Baptiſt* Miniſter, well known to be an able and painful Preacher of the Goſpel, in a great part of *North* and *South-Wales*, 'Was, ſays Mr. *Jeſſey*, ſeiz'd 'upon, and impriſon'd in *Shrewſbury*, 'and many of his friends in ſeveral *Nor-* 'thern counties in *Wales*; and not for 'any crime committed by him or them; 'yea, and divers of their houſes plun- 'der'd by ſoldiers, ſhewing no warrant 'for their proceedings therein.'

Lord's loud Call, p. 13.

Jenkin Jones *and others impriſon'd.*

ALSO in *South-Wales*, Mr. *Jenkin Jones*, another *Baptiſt* Miniſter, with ſome of the congregation, were impriſon'd; as appears by a letter wrote to Mr. *Jeſſey*, *June* 29, 1660, from Mr. *Tho. Guin*, who had been a Gentleman Cavalier in *Wales*, but was converted under the miniſtry of the ſaid Mr. *Jones*, and became a member of his Church, and a ſufferer with him for the truth of the Goſpel. Part of this letter Mr. *Jeſſey* publiſh'd, And is as followeth:

Lord's loud Call, p. 14.

'SOME

'SOME of our brethren were for a 'month's ſpace impriſon'd in *Caermar-* 'then, merely becauſe they would not 'forego their meetings, and join with 'them again in their traditional worſhip, 'from whom the Lord had ſeparated 'them. They bore their teſtimony ſo 'full, and their ſufferings ſo patiently 'and chearfully, that we have much 'cauſe to bleſs the Lord for his gracious 'and tender dealings towards them. Their 'converſation was ſuch, that made thoſe 'that threw ſtones at them, and ſhouted 'when they were brought thither, part 'with them with tears, confeſſing they 'ſuffer'd for *well-doing*, and judg'd them 'happy therein. I ſuppoſe the Lord was 'more glorified by them, in thoſe ſuffer- 'ings, than by any one thing, which 'happen'd ſince I came to underſtand 'any thing of his particular dealings 'with his people. They had his pro- 'miſes in an ample manner fulfill'd un- 'to them, and his preſence very fre- 'quent, glorious and powerful. This 'tended much to the ſtrengthning of 'others, to endure the like trials, if call'd 'unto it by the wiſe Diſpoſer of all 'things.'

GREAT were the ſufferings of the *Baptiſts* in *Gloceſterſhire*. The moſt eminent Cavaliers, imbitter'd perſecutors, rode about arm'd with ſwords and piſtols; ran-

The ſufferings of the Baptiſts *in* Gloceſterſhire.

ranſack'd their houſes, and abus'd their families in a violent manner. Mr. *Jeſſey* has publiſh'd part of many letters ſent to him, ſetting forth the hard uſage, and great perſecutions that befel the people of God in that county; more particularly thoſe of the *Baptiſt* perſuaſion; as will appear by a letter from the houſe of a godly ſtrict *Preſbyterian:* Which ſays;

Lord's loud Call, p. 21. 'That they of that family, as others 'fearing the Lord, were as a beacon on 'a hill, and under great reproach, ac- 'counted not worthy to live, and count- 'ed as *Elias* was by *Ahab*, *troublers of* '*Iſrael*, troublers of the place they liv'd 'in, with other ſuch like aſperſions, 'counting them *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers*, 'and were in fear of being plunder'd 'therefore.'

The houſes of ſeveral perſons ranſack'd. IN a letter wrote to Mr. *Jeſſey*, *April* 3, 1660. it is ſaid, that the houſes of Captain *Crofts*, Mr. *Palmer* of *Borton*, Mr. *Helme* of *Winchcombe*, and many o-

Ib. p. 17. thers, were ranſack'd for arms. 'It ſo 'fell out, ſays the writer of the letter, 'that Mr. *Helme* not being at home, on 'the 6th day of the laſt week, they came 'to his houſe, ranſacked his trunks, ſtudy, 'and all his goods, for arms, not ſpar- 'ing the bed whereon his children lay, 'to their great affrightment, being in bed. 'One of them held up his piſtol to ſtrike 'Mrs. *Helme*, having given her moſt un-

civil

'civil language; ſo that the terrour hath 'brought upon her a very ſore diſtem-'per, and brought her nigh unto death. 'They drink the King's health ſtoutly, 'and rage againſt any that have the face 'of godlineſs; and not only ſoldiers, but 'the people who had long obſcured their 'malice to the people of God, are now 'confident, and act barbarouſly. Take 'two late examples. One was of Mr. *Warren*, a miniſter in the county, who 'upon the ejection of a malignant (as 'then that denomination was given men) 'was put into the parſonage of *Rencome*; 'upon this new encouragement, the ſaid 'ejected miniſter (one Mr. *Broade)* brake 'in with a company of rude companions 'into the parſonage houſe, penned up 'Mr. *Warren*, and his wife and family 'into an upper room; ſo diſtreſſing and 'afflicting the poor man, night and day, 'making a noiſe with hautboys, ſo that 'he died in the place. His blood will 'cry. Another was one Mr. *Fletcher*, a 'godly man, who lately came out of *New-'England*, being put into a vacant place 'by authority, a rude cavalier in the pa-'riſh came in upon him in his houſe, 'beat him and uſed him very inhumanly, 'threatned to cut off his head with a bill, 'which one of them carried; at laſt, af-'ter much vile carriage, one took his 'coat and carpet off his table, and marched 'with

Mr. Warren *perſecuted to death.*

Mr. Fletcher *and his family forced to fly for their lives.*

'with them in the ſtreets on the top of 'a bill, ſo that the poor man and his 'family are fled for their lives.

Lord's loud Call, p. 19.

IN another letter of *April* 19. it is ſaid, 'Since my laſt letter, the perſe-'cution in theſe parts breaks out more 'and more. Laſt week there was a godly *Mr.* Finch *abuſed and impriſoned.* 'miniſter ſorely injured, as he was en-'tring the pulpit to preach; and the 'ſame week, another was violently pulled 'out of his houſe, his wife, and children 'and goods, thrown into the ſtreet by 'the rude multitude; none of the pariſh 'daring to give them entertainment; the 'former ejected notorious perſon, getting 'again into poſſeſſion, where he triumph-'antly abides without controul, and 'ſome rudely haling the poor miniſter 'thus abuſed to the *goal*, as they ſaid 'they would.'

THERE are part of ſeveral other letters publiſhed in the ſame treatiſe, confirming the aforeſaid account of the ſufferings of theſe people in *Gloceſterſhire*. To which I refer the reader for his fuller ſatisfaction: and ſhall take notice, of ſome notable rebukes to the enemies of theſe poor perſecuted people, recorded by the ſaid Mr. *Jeſſey*.

Some remarkable rebukes on perſecutors.

ON the day of the King's proclamation at *Waltham* near *Theobalds*, in the evening there was a bonefire made to ex-

Lord's loud Call, p. 29.

preſs

preſs the people's joy. A cooper who was preſent 'ſwore and tore, and ſtruck the 'ground, and ſaid, now have at the *Ana-* 'baptiſts. Now as the fire burned he 'took a faggot, and ſaid, here is a round 'head, and caſt it into the fire which 'burn'd; and then took another faggot, 'and ſaid, here is an *Anabaptiſt*, and 'that burn'd, &c. But the Lord ſtruck 'him that night, ſo that he never ſaw 'the morning. Atteſted by ſeveral of the 'ſame town. *On a cooper.*

'MR. *O*—— a miniſter, in his ſermon uſing many hard ſpeeches againſt 'thoſe peaceable people there, that he 'call'd *Anabaptiſts*, there being many 'ſuch there at that time: Even whilſt 'he was preaching in that manner, fell 'into a ſwoon, and was ſpeechleſs, as 'one dead for about two hours, and it 'was fear'd he would never have recover'd out of it. At a meeting (at *Brokington* in *Gloceſterſhire*, *June* 3, 1660,) 'were many met; *B. Collet* and *B. Collings*, gifted brethren, from *Burton* on 'the water, and divers others thence, and 'from *Stow*, and other places. It was 'rumour'd about that ſome of the county troop would then come and ſeize upon them, and impriſon ſome and rout 'them all. The *Clerk*'s daughter came 'with her mother, who had oppos'd and 'revil'd them, uttering hard ſpeeches a- 'gainſt *On Mr. O--- a miniſter.* *Lord's loud Call*, p. 8. *Ib.* p. 3. *On the Clerk's daughter at* Brokington.

'gainſt them, and their meetings, and 'ways; and theſe two ſtood by in a 'corner. When they came, *B. Collet* 'was ſpeaking upon *Jude* 14 and 15 'verſes, with much affection, upon theſe 'words, *Behold the Lord cometh, with ten 'thouſand of his ſaints to execute judgment 'upon all, and to convince all that are un-'godly amongſt them, of all their ungod-'ly deeds, which they have ungodly com-'mitted, and of all their hard ſpeeches, 'which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt 'him.* Whilſt he was preaching upon 'theſe words, the hand of the Lord of 'Hoſts went out againſt that *daughter*, 'as it appear'd; for ſhe gave a ſudden 'great ſhriek, and fell down dead before 'them all. Thoſe that were about her 'rubb'd and chaf'd her for her reſtoring; 'but there was no appearance of life at 'all. *B. Collet* was much affected with 'this hand of the Lord, and look'd pale, 'being of a very tender ſpirit. *B. Col-'lings* ſeeing it, was about to ſeek the 'Lord for raiſing her up again; but her '*mother*, being much out of patience, hin-'der'd their prayers for her; and ſhe ne-'ver recover'd. As ſome were carrying 'her corps out, Mr. *H*—— met them, 'who led that party of the troop; and he 'came in, and would have them away '*priſoners*; and he charg'd them with 'the death of the *maid*, that they had

'kill'd

'kill'd her. *B. Collings* anſwer'd to this 'effect, *Nay, we have not kill'd her; but* 'the *Moſt High hath done it, in whoſe* 'hand *is both your breath and ours.* Af-'ter he had pull'd the ſpeakers towards 'the door, and ſpoke more to them, he 'and the ſoldiers left them. Since this 'time the *Clerk* hath ſpoke well of that 'people; ſaying, *theſe are the people of* 'God.'

I SHALL add but one inſtance more from this author, of this kind; and that is a flagrant one; for the ſufferings and hardſhips of the Diſſenters in general, were made a *jeſt* upon the ſtage at *Oxford*, and became the ſubject of their ſport and laughter.

'THERE was a play acted by *ſcho-* 'lars, wherein *one* acted the *Old Puri-* 'tan. He that acted that part, came in 'with a narrow band, ſhort hair, and a 'broad hat; a boiſterous fellow comes 'after him, and trips up his heels, call-'ing him *Puritan Rogue*; at which 'words, the *Old Puritan* ſhook off the 'dirt of his feet againſt him. Two of 'theſe actors were alſo cut off, and he 'that acted the *Old Puritan* broke a vein, 'and vomited ſo much blood in the 'place, that they thought he would have 'died in the room; but he now lieth deſ-'parately ſick. This is all very true. Al-

Lord's loud Call, p. 1, 2.

On the players at Oxford.

'ſo a woman, that join'd with them in 'their play, is dead.

'THE year 1661, ſays *Rapin* *, was 'uſher'd in by an extraordinary event. 'The 6th of *January*, while the King 'was attending the Queen-mother, and 'the Princeſs his ſiſter to *Dover*, in their 'return to *France*; about fifty of theſe 'men (fifth-monarchy-men) under the Venner's *rebellion.* 'conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, aſſembled 'in the evening in St. *Paul*'s church-yard, 'and kill'd a man, who upon demand, 'had anſwer'd, *for God and the King.* 'This giving an alarm to the *city*, ſome 'train'd-bands were ſent againſt them, 'whom theſe men quickly routed; and 'then march'd through ſeveral ſtreets, and 'at laſt retir'd to *Cane-wood*, betwixt '*Highgate* and *Hampſtead*; from whence 'a party of horſe and foot, ſent by Gene-'ral *Monk*, diſlodg'd them, and took ſome 'priſoners. But this did not prevent the 'reſt from returning to the *city*, where 'they fought furiouſly, till they were 'oblig'd to take ſanctuary in an houſe. 'They there defended themſelves like 'men fearleſs of death, or rather, as ſe-'cure from all danger, under the protec-'tion of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Here it was that '*Venner* being wounded, and twenty of 'his men kill'd, with as many of the aſ-'ſailants, was taken with the reſt of his

* Vol. II. *p.* 623.

'fel-

'fellows. A few days after they were 'all tried, condemn'd and executed, with-'out any confeſſion of guilt, and perſiſt-'ing in their extravagancies to the laſt; 'two young men only ſhew'd ſome ſigns 'of repentance.'

THE King took occaſion from this inſurrection to publiſh a proclamation, forbidding all *meetings* and *conventicles* under pretence of religion, and commanding the oath of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy* to be tendred to all perſons diſaffected to the government, and in caſe of refuſal, they were to be proſecuted on the ſtatute of the 7th of *James* I. *A proclamation againſt meetings.*

THE *Engliſh Baptiſts* preſently after this inſurrection, publiſh'd two *Apologies*, wherein they proteſted both againſt the principles and practices of that rebellious party, and are as followeth:

The humble Apology of ſome commonly call'd Anabaptiſts, *in behalf of themſelves, and others of the ſame judgment with them; with their proteſtation againſt the late wicked, and moſt horrid treaſonable inſurrection and rebellion, acted in the city of* London; *together with an Apology, formerly preſented to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.* *Printed at* London *in the year* 1660. *Apology of the* Engliſh Baptiſts.

'WE ſhould be ſtupid and ſenſe-'leſs, if we did not deeply re-

'ſent thoſe black obloquies and re-
'proaches caſt upon thoſe of our profeſ-
'ſion and practice in the point of Bap-
'tiſm, by occaſion of the late moſt hor-
'rid treaſon and rebellion in this *city* of
'*London*.

'WE moſt ſadly ſee, and feel, that
'among many it is become enough to
'render any man criminal to be call'd
'an *Anabaptiſt*; or at leaſt a ground ſuf-
'ficient, to queſtion his loyalty and fide-
'lity to the King's Majeſty.

'WE may not therefore be ſo negli-
'gent of our duty unto God, in reſpect
'of our profeſſion, or unto ourſelves and
'families, as ſilently to ſuffer our names
'and profeſſion, to be buried under ſuch
'cauſeleſs infamy; neither may we be
'ſo much wanting of our duty to our
'King, as by ſuch ſullen ſilence, to of-
'fer his Majeſty juſt occaſion of being
'jealous, and ſuſpicious of our loyalty
'and obedience, or to leave him with-
'out all poſſible, rational ſecurity, of
'our humble ſubjection and fidelity to
'him.

'WE acknowledge, that the hiſtories
'of *Germany* relate moſt dreadful things,
'of the impious opinions and practices of
'ſome reputed *Anabaptiſts*, deſtructive to
'all government and human ſociety. Al-
'tho' it is to be obſerv'd, what *Caſſander*,

'a

‘ a learn'd and moderate *Papiſt*, relates in
‘ his epiſtle to the Duke of *Gulick* and
‘ *Cleve*, to this purpoſe, That there were
‘ certain people in *Germany* bearing the
‘ denomination of *Anabaptiſts*, who reſiſt-
‘ ed and oppos'd the opinions and prac-
‘ tices of thoſe at *Munſter*, and taught
‘ the contrary doctrine, whereby in his
‘ opinion they appear'd to be incited by a
‘ godly mind, and render'd themſelves ra-
‘ ther worthy of pity, than perſecution
‘ and perdition; and that in *Holland*,
‘ thoſe who have ſucceeded them, do in
‘ doctrine and practice, adhere to the
‘ ſame peaceable principles, is publickly
‘ known. But the miſguided zeal of
‘ ſome, otherwiſe minded in the point of
‘ *Baptiſm*, hath frequently, tho' undu-
‘ ly imputed the like impious opinions,
‘ deſigns and intentions, unto all that are
‘ call'd by that name; altho' their ſouls
‘ abhor the very memory of ſuch impi-
‘ ous doctrines, and their bloody conſe-
‘ quences. That ſuch evil opinions and
‘ practices, are no natural or neceſſary
‘ concomitants or conſequences of the
‘ doctrine about *Baptiſm*, nor of any poſ-
‘ ſible connexion with it, is eaſy to be
‘ diſcern'd; yet by the like miſtake we
‘ now ſuffer under jealouſies, thro' the
‘ wicked treaſon, rebellion, and murder,
‘ of a few heady and diſtemper'd perſons,

'pretending to introduce a civil and tem-
'poral reign and government of *Jeſus*
'*Chriſt* by their ſwords, and to ſubvert
'all civil government and authority.

'YET we cannot imagine a reaſon
'why, their bloody tenets, and tragical
'actings, ſhould reflect upon thoſe of our
'perſuaſion, the perſons not being of our
'belief or practice about *Baptiſm*; but to
'the beſt of our information, they were
'all, except one, aſſertors of *Infant-Bap-*
'*tiſm*, and never had communion with
'us in our aſſemblies, nor hath there
'been any correſpondence or converſe be-
'tween us; but contrariwiſe, in their
'meetings, they have inveigh'd bitterly
'againſt us, as worſhippers of the beaſt,
'becauſe of our conſtant declaring againſt
'their conceited, wild interpretations of
'dark prophecies, and enthuſiaſtical im-
'pulſes; and profeſs'd and practis'd our
'duty of ſubjection to the civil magiſ-
'tracy.

'AND it is notoriouſly known, the very
'ſame *perſons*, or at leaſt the *leaders*, and
'the moſt of them, formerly advanc'd
'their pretended ſtandard of *Jeſus Chriſt*,
'as much againſt us, as againſt any o-
'thers.

'AND it is as publickly known, that e-
'ven in this their rebellion, ſuch of us
'as were call'd thereunto, which were
'many,

'many, were ready to hazard our lives
'to ſuppreſs them.

'AND if ſuch a conſtant continu'd op-
'poſition unto the impious tenets and
'practices of theſe *perſons*, both in our
'doctrines and lives, will not be eſteem'd
'a pregnant and cogent evidence of our
'unſpotted innocence, from their treaſon
'and rebellion, and ſatisfy every man,
'that our ſouls never enter'd into their
'ſecrets; we can only appeal to the All-
'ſeeing God, the judge of all the earth,
'to vindicate us in his righteous judg-
'ment, who we are aſſur'd will judge Gen.
'and do right. xviii. 25.

'IN whoſe preſence we proteſt, that
'we neither had the leaſt foreknowledge
'of the ſaid late treaſonable *inſurrection*,
'nor did any of us, in any kind or degree
'whatſoever, directly or indirectly con-
'trive, promote, aſſiſt, abet, or approve
'the ſame; but do eſteem it our duty to
'God, to his Majeſty, and to our neigh-
'bour, not only to be obedient; but al-
'ſo to uſe our utmoſt induſtry, to pre-
'vent all ſuch treaſons, murders, and re-
'bellions; and to uſe in all our aſſemblies,
'conſtant prayers and ſupplications for
'his Majeſty.

'WHEREFORE we humbly beſeech
'his Majeſty, and deſire all our fellow
'ſubjects, that our actions, doctrines and
'lives, may be the only glaſſes, thro'

'which they will look into our hearts, 'and pass judgment upon us; and that 'the tenets or opinions of others, either 'in this or foreign kingdoms, may not be 'imputed to us, when our doctrines and 'lives, do declare our abhorrency of them: 'We believing, that *Jesus Christ* himself, 'his *Apostles*, and Christian Religion, did 'consist with, and obey the imperial go-'vernment, that then was in the world, 'and that we ought to obey his Majesty 'not only for wrath, but for conscience 'sake.

'WE desire, therefore, that it may be 'considered without prejudice, whether 'our perswasion in the matter of *Baptism*, 'hath any connexion with these doctrines 'against government; or whether these 'can be the probable consequences or in-'ferences from our doctrine concerning '*Baptism?* And we pray that it may be 'seriously considered, whether it be ra-'tional, just, or christian, to impute all 'the errors, and wickedness of any *sect* 'of Christians in one age or country, to 'the persons of another age or country, 'called by the name of the former? es-'pecially when these errors, or impieties, 'gave not the name to the *sect*, as in our 'case, nor can be reasonably supposed to 'be the consequences of that opinion, 'from whence the *sect* had its denomi-'nation.

'IT

'IT would not be holden juſt to aver, 'every *Proteſtant* to believe *Conſubſtan-* 'tiation, or abſolute *Predeſtination*, and 'Reprobation, becauſe *Luther* was zea- 'lous in the one, and *Calvin* in the other; 'why therefore ſhou'd the errors and im- 'pieties of others, be imputed to us, 'whilſt we earneſtly contend againſt 'them? And as to our doctrine of *Bap-* 'tiſm, we hope every Chriſtian, that hath 'ſearch'd the ſcriptures, knoweth, that 'there wants not ſo much evidence, at 'leaſt for our opinion and practice, as 'Chriſtian charity may well allow, tho' 'in ſome mens judgments we ſhould be 'eſteemed miſtaken; and it will be eaſily 'granted by the learned, that there is no 'impiety in our doctrine of *Baptiſm*, nor 'oppoſition to civil government, or his 'Majeſty's authority; neither can the in- 'jury of our neighbour, be the natural 'conſequence of it.

'AND therefore we humbly hope, 'that the omnipotent Power of heaven 'and earth, will ſo diſpoſe his Majeſty 'and his people's hearts, that we may 'worſhip God in peace and freedom, ac- 'cording to the faith we have receiv'd, 'living a peaceable and quiet life, in all 'godlineſs and honeſty.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

'THAT it may yet more fully appear, 'That our principles ſuggeſted in this 'apology, about ſubjection to magiſtracy 'and government, againſt the contrary 'opinions and practices are not new, much 'leſs proceeding from us upon the ſuc-'ceſsleſneſs of this tragical enterpriſe; we 'have thought fit herewith, to publiſh 'an apology of our ancient and conſtant 'principles, preſented with our humble 'petition, to the King's moſt excellent 'Majeſty, ſome months ſince, in the 'year 1660.'

THIS was ſubſcribed by thirty miniſters and principal members of the *Baptiſt* congregations.

Another apology of the Engliſh Baptiſts.

'*An Apology of ſome call'd* Anabaptiſts, '*in and about the city of* London, *in* '*behalf of themſelves and others of the* '*ſame judgment with them.*

'FORASMUCH * as it hath been 'our portion all along to ſuffer not 'only ſome hard things in many of our

* Let the Revd. Mr. *Neale* ſeriouſly conſider this paragraph, and if his own conſcience do not ſmite him, for that unfair repreſentation of his, I think he is rather an object of pity than reſentment.

'perſons

'perſons, but alſo very much in our re-
'putations, thro' the unjuſt aſperſions
'and calumnies of our adverſaries, and
'ſuch, who, tho' they daily behold our
'inoffenſive converſation, and do or may
'know our faith and doctrine, will not
'yet be deliver'd from thoſe groundleſs
'and injurious reports, which they have
'without proof, concerning things or
'perſons taken up; but contrariwiſe con-
'tinue in preſs, pulpit, and common
'diſcourſe, induſtriouſly to divulge things
'tending to our defamation; and more
'eſpecially for that purpoſe, watching
'the opportunity of all revolutions and
'changes of perſons exercis'd in govern-
'ment, which hath often happen'd in
'theſe nations of late years. And inaſ-
'much as the deſign of our adverſaries
'therein, hath appear'd to be the rendring
'of us obnoxious to thoſe, that have had
'moſt power in their hand to offend and
'harm us, and have for that purpoſe,
'invented ſuch calumnies, as might beſt
'accompliſh that deſign; which altho'
'they have been various, and ſometimes
'manifeſtly croſs and contradictory one
'to another, yet having no other ground,
'that we know of, than the fore-men-
'tion'd evil purpoſe; they have there-
'fore, both one and the other, even all
'of them, been generally accompany'd
'with

'with the charge of diſobedience to ma-
'giſtracy and civil government.

'WE have therefore been neceſſitated,
'as alterations in government have hap-
'pen'd, to renew our vindications in this
'publick manner, having very ſeldom
'opportunity, otherwiſe to inform ei-
'ther magiſtrates or people of the injuries
'done unto us, and which is much more,
'to the truth we do profeſs. And that
'in this preſent conjuncture of affairs,
'the miſrepreſentation of us either for-
'merly or now, may not take impreſſion
'upon any, to the damage of us and our
'profeſſion, we have thought it requiſite
'not to bring to light any new matter;
'but only to extract out of our former
'confeſſions of faith and declarations,
'our conſtant principles, to which we
'have been, and ſhall always endeavour,
'the Lord aſſiſting us, that our practice
'may ſtill be conformable in this great
'point, concerning magiſtracy and civil
'government, as by theſe extracts fol-
'lowing may appear.

'THAT civil * *magiſtracy* is an ordi-
'nance of God, ſet up by him for the pu-
'niſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe
'of them that do well; and that in all

* Confeſſion of faith of thoſe churches in *London*, which are commonly, tho' unjuſtly, call'd *Anabaptiſts*, Art. 47. Printed in the ſeveral years 1651, 1646, 1644, &c.

'law-

'lawful things commanded by them, ſub-
'jection ought to be given by us in the
'Lord, not only for wrath but for con-
'ſcience ſake, and that we are to make
'ſupplications and prayers for *Kings*, and
'all that are in *authority*, that under
'them we may live a peaceable, a quiet
'life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.

'WE who are falſely call'd *Anabap-*
'*tiſts* *, being as ready to obey our civil
'*magiſtrates*, as to profeſs our ſubjection
'to them in all lawful commands; what-
'ever is preach'd or printed of us, by any
'to the contrary, and whoſoever have
'or ſhall accuſe us, either to the *magiſ-*
'*trates*, or to the common people, that we
'will not obey *authority* do falſely ac-
'cuſe us.

'AND however † it be a thing very
'deſireable to godly men, to have ſuch
'to be their *governors* as fear the Lord,
'inaſmuch, as together with their moral
'principles, they are under more ſolemn
'bands of engagement as chriſtians, to
'execute judgment and juſtice, and faith-
'fully to diſcharge their truſt, and in-
'aſmuch alſo, as they will be more rea-
'dy to protect godly men, which gene-

* Declaration concerning a publick diſpute. Printed in the year 1645, *p.* 4.

† Declaration by the ſeveral congregational ſocieties in and about the city of *London*, in way of vindication of themſelves, touching liberty, magiſtracy, *&c.* Printed 1647, p. 7. Sect. 3, & 4.

'rally

'rally are the hated of the world, and to 'propagate the Goſpel in their territories, 'than other men will be; yet whatever 'the magiſtrate is in point of religion, 'he is to be reverenc'd and obey'd in all 'thoſe commands of his, which do not 'intrench upon, or riſe up in oppoſition 'to the commands of God. And we do 'freely acknowledge, that kingly govern-'ment eſtabliſh'd, guided and bounded 'by juſt and wholeſome laws, is both 'allow'd by God, and a good accommo-'dation to men.

'THAT all people in every nation, 'as well members of * churches as o-'thers, ought for conſcience ſake to ho-'nour ſuch, as by the wiſe diſpoſing 'providence of God are their rulers, and 'are to ſubmit to the civil commands 'not only of ſuch rulers as are faithful, 'but even to infidels.

'ALTHO' we cannot anſwer in juſti-'cation † of every individual perſon, 'that is of our profeſſion in matters of 'religion, no more than our chriſtian 'friends of other perſuaſions can do in 'behalf of all of their perſuaſions; yet 'we can ſay this, and prove it to all the

* Declaration of divers elders and brethren of congregational ſocieties in and about the city of *London*, *Nov.* 10. 1651.

† Declaration of ſeveral of the people call'd *Anabaptiſts* in and about the city of *London*, *Dec.* 12. 1659. The anſwer to the firſt crimination.

'world,

'world, that it hath been our profeſſion, 'and is our real practice, to be obedient to 'magiſtracy in all things civil, and will-'ing to live peaceably under the go-'vernment eſtabliſh'd in this nation: For 'we do believe and declare, magiſtracy 'to be an ordinance of God, and ought 'to be obey'd in all lawful things.

'THESE things we have herein recit-'ed, the rather, becauſe that ſuch judg-'ment as ſhall be made by any concern-'ing us, may be fairly and duely taken, 'and calculated from our own writings, 'and not from the aſperſions unjuſtly 'caſt upon us by ſuch, who have not 'only render'd many guilty for the of-'fence-ſake of ſome one perſon; but alſo 'call'd others, after the ſame name given 'to us, with whom we have had or held 'no correſpondency or agreement, en-'deavouring to blemiſh our profeſſion, by 'charging the whole party, not only 'with the guilt of many ſtrange unſound 'opinions, ſuch as were never receiv'd or 'allow'd by them; but alſo with many 'actions wherein they have been leaſt of 'all, if at all concern'd. And as for 'thoſe things wherein any of us, or o-'thers of our judgment have been actually 'concern'd, we hope it has proceeded 'from a due regard to thoſe invariable 'rules given in the Holy Scripture for 'the ordering of our converſation, with

'reſpect

'reſpect unto *magiſtracy*, according to 'the beſt judgment could be made of 'them, and purſuant thereunto, done in 'obſervance of thoſe publick edicts and 'declarations, whereunto the moſt uni-'verſal obedience and conſtant adherence 'hath been requir'd by thoſe that have 'had the power over us, and who have 'admitted us the leaſt of any people, to 'diſpute the reaſon of governments and 'laws.

'AND for that the ſubjection yielded 'by us, to the powers that have been 'over us, hath proceeded from a conſci-'ence not daring to diſobey, unleſs in 'ſuch things which we could not un-'derſtand to be lawful, and the affections 'that have been manifeſted therein, have 'ariſen from the enjoyment of that due 'liberty and protection, which we have 'had in matters of religion; we do hope 'and deſire, that none of us upon the 're-eſtabliſhment of the preſent govern-'ment, ſhall now be adjudg'd criminal 'by our preſent governours; but that we 'may notwithſtanding reap the benefit of 'that favour, that hath been declar'd and 'tender'd by the King's Majeſty, and be 'protected from all injury and violence 'whatſoever, equally with others his Ma-'jeſty's ſubjects, in the quiet and peace-'able enjoyment of our religious and civil 'rights and liberties, we deſiring and en-

'deavouring

'deavouring to behave ourſelves in all 'good conſcience towards God and man, 'remembring that rule of our Lord, that 'we are to render unto *Cæſar* the things 'which are *Cæſar*'s, and to God the 'things which are God's; and that we, 'as well as rulers, muſt certainly at the 'great day be accountable, to the juſt 'and righteous judge of all the earth, for 'all our doings.'

I FIND in ſhort-hand, added to the end of theſe printed Apologies, theſe words, *viz.*

MR. *Jeſſey* preaching ſoon after, declar'd to his congregation, that *Venner* ſhould ſay, that he believ'd there was not one *Baptiſt* amongſt them, and that if they ſucceeded, the *Baptiſts* ſhould know that Infants Baptiſm was an ordinance of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Mr. *Gravener* was preſent at his meeting-houſe in *Coleman-ſtreet*, and heard him ſay this; from whoſe mouth, ſays the writer, I had this account.

AS this mad inſurrection in *England*, ſo alſo that at *Munſter* in *Germany*, is improv'd by the generality of the *Pædobaptiſt* authors, to reflect an *odium* on all thoſe who are ſtil'd *Anabaptiſts*; I ſhall in this place tranſcribe what I find in a cer-

certain *Author*, who about this time wrote a ſmall Treatiſe, which he intitled *Moderation*, or *Arguments and Motives tending thereto*; *humbly tendred to the honourable Members of Parliament.*

IN this Treatiſe, he ſays *, 'Now forʻaſmuch, as *among others* bearing the ʻname of *Sectaries*, the name of *Anaʻbaptiſts* is mainly ſingled out for *publick* ʻ*reproach*, if not for *ruin*, and that their ʻ*grand* impeachment is their oppoſing ʻ*magiſtracy*, *government*, &c. Upon ʻwhich account the *Munſter Tragedy* is ʻſo *much* and *often* in all places (by ʻprints and otherwiſe) laid to *their* charge, ʻas indeed it could not *rightly* be *more*, ʻif thoſe bearing that name in *England* ʻhad been the very *individual* actors thereʻof at *Munſter*; will not the *ſtones ſpeak*, ʻif all *men* ſhould be wholly *mute* under ʻſuch *clamours?* Wherefore in anſwer ʻhereunto, I hope it will not be a crime ʻvery briefly to *apologize* ſo far as to do ʻ*them truth*, and *juſtice* itſelf a *little* ʻ*right*, without doing *others* any *wrong*, ʻfurther than to undeceive them, and ʻexonerate *all* as much as may be from ʻ*miſpriſions*, which in this and other ʻthings, are the *bane* and *poiſon* of pubʻlick peace and amity.

The tragedy of Munſter *unjuſtly caſt on the* Anabaptiſts.

*. Sect. 19. p. 13.

'FIRST,

'FIRST, Let it be noted, that *other* 'forts of men *in *England* do impeach 'one the other with the *ſame crime*; 'ſome charge the *whole Parliament*, both 'Lords and *Commons*, and *all* their *adhe-*'rents, with *reſiſting the authority of the* 'King; ſaying, ſuch of them were only 'loyal obedient ſubjects, who went to Ox-'ford upon the King's ſummons, to ſit 'in *Parliament* there, or to aid and aſ-'ſiſt him in his war. *Others* charge all 'thoſe *members* who have *eſpous'd* the *ſe-*'cluſion of ſo many of their *own houſe*, 'and turn'd out the *houſe of Lords*. *O-*'thers have been adjudg'd and pro-'ceeded againſt as *delinquents*, both for-'merly and lately, for *reſiſting the Par-*'liament upon the King's account. I 'modeſtly mention *only* matters of *fact*, 'and that but *hints*, without judging the 'merit of them, only to the end, it may 'be obſerv'd, that (ſetting *theſe* aſide) *o-*'thers do and will mutually charge with 'illegalities and *exorbitances* relating to *ci-*'vil power and *government*: *And indeed* 'things are not judg'd illegal (now in our 'days) *ſo much for what they are ſimply*

Others in England *charg'd as* *oppoſers of* *magiſtra-*cy.

* Vide Vindiciæ Regum, or the grand rebellion. *Gr. Williams*, Biſhop of *Oſſory*. Dr. *Fern*, *Salmaſius*, Mr. *Edw. Symons*. The loyal ſubjects belief, with the ſeveral anſwers unto theſe by other miniſters.

' *in themſelves*; *but either as they may not* ' *proſperouſly ſucceed, or as being done by* ' *other hands, and not in proſecution of* ' *their own intereſt and opinion, who ſo* ' *judge of them:* Which ſavours more of ' *faction, paſſion* and *intereſt*, than of *rea-* ' *ſon* and *juſtice*, in the eyes of *wiſe* ob- ' ſervers.

Antipædobaptiſm *no more repugnant to magiſtracy than* Pædobaptiſm.

' SECONDLY, Their opinion, wherein ' *other Chriſtians* differ from them about ' the *ſubject* and *form* of that inſtituted or- ' dinance of *Baptiſm*, is as far *off* the ' point of *magiſtracy* and oppoſition to ' it, as *Pædobaptiſm* itſelf, or any *other* ' thing in the world. What though, ' therefore, ſome holding that opinion, ' either in this or other nations, ſhould ' be in any wiſe *enormous?* yet their o- ' pinion and practice of *Baptiſm* would ' be no *more* impair'd, nor *untrue*, than ' our Saviour *Chriſt*'s and his *Apoſtles* ' doctrine was, by the treachery of *Ju-* ' *das*, and the apoſtacy of *multitudes* in ' the *primitive times*. And why the ' denomination of *Anabaptiſts* (which ' they diſown) ſhould be faſten'd upon ' them, they are yet to ſeek of ſuffici- ' ent reaſon; not only ſeeing they ac- ' knowledge *but once baptizing*; but alſo ' they laying *no more* weight upon that ' inſtituted ordinance, than upon that o- ' ther of like inſtitution, *the Lord's-Sup-*

' *per*,

'*per*, and than *others* do, who hold the '*other* way of *baptizing*; yet this *name* is '*abusively* put upon them, as if all their *re-* '*ligion* lay in *baptism*; whereas the course 'of their doctrine touching principles of '*faith*, and piety, and morality in *chris-* '*tian* practice, is such as is generally re- 'ceiv'd for *orthodox*; even by the most 'accounted *such*, who have read the con- 'fessions of their faith, and heard their 'common doctrine.

'THIRDLY, The generality of per- 'sons who hold this opinion, have gi- 'ven *sufficient* proof for divers years, that 'their principles and practices are as *con-* '*sistent* with human *society*, peaceable '*co-habitation*, and *due subjection* to civil '*establish'd* government, as any other in 'the land. Not only do their manifold '*declarations*, if examin'd, give satisfacti- 'on in this point; but withal, neither 'the *time*, nor *place*, nor *persons of them*, 'can be mention'd, touching any *insur-* '*rection* they ever made against the *ma-* '*gistracy* in *England*. But if any per- 'sons of them had done it, would it be '*justice* to impute that to the *whole?* 'Would those of *other ways* be so judg'd? 'Of whom there have been *many*, who 'have both plotted and actually perpetra- 'ted publick insurrections, which yet 'was never call'd the *Munster Tragedy*

Baptist *principles as consistent with human society, &c. as any other.*

'*of Pædobaptiſts*; becauſe, though the '*ſame* reaſon, yet *moderation* would not 'allow it. For *perſonal faults* ought to 'have only *perſonal imputations*; and *they* 'deſire to do therein, as they would *o-* 'thers ſhould *deal* with them.

'As what has been ſaid will much '*obviate* an objection, touching thoſe *few* 'of *this way* in the *army*; ſo let me add, 'that what they they done in that *pub-* 'lick capacity, under an opinion of *pub-* 'lick obligation, hath been ſo far *perſonal*, 'and as members of the *nation*, that 'ſuch do wrongfully who impute it unto 'their *profeſſion*. But if it muſt needs 'be ſo, then let it be try'd and prov'd, 'whether there have not been *many* call'd '*Pædobaptiſts*, join'd in all thoſe very 'actions, for *one of thoſe* call'd *Anabap-* 'tiſts, even in the *higheſt acts* done, 'whatever unfairly and diſingenuouſly hath 'been by anyrepreſented *otherwiſe* to the 'world. Neither have theſe things been 'done in *corners*, to be hid from the eyes 'of *indifferent* ſpectators, who are well 'able to judge of partiality.

Pædobaptiſts *as much or more* Fifth-monarchiſts *than* Baptiſts.

'FOURTHLY, As touching *thoſe now*, 'who hold ſome opinions about Chriſt's 'kingdom on earth in a reputed offen- 'ſive way; is it not notorious, that they 'are many of them *Pædobaptiſts* them- 'ſelves, and as much againſt thoſe call'd

'*Ana-*

'*Anabaptiſts* as others, even as well as in 'the ſubject of *baptiſm?* And on the '*other hand*, the generality of thoſe call'd '*Anabaptiſts*, are as much againſt all 'their offenſive opinions in thoſe points '(tho' ſome few of *one*, as well as the '*other* ſort may own them) as any o-'thers in the world, pitying thoſe who '*err* therein; and *publickly* in their 'congregations and doctrines detecting 'ſuch *errors*, diſclaiming and refuting 'them. Yet albeit there are many ſuch 'call'd *Pædobaptiſts* of them, the *others* 'have more of *reaſon* and *moderation*, 'than to lay the *Munſter Tragedy* upon 'that *name*, though there may be the '*ſame* ground. If, therefore, there ſhould 'be any *exorbitant irruption* in *words* or '*actions* of that ſort of people, *thus mix'd*; 'either let ſuch fault be reputed merely '*perſonal*, and no further; or elſe *indif-'ferently*, *juſtly* and *impartially* be imput-'ed to *one ſort* as well as *another*, more 'than hitherto it hath been; which in-'deed, among other things, may *juſtly* 'call in queſtion the *juſtice* of *hiſtorians* 'touching the *Munſter people*, which was 'about 130 years paſt; foraſmuch as '*truth* and *juſtice* is ſo much *wrong'd* be-'fore our *eyes*, and at our own *doors*, as 'it is by *publick prints* and *otherwiſe* 'daily.

Oppreſſions of the magiſtrates the cauſe of the rebellions in Germany.

'FIFTHLY, All hiſtorians about the 'ſeditions in *Germany* confeſs *thus far* 'ingenuouſly; that the *intolerable oppreſ-* 'ſions of the *magiſtrates* then, gave one 'great occaſion of their *riſe* and *progreſs* 'to that heighth. Wherefore at the 'ſame time (about the year of our Lord '1525,) in *Suevia* and *Franconia*, there 'aroſe in arms about forty thouſand 'men, (who pretended nothing at all to 'that call'd *Anabaptiſm*) to exonerate 'and acquit themſelves by force from 'their heavy burthens. Which was 'more a rebellion than the other; for 'they kill'd the greateſt part of the *No-* 'bility; pillag'd, ſack'd and burn'd their 'houſes, caſtles and fortreſſes; and vio- 'lently overflow'd, and deſtroy'd the 'country like an inundation. Yet con- 'cerning *theſe*, we have *only* the *gentle* 'tender hints of our *Hiſtoriographers*, gi- 'ving us in few lines *merely narrative of* 'fact, without any *odium* on their *fault*, 'or any *black characters* at all upon their 'names, *perſons* or *religion*; when as the 'ſame *hiſtory* of the ſame fact, imputed 'to ſome call'd *Anabaptiſts* there, is 'wrote in moſt dreadful letters of *blood*, 'concerning their perſons, names and re- 'ligion; which (by the way) may guide 'the impartial reader in his obſervation 'and credit of *hiſtories* wrote by *adver-*

'*ſaries.*

'*faries*. Now ſomewhat contemporary
'with this great inſurrection (according
'to the ſame ſtories) *Caroloſtadius*, *Stock*,
'*Muntzer*, and other publick miniſters of
'the Goſpel (as *Luther* then was) fell
'from good principles to dangerous opi-
'nions, dreams, enthuſiaſms, pretences of
'extraordinary viſions and revelations (all
'which, thoſe call'd *Anabaptiſts* that I
'defend, do, and ever did as much diſ-
'claim and abhor, as any others in the
'world, holding firmly to the ſacred word
'of God, the holy Scriptures) of whom,
'*Muntzer* chiefly manageth theſe opinions
'with the oppreſſions unto diſturbous
'practices, to his and others ruin and re-
'proach. About ſix or ſeven years af-
'ter, which was about the years 1531,
'1532, and forward, broke out like the
'unhappy buſtle at the city of *Munſter*
'in *Weſtphalia*, by *John Becold Knipper-
'doling*, and one *Bernard Rotman*, a
'publick preacher in that city; and this
'was accompany'd with the like fooliſh,
'mad, vain opinions; being as far *remote*
'from, and as *foreign* unto *theſe* people
'in *England*, in their *opinions*, as they
'were in their *perſons*, *place* and *time*;
'who therefore are unduly and unwor-
'thily call'd their *ſpawn*, their *offspring*
'and *generation*, &c. and what not?
'Howbeit, let it be obſerv'd, how *mon-*
'*ſtrous*

'*ſtrous* and *prodigious* this is made; and
'how the world is made to *ring* of the noiſe
'of this *one* diſaſter, that happen'd in *one*
'little compaſs of time; and how unchri-
'ſtianly and unreaſonably it is now *rak'd*
'up, and *reckon'd* to a company of people,
'who in ſuch things are as innocent now
'of the like, as they were of that very fact
'there, being then unborn. Whereas I
'have mention'd *like fact* at the *ſame*
'*time in others*, and may add the like
'hints in thoſe hiſtories of the *Switzers*,
'who about 200 years before, aroſe and
'violently deſtroy'd their *Lords*, and as
'violently chang'd (without blame) both
'their *governours* and *government*, not re-
'verting to this day; which if thoſe of
'*Germany* had ſucceeded as proſperouſly,
'they might have been no more blam'd.
'I might infinitely multiply examples, if
'I ſhould rake in the duſt and aſhes of
'other ſorts throughout all ages in *Chriſ-*
'*tendom*. But what need I go farther
'then our divers and manifold inſurrec-
'tions in *England*, againſt all kinds and
'degrees of *authority?* Neither need I
'mention *by whom* they have been per-
'petrated. Yet all this without the
'leaſt remembrance or reckoning of *Mun-*
'*ſter* unto them, or any of them; ſuch
'is the power of partiality and prejudice.
'Moreover I muſt not omit to return

'the

'the reader's *eye* again to *Munſter*, of 'which *ſame* city we have had certain 'account year by year to this very day, 'for ſome conſiderable time; *that they 'riſe in arms, reſiſt and oppoſe their law-'ful magiſtrate, refuſe obedience to his e-'dicts, and maintain the ſame city againſt 'him by publick force*, and all without 'the leaſt *brand* of *infamy on them.* On 'the other hand, ſuch are very great 'ſtrangers in the world, who know not 'that in *Holland* are *very many*, and have 'been *very long*, that bear the ſame name 'of *Anabaptiſts*, that are as *famous* for 'peaceable living and ſubjection, as any 'others have been *infamous* for the con-'trary.

'ALL which ſtrongly reſults and con-'cludes in this; that there is no *end* nor '*bounds* of impeaching, if there be not '*ſtrict reſtraint* of publick faults unto 'their *proper authors*, acquitting *other o-'pinions* they hold, except only ſuch o-'pinions as do naturally and directly tend 'to ſuch faults. Wherein, indeed, Mr. '*Joſhua Scotton* (tho' a *Pædobaptiſt*) deals 'the moſt ingenuouſly of all other, who 'in his tranſlation of *Guy de Brez*'s 'German ſtory, calls it *The German En-'thuſiaſt*, in the title page, and not the '*German Anabaptiſt:* and in the latter 'end of his epiſtle to the reader, hath

'theſe

'theſe words; *thoſe*, ſaith he, *which he* 'ſtileth Anabaptiſts, *between whom and* 'other mere *Diſſenters in the point of* 'Pædobaptiſm, *being otherwiſe orthodox* 'and peaceable, *the reader ought always* 'conſcientiouſly *to diſtinguiſh.*

German *ſedition alſo charg'd upon* Luther.

'SIXTHLY, Let me a little further 'enforce this by obſerving, that all this 'German ſedition that is now (about 130 'years after) put to the account of the 'innocent reputed *Anabaptiſts* in *Eng-* 'land; was in *like* manner *as much* charg'd 'upon *innocent Luther* at that very day, as 'the *ſame hiſtorians* do jointly and gene- 'rally report; and is confeſs'd by Mr. 'Samuel Clark in his *lives of the fathers.* 'Yet had they *as much* reaſon for that '(though none at all) ſeeing the *princi-* 'pal fomenters of the ſedition had been 'publick *preachers* of the Goſpel, as *Lu-* 'ther was, who then and thereupon could 'but purge himſelf by publick *mani-* 'feſto, (which is yet extant) as *theſe* in 'England have done, time after time, *not* 'only by their *confeſſion of faith* oft im- 'printed, ſhewing their conſtancy, be- 'ſides their manifold declarations, *more* 'particularly upon this point in hand, but 'confirm'd by *conſtant practice*, in their 'peaceable co-habitation with their ſeve- 'ral neighbourhoods both in *city* and 'country.

'SEVENTH-

'SEVENTHLY, Is not this *ſame* impu-
'tation toſs'd like a *ball*, or rather a
'*ſtone*, between the *Proteſtants* in gene-
'ral, and the *Papiſts* in all their paper
'conteſts? And *which*, and *who* can ac-
'quit every *individual* of their party? If,
'therefore, any *particular perſons* of this
'*name* ſhould (among others) prove ex-
'travagant; it will no more make this
'*their glorying void*, than that of *others*,
'who may rather (for want of modera-
'tion) watch for haltings in theſe more
'than in *all other* ſorts beſides. Its evi-
'dent then, that the prevalency of *inte-*
'*reſt* and *faction* above *commutative juſ-*
'*tice*, *right and reaſon*, in too many of
'this age, doth influence them to this
'great unfairneſs. Which whether the
'deſign be (in this way) to *ſtifle* their
'*opinion* about *baptiſm*, or to bring *ſwift*
'*deſtruction* upon thoſe who hold it,
'though they hold it with never ſo much
'*piety* towards God, *righteouſneſs and*
'*peace* towards men, *moderation and re-*
'*ſpect* towards thoſe *chriſtians* who con-
'ſcientiouſly differ from them, yet (leav-
'ing that to God, that knows their
'purpoſes, and is above them) they deſire
'the Lord to forgive thoſe who thus *tra-*
'*duce* them, and *detract* them, and that
'(through the aſſiſtance of God's grace)
'they may be enabled to walk inoffen-
'ſively

'ſively towards *Jew* or *Gentile*, or church
'of God, ſo as to put to ſilence the ig-
'rance of all fooliſh men, who delight
'to ſpeak evil of *what* and of *whom* they
'know not, at leaſt many of them.

Enthuſiaſm, &c. unjuſtly charg'd on the Baptiſts.

'EIGHTHLY, As touching extraordi-
'nary *impulſes*, *enthuſiaſms*, *dreams*, *viſions*,
'&c. Such who lay all this upon thoſe
'call'd *Anabaptiſts* promiſcuouſly in *Eng-*
'land, they ſhew themſelves to be *very*
'great ſtrangers, *not underſtanding where-*
'of they do affirm. The contrary where-
'of ſhineth ſo bright, *as* in their ordi-
'nary teachings and church-government,
'*ſo* in the manifold treatiſes, commenta-
'ries, *&c.* printed and publiſh'd by many
'learned of them, upon all points in the
'chriſtian religion. Wherein let it be
'*duly* noted, that one grand occaſion of
'this and ſuch like imputations, is plain-
'ly this: That one writing author meet-
'ing with *heterodox* and groſs opinions
'in his readings of others, laid upon that
'*name*, he tranſmits it to another that
'follows; and ſo the *ſecond* to the *third*, and
'none of all (for the moſt part) receiv-
'ing any ſuch aſſertions from the perſons
'themſelves, much leſs from any confeſ-
'ſion of faith, comprehending the judg-
'ment of the *generality* of that name.
'By which both writers and readers both
'do, and ſuffer wrong in creating to

'them-

'themſelves and others groundleſs pre-
'judices conveying them over from age
'to age, and rendring them a hideous,
'monſtrous people. And though I could
'multiply inſtances hereof in my own
'ſmall readings, yet I ſhall mention but
'*one*, which was call'd a catalogue of the
'damnable errors of the *Anabaptiſts*, e-
'numerating *thirty and one*; yet of *all*
'theſe, there was but that *one* reputed
'error of *Antipædobaptiſm*, which they
'will eſpouſe, diſavowing the reſt as
'much as he that accus'd them, who
'was a miniſter of no inferior note. Yet
'I ſhall forbear to mention any names,
'becauſe I want not due regard to ſuch
'perſons, who may be otherwiſe godly
'and ſerviceable in both teaching and wri-
'ing, ſetting aſide ſuch miſpriſions. And
'withal few obſerving readers are unac-
'quainted herewith, to need inſtances.

Errors call'd Anabaptiſtical as much or more held by the Pædobaptiſts.

'NINTHLY, Neither is it leſs mani-
'feſt, that moſt of thoſe very errors are
'held and maintain'd by *Pædobaptiſts* one
'againſt the other. The manifold conteſts
'among them about the *principal* points of
'*doctrine*, and alſo moſt things apper-
'taining to *church-government* and *admi-*
'*niſtration of all ordinances*, have been
'upon the houſe-top, to be publickly
'known and read of *all* men. More
'particulary thoſe call'd of the *Epiſcopal*,

'*Preſ-*

'*Preſbyterian* and *Eraſtian* ways, not to 'mention more; nor yet theſe with the 'leaſt immoderate ſpirit towards them, 'but *rather* deſiring it may be us'd by 'them to a *moderation* of mind towards 'each other; and alſo to enquire whether 'the *reputed errors* chargeable upon thoſe 'call'd *Anabaptiſts*, are any way compa-'rable in *number* or *weight* to thoſe in 'controverſy among themſelves; and 'whether the cauſe of ſuch eſtrangedneſs 'and enmity on their part, be not miſ-'underſtanding or intereſt of ſome kind 'or other, which in like manner hath 'led themſelves to ſuch *heat* of oppoſi-'tion, as hath ended in *removing* and *re-'volving* of *church-government*.

The German *hiſtorians account very doubtful.*

'TENTHLY, To conclude theſe par-'ticulars upon this general ſection, we 'find the ſtories of a company of people 'in *Germany*, who are long ſince dead 'and buried, under the greateſt reproach 'and infamy that can be. Of whom 'none can be left to anſwer for them-'ſelves; their reported *extirpation* and *ex-'tinction* being about 130 years paſt; 'their riſe and fall, *lives* and *deaths*, 'wrote by their *adverſaries*; no *aggrava-'ting* circumſtances, either for *opinion* or '*practice*, ſeems to be omitted; no *exte-'nuating* paſſages *confeſſedly* inſerted. Now 'that upon the *whole*, there might be ſuch

'a

'a *people*, and ſuch *perſons* bearing that
'appellation of *Anabaptiſts*, who mix'd
'with others, may be faulty in opinions
'and practices, is a matter much un-
'doubted. But that every *aggravating*
'*paſſage* is true; or that any *one hiſtorian*,
'admitting him otherwiſe juſt, was an
'*ear witneſs* of all their *opinions*, and an
'*ocular witneſs* of all their *tragical ac-*
'*tions*, is reaſonably to be *doubted*. And
'conſequently their teſtimony in every
'*puncto* not ſo much to be *regarded*; be-
'cauſe falſe reports of contrary minded
'men, touching both ſuch and other per-
'ſons and things, are ſo *abounding* and
'*notorious* in *our own* nation and age, like
'that of *Jer.* xx. 10. *Report, ſay they,*
'*and we will report; they watched for my*
'*halting*, &c. Inſomuch that, indeed,
'we have little ground of credit to com-
'mon fame, at leaſt, touching *particu-*
'*lars* of *words* or *acts* ſpoken or done at
'the very next town; and leaſt of all
'from *adverſaries* to the perſons and things
'reported of. Yet all ſuch things, thus
'brought upon the *wings* of *fame*, is not-
'withſtanding as commonly and credibly
'*receiv'd*, and thereupon again *reported*,
'yea *printed* and *publiſh'd*, even in all the
'aggravating circumſtances, as if nothing
'in the world were more authentick and
'indubitable; ſuch is the blind and raſh
'*credulity* of men (though ſome other-

'wiſe honeſt) where they are *pre-diſpoſed* and *prefix'd* in their affections or diſaffections.

If true, make not againſt the Engliſh Baptiſts.

'BUT ſuppoſe, and admit it granted 'to be *wholly true*; yet obſerve what '*proximity* and *nearneſs* of relation is there 'between *thoſe* perſons and enormities in '*Germany*, to *theſe* now in *England*; *that 'their eating of ſour grapes ſhould ſet the 'teeth of theſe on edge?* For there is not 'any *one* thing of *agreement* is or can be 'pretended, but in that of *Baptiſm*. And 'if the ſtories themſelves be true, they 'do not *ſo much* agree in that neither (all 'things conſider'd and obſerv'd) as thoſe 'call'd *Anabaptiſts* and *Pædobaptiſts* do 'here agree; for they relate, that they 'grounded their practice of *Baptiſm*, up-'on pretences of *immediate revelations*; 'that they baptized *all* who came unto 'them; that they threaten'd *damnation* to '*all* who neglected it; that they forc'd '*all* perſons to be baptized, by proclaim-'ing that all who refus'd it ſhould be 'kill'd. All which ſignify ſo much of 'frenzy and madneſs, that to thoſe of '*that name* in *England*, nothing is more 'abſurd and abominable: And that there 'were ever any ſuch rude and heady per-'ſons, anſwerable to this their portrai-'ture and picture, ſcarce any thing to '*them* is more *incredible*. Beſides their 'practices of *polygamy*, and deſtroying

'pro-

'propriety, is unto theſe in *England* de-
'teſtable; and *both* among other things
'detected in their *declaration* 1647.
'Wherefore, I do humbly and fairly
'propoſe, on their behalf in *England*;
'that if the *denomination* of *Anabaptiſt* be
'deriv'd *from*, or at leaſt imputed re-
'proachfully *upon*, that abominable abuſe
'of *Baptiſm*, by theſe men in *Germany*
'(waving the proper ſignification of the
'word as unduly applied) that then, and
'from henceforth, theſe who bear the
'*name* of *Anabaptiſts* in *England*, may be
'for ever acquitted and diſcharg'd there-
'of, never more to be call'd by that
'*name*; which diſcharge is a *due debt*
'from *juſtice itſelf*, ſeeing they can as
'clearly and truly plead *not guilty*, as
'any other people in the world.'

A declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs.

ON the 25th of *Octob.* 1660. The King put forth a declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, wherein he eſtabliſh'd again the book of *Common-prayer*. Yet to quiet the minds of the people, he therein aſſur'd them, that he would appoint an equal number of Divines of both perſuaſions, to review the ſame, and conſider the ſeveral objections rais'd againſt it; and if there was occaſion, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary alterations and amendments therein, as ſhould be agreed upon, for the ſatisfaction of *tender conſciences*,

and preſerving peace and unity in the churches. Accordingly a commiſſion was granted *March* 25. following, with full power and authority to the perſons therein mention'd, to make ſuch amendments and alterations, as they ſhould agree upon, ſubjecting the ſame to his Majeſty's approbation. The perſons appointed on the ſide of the eſtabliſh'd Church were, the Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Sarum*, *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, *Cheſter*, *Carliſle*, *Exeter* and *Norwich*. And of the *Preſbyterian* perſuaſion were, the Reverend *Anthony Tuckney*, *John Conant*, *William Spurſtow*, *John Wallis*, *Thomas Manton*, *Edmund Calamy*, Doctors of Divinity: *Richard Baxter*, *Arthur Jackſon*, *Thomas Caſe*, *Samuel Clark*, and *Matthew Newcomen*, Clerks. To whom were added, Dr. *Earles*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, *Peter Heylin*, *John Hackett*, *John Berwick*, *Peter Gunning*, *John Pearſon*, *Thomas Peirce*, *Anthony Sparrow*, *Herbert Thorndike*, *Thomas Horton*, *Thomas Jacomb*, Doctors of Divinity; *William Bates*, *John Rawlinſon*, *William Cooper*, Clerks; Dr. *John Lightfoot*, Dr. *John Collins*, Dr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, and *William Drake*, Clerk.

A commiſſion granted.

THOUGH the *Baptiſts* in *England* were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongſt them for learning and piety, as moſt in this commiſſion; yet no

No Baptiſts in this commiſſion.

no regard was had to their caſe, nor any one of that perſuaſion appointed to have any ſhare in it. They did not deſign to reform ſo far; for if they could but bring the *Preſbyterian* party in, which was the moſt numerous of the Diſſenters, that might be ſufficient to ſecure their power; though by the conſequence of this proceeding it ſeems probable, there was no deſign of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time.

THIS controverſy was manag'd by writing, and publiſh'd the ſame year. Among many other things, the doctrine and manner of Baptiſm was debated. Both perſuaſions charg'd each other, with advancing ſuch principles therein, as gave encouragement to *Anabaptiſm* *. For the *Epiſcopal* Divines aſſerted, that it is uncharitable to puniſh the children for their parents faults: That the children of *heathens* or excommunicate perſons, have as much right to *Baptiſm* as thoſe of believers; that the efficacy of children's *Baptiſm*, depends neither upon their own faith and repentance, nor that of their parents: That to ſay, that every child that is baptized, is not regenerated by God's Holy Spirit, tends to

* By the account of the proceedings, publiſh'd in 1661, it ſeems to me very evident, that the controverſy on the doctrine of *Baptiſm*, did much tend to promote what they call *Anabaptiſm*.

bring the *baptiſm* of *Infants* into contempt, and makes it not material whether the ſacrament be adminiſtred to children or not. Theſe were reaſons ſufficient to faſten that charge upon them. On the other hand, the *Preſbyterian* Divines aſſerted: That the making a croſs in *Baptiſm* was an human invention; that *Godfathers* and *Godmothers* have no power to covenant and vow in the *child*'s name: That thoſe who do not conſent themſelves, or do it by ſome other, who have a right to act for them, are not taken into covenant: That it cannot be ſaid in faith, every *child* baptized is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit: That thoſe who receive the benefit of *Baptiſm* muſt be qualified *ſubjects*, having the conditions requir'd of ſuch: That if *Baptiſm* juſtify and ſave thoſe that receive it, Chriſtianity is another kind of thing than the *Apoſtles* underſtood it to be; who taught, that it was not the waſhing of *water*, but the anſwer of a good conſcience, that ſaves in baptiſm: That if *baptiſm* had ſuch a virtue in it, then it were a charitable practice to catch the *children* of *Heathens*, and dip them, and ſo ſave them againſt their wills. Let the reader judge whether theſe could be excus'd from the like charge.

I HAVE been inform'd, that when the *Preſbyterians* were pleading hard for ſuch con-

conceſſions from his Majeſty, as they thought would bring about an union; the Lord-Chancellor told them, his Majeſty had receiv'd petitions from the *Anabaptiſts*, who deſir'd nothing more but to have liberty to worſhip God according to their conſciences. At which they were all ſtruck dumb, and remain'd in a long ſilence.

MR. *Baxter* has given us this in another light; therefore I ſhall make uſe of his own words. He ſays.

'THE moſt of the time being ſpent 'thus in ſpeaking to particulars of the 'declaration as it was read; when we 'came to the end, the Lord-Chancellor 'drew out another paper, and told us, 'that the King had been petition'd alſo 'by the *Independants* and *Anabaptiſts*: 'And tho' he knew not what to think of 'it himſelf, and did not very well like 'it; yet ſomething he had drawn up, 'which he would read to us, and deſire 'us alſo to give our advice about it. 'Thereupon he read, as an addition to the 'declaration; *That others alſo be permitted 'to meet for religious worſhip, ſo be it 'they do it not to the diſturbance of the 'peace, and that no Juſtice of peace or offi-'cer diſturb them.* When he had read 'it, he again deſir'd them all to think 'on it, and give their advice; but all 'were ſilent. The *Preſbyterians*, ſays he, 'all

Life, Part II. *p.* 277.

'all perceiv'd as ſoon as they heard it, 'that it would ſecure the liberty of the 'Papiſts. And one of them [Dr. *Wallis*] 'whiſper'd me in the ear, and intreated 'me to ſay nothing, for it was an *odious* 'buſineſs; but let the Biſhops ſpeak to it. 'But the Biſhops would not ſpeak a 'word, nor any one of the *Preſbyterians* 'neither; and ſo we were like to have 'ended in that ſilence. I knew if we 'conſented to it, it would be charg'd on 'us, that we ſpake for a toleration of 'Papiſts and *Sectaries*, (but yet it might 'have lengthen'd out our own.) And if 'we ſpake againſt it, all ſects and parties 'would be ſet againſt us, as the cauſers 'of their ſufferings, and as a partial peo-'ple, that would have liberty ourſelves, but 'would have no others have it with us. 'At laſt ſeeing the ſilence continue, I 'thought our very ſilence would be 'charg'd on us a conſent if it went on; 'and, therefore, I only ſaid this: *That* 'this reverend brother, *Dr.* Gunning, *even* 'now ſpeaking againſt ſects, had nam'd 'the Papiſts *and the* Socinians. *For our* 'parts we deſir'd not favour to ourſelves a-'lone, and rigorous ſeverity we deſir'd a-'gainſt none. As we humbly thank'd his 'Majeſty for his indulgence to ourſelves, ſo 'we diſtinguiſh the tolerable parties from 'the intolerable. For the former, we hum-'bly crave juſt lenity and favour; but for 'the latter, ſuch as the two ſorts nam'd be-

'fore,

'*fore, by that reverend brother, for our* '*parts we cannot make their toleration our* '*requeſt.* To which his Majeſty ſaid, '*That there were laws enough againſt the* 'Papiſts. And I reply'd, *That we under-* '*ſtood the queſtion to be, whether thoſe laws* '*ſhould be executed on them or not.* And 'ſo his Majeſty brake up the meeting of 'that day.'

HAD theſe two great bodies united in their opinions, what could the *Baptiſts* have expected, unleſs Divine Providence had interpos'd, but an entire extirpation by baniſhment or death? But I think it would be but juſt, that the *Pædobaptiſts* ſhould firſt agree in the principles on which they found their practice of *Infant-baptiſm*, rather then perſecute the *Baptiſts* for diſſenting in that point from them. For in my judgment, if *Infant-baptiſm* was an inſtitution of Chriſt, the *Pædobaptiſts* could not be at ſuch a loſs about the grounds of the right *Infants* have to *Baptiſm*. Some affirm, it is to take away original ſin. Others ſay, it is their right by the *covenant*, they being the ſeed of *believers*. Others again ſay, *Infants* have *faith*, and therefore have a right. Others, that they have a right by the *faith* of their *ſureties*. Some ground their right from an *apoſtolical tradition*. Others upon the *authority* of the *ſcriptures*. Some ſay all *children* of *profeſſing chriſtians* ought to be

be baptized. Others ſay, *none* but the *children* of *true believers* have a right to it. Sure if it was an *ordinance of Chriſt*, his word would ſoon end this *controverſy*.

IT is very remarkable, and worthy the reader's obſervation, how much the *aſſertors* of *Infant-baptiſm* differ among themſelves, about that *faith* they ſuppoſe to be in infants. For ſome of them aſſert, they have the *faith* of the *church*, that being entail'd upon all that are within the pale thereof. Thus the *Roman Catholicks*. Others ſay, they have the *faith* of the *goſſips* or *ſureties*. Thus the *Church* of *England*. *Muſculus* ſeems to aſſert they have an *imputed faith*. Mr. *Baxter* intimates they have a *dogmatical faith* only; but does not tell us how it agrees with, or differs from the *faith* of the *adult*. Some ſay it is a *phyſical faith*; ſome a *metaphyſical*; and ſome a *hyperphyſical faith*: Hard words and unſcriptural I muſt confeſs; no wonder they are ſo little underſtood. Some ſay they are born *believers*, which proceeds from their parents being in *covenant*, and being *believers*; but this is to entail *grace* to *nature*, and *regeneration* to *generation*; nay, and to aſſert, all are not children of wrath by *nature*, or as they are born and come into the world. Others ſay they are made *believers* by *baptiſm*, that ordinance conveying *grace*. But to which of all theſe ſhall we give credit?

dit? The truth is, they all ſpeak without book, having no ground from *God's word* to ſay as they do

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Baptiſts* were ſome of the firſt of the Diſſenters from the eſtabliſh'd Church, who ſhew'd their abhorrence of *Oliver*'s uſurpation, and made overtures to the King for his reſtoration; and although they fully clear'd themſelves from being any ways concern'd in the *inſurrection* made by *Venner* and his accomplices: Yet they were ſo far from being allow'd the liberty of their religion, that the firſt and moſt violent perſecution was chiefly level'd againſt them; as the following relations will make appear.

IMMEDIATELY after the riſing of *Venner* and his accomplices, Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, and divers other godly and peaceable perſons, were hal'd out of their houſes, and committed, ſome to *Woodſtreet-counter*, ſome to *Newgate*, and many to other priſons.

Hanſerd Knollys *and others impriſon'd.*

MR. *Vavaſor Powel* was taken from his houſe by a company of ſoldiers, and carried to priſon, from thence he was conducted to *Salop*, and committed with ſeveral others, to the cuſtody of a marſhal; where they continu'd priſoners about nine weeks; and then by order of the King and Council, he was releas'd with the reſt of his brethren.

Vavaſor Powel *and others impriſon'd.*

IT

John Bunyan *imprison'd.*

IT was about this time, that the famous Mr. *John Bunyan* was apprehended at a meeting, and carried before a Juſtice of the peace; who committed him to priſon, though he offer'd ſecurity for his appearing at the next ſeſſions. At the ſeſſions he was indicted for an upholder and maintainer of unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles, and for not conforming to the Church of *England.* He was a man of a free and open ſpirit, and would not diſſemble to ſave himſelf, eſpecially in his Maſter's cauſe; and therefore frankly own'd his being at a meeting and preaching to the people, and that he was a diſſenter from the eſtabliſh'd church. The Juſtices took his open and plain dealing with them, for a confeſſion of the indictment; and ſentenc'd him to perpetual baniſhment, becauſe he refus'd to conform, in purſuance of an Act made by the then Parliament. Upon which he was again committed to priſon; where, though his ſentence of baniſhment was never executed upon him; yet he was kept in priſon 12 years, and ſuffer'd much under cruel and oppreſſing goalers. There were in the priſon with him, two eminent diſſenting miniſters, *viz.* Mr. *Wheeler* and Mr. *Dun*, both very well known in *Bedfordſhire*; and above threeſcore diſſenters beſides. After he had ſuffer'd twelve years impriſonment for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, he was releas'd

releas'd on the importunity of Dr. *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

THEY were neither abbettors of this treaſonable inſurrection, nor privy to it, nor could their enemies fix any thing of that nature upon them; but they had the oaths of *ſupremacy* and *allegiance* tender'd to them, which it was impoſſible for any diſſenter to take; becauſe by this, they muſt acknowledge the King *ſupreme head* of the Church, and ſwear allegiance to him in all eccleſiaſtical matters, as well as civil: And their refuſing to take this, was made the pretence for keeping them in cuſtody. So that from the time of this *mad inſurrection*, to the coronation of the King, which was about 18 weeks, many upon this account were kept cloſe priſoners. Above 400 were crouded into *Newgate*, beſides what were in the other priſons belonging to the *city* and places adjacent: But then an act of pardon being granted to all offenders, except murderers, they were all ſet at liberty.

ANOTHER inſtance of their ſeverity towards the *Baptiſts* above all others, appear'd in this. 'The parliament aſſem- *Hiſt. of Bapt.* Vol. II. *p.* 215.
'bled upon the reſtoration, ſays Dr. *Wall*,
'expreſs'd the diſlike the nation had con-
'ceiv'd againſt the tenets and behaviour
'of theſe men [meaning *Anabaptiſts*]
'when making an act, for the confirm-
'ing all miniſters in the poſſeſſion of
'their

'their benefices, how *heterodox* ſoever they 'had been, provided they would con- 'form for the future, they excepted ſuch 'as had been of this way.'

As they would give this people the leaſt encouragement to conform, ſo they treated them the moſt cruelly and barbarouſly for their diſſenting; as will appear by the following relations.

Baptiſts *impriſon'd at* Reading.

MR. *Jeſſey*, an eminent and learned miniſter of the *Baptiſts*, gives us an account from *Reading-priſon*, where divers peaceable *Baptiſts* were put, having oaths put upon them, which they were not ſatisfied to take; who wrote to him of the Lord's inſtructing and comforting them under theſe their ſufferings for his ſake. Their words are theſe:

The Lord's loud Call, p. 24.

'OUR Lord and King, whom we 'ſerve, hath brought us under his own 'pavilion; and *his banner over* us hath 'been and ſtill *is love*; and hath been 'teaching of us theſe leſſons following.

'FIRST, In the loſs of all outward 'things, having Chriſt, we enjoy all 'things, and are ſatisfied in the Lord; 'we ſhall take the ſpoiling of our goods 'with far more comfort, than the enemy 'will do in the ſpending of them, for 'that word is very much upon our hearts 'concerning him.

Job xx. 22, 23.

'SECONDLY, We hope we have learned, in whatſoever condition we are in,

'to

'be therewith contented; and are perſuad-
'ed in our hearts, this is given us in as an
'anſwer of many prayers breath'd forth
'unto the Lord on our behalfs.

'THIRDLY, That whereas formerly
'we could hardly part with any thing for
'the Lord, we are now made willing by
'him, to part with all things for him, and
'to ſay with good old *Ely*, *It is the Lord*, 1 Sam. iii.
'*let him do what he pleaſeth*; and that 18.
'in *Job*, is ſet before us for our exam-
'ple, upon whom the ends of the world
'are come; *The Lord giveth, and the Lord* Job i. 22,
'*taketh away*; *bleſſed be the name of the* 23.
'*Lord. In all this* Job *ſinned not*, &c.

'FOURTHLY, We have ſince our
'confinement taſted a greater ſweetneſs
'in the promiſes of the Lord than for-
'merly; and particularly theſe places Phil. iv.
'following, we have ſweet experience of, 19.
'and we can truly ſay by experience, *That* 1 Pet. v.
'*faithful is he, that hath thus promiſed, for* 7.
'*he hath alſo done it*; *it is the Lord's doing* Deuteron.
'*and is marvellous in our eyes.* We are xxxiii. 25.
'alſo brought by the power of his grace,
'to a more watchful frame over our
'hearts, thoughts, and actions, by theſe
'trials than formerly. One thing had
'almoſt ſlip'd our memory, the know-
'ledge of which will we hope rejoice our
'hearts; that our relations that are pre-
'cious to the Lord, and to us, bear this
'our ſuffering with incomparable pati-
'ence;

'ence, rather ſinging for joy, than weep-
'ing for grief: Alſo our *ſocieties* from
'whence we were taken, are exceeding
'chearful, and a very lively ſpirit of faith
'and prayer is amongſt them; and their
'meetings rather encreaſeth than other-
'wiſe. Sure, *That the Lord is near, his*
'*wondrous works declare; for the ſinging of*
'*birds is come, and the turtle is heard in*
'*our land.*

'AND now, brethren, foraſmuch as
'the mercies expected and pray'd for by
'us, are to be enjoy'd in the way of
'righteouſneſs, it greatly concerns us, we
'cry mightly to the Lord, as did his
Iſa. lxii. 1. 'ſervant of old. Then ſhall we have
'that new name which God will give
'us, which is expreſs'd in the laſt verſe
'of that chapter.

'Now the God of all peace fill you
'with peace and joy in believing; ſo
'pray your brethren through grace,

John Jones,
Robert Keate,
John Peck,
Richard Steed,
Thomas Jones,
John Coombes.

BY a letter from *Newport* in *Wales*, about this time, came to Mr. *Jeſſey* the following account.

'To

'To give you a full account of the hard 'dealings we now meet with from ſome. 'Laſt Lord's-day with naked ſwords and 'ſtaves, they attempted to ſet upon Mr. 'H. W. and Mr. W. J. but theſe by 'their peaceable carriage ſtay'd their hands 'from blows; it being an aſſembly of 'rude ſoldiers, and moſt or many *Papiſts*, 'that came together againſt ſermon was 'ended in *Lauvihaugel Laularnum*, which 'they had deſign'd ſince the night before, 'eſpecially as we underſtand to cut off 'Mr. W. Mr. J. and another friend that 'lives in that town; though 'tis like, if 'they had but the leaſt juſt occaſion or 'any pretence to fall upon them, they 'would have ſpared none of the reſt. 'Since the Lord was pleas'd to bring us 'ſafe from under their hands, they con-'tinu'd, it ſeems; their carouſing all that 'day till midnight, and fought, and dan-'gerouſly wounded one another. And 'as we underſtand, made uſe of that to 'accuſe us at *London*; though we have 'neither ſpoken, nor acted any thing 'contrary to the publick peace, though 'for our own defence, we were ſuffici-'ently provok'd thereunto. This is writ, 'that as occaſion is, a true relation here-'of may be given.'

THE kingdom being in a great ferment, ſo that the *Baptiſts* could promiſe them- Anno 1661.

themſelves no ſecurity from diſtuburbance. They therefore publiſh'd an addreſs to the King, Parliament and People, entitled, *Sion's groans for her diſtreſs'd*; or, *ſober endeavours to prevent innocent blood*, &c. The occaſion of the publication of it, they deliver in this ſhort epiſtle to the reader, thus:

'*Courteous Reader*,

'WITH burthen'd hearts, as once the two diſciples travelling unto *Emaus* ſpoke to Chriſt, a ſuppos'd ſtranger, ſo ſpeak we unto thee. Art thou a ſtranger in our *iſland*, and haſt not known the things that have come to paſs in theſe our days; while the father hath been divided againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, three againſt two, and two againſt three. Even a man's foes, they of his own houſhold; ſo great have been our diviſions like *Reuben*, that no ſooner light hath been by God's grace manifeſted to the begetting children of the free-woman, but preſently they are perſecuted by the children of the bond-woman. And how unpleaſing this is to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and how unlike his golden rule that ſaith; *And all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do*

'*to*

'*to you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is* '*the law and the prophets:* We ſay, 'how unpleaſing this is to him; judge 'upon thy ſerious peruſal of this fol- 'lowing treatiſe, which we commend 'to thy peruſal in thy moſt retir'd con- 'ſideration, when thou canſt read with 'thy thoughts leaſt cumbred with other 'buſineſs. Our deſign in what we beg 'may be peruſed, is general good, in 'ſetting at liberty that which God 'made free, even the conſcience. Thou 'canſt not be ignorant of the great 'controverſy that now is on foot, as 'to *uniformity in worſhip*, to impoſe 'by violence, where they cannot per- 'ſuade, under ſeeming pretence of ſcrip- 'ture-warrant and antiquity; the con- 'trary to which is aſſerted in the words 'of truth and ſoberneſs, by ſcripture, 'reaſon, and practice of the primitive 'times.

'AND leaſt violence and oppreſſing 'of conſcience ſhould run up to that 'heighth, till it terminate in the blood 'of ſome who are dear, and their blood 'precious in the eyes of the God of all 'the earth; therefore have we commit- 'ted this unto the view of all men, as 'part of the work of our generation, in 'ſingleneſs of heart: And remain lovers 'and prayers for all men, *that we might*

'*live a peaceable and a quiet life in all* '*godlineſs and honeſty.*

The 8th day of the 3d month, 1661. '*Farewel,*

Thomas Monck, *Francis Stanley,*
Joſeph Wright, *William Reynolds,*
George Hammon, *Francis Smith.*
William Jeffery,

HAVING in my former volume ſhewn the oppoſition made to a *toleration*, by the city magiſtracy, the Aſſembly of Divines, the miniſters of *London*, *Lancaſhire* and *Warwickſhire*, &c. I ſhould not do juſtice to the *Engliſh Baptiſts*, if I ſhould paſs by, or abridge this their addreſs to the King, Parliament and People, for a *toleration*. Which ſeems to me ſo full and ſtrong, and containing ſuch cogent arguments, urg'd with ſo much life and ſpirit; that he would have an hard taſk, that ſhould undertake to confute them. I ſhall, therefore, deliver the whole in their own words.

'AS *all the holy ſcriptures*, ſay they, '*have been written aforetime for our learn-*'*ing and admonition, upon whom the ends* '*of the world are come*; ſo that particu-' lar book of the *Revelation*, is of ſuch ' excellent worth, *That bleſſed is he that* '*readeth, and they that hear the words of* '*this prophecy, and keep thoſe things that* '*are written therein; for the time is at* '*hand.*

'*hand.* In which book, in no leſs than three ſeveral texts it is teſtified; that the nations of the world, and inhabiters of the earth with their kings, would drink the wine of the fornication of that *abominable harlot*, that ſitteth upon people, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues; and by her ſorceries deceiveth all nations, until they become drunk, and altogether uncapable, in that condition, to receive the pure waters of life, tender'd to them in the plain way of the Goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus*. Rev. xiv. 8. Rev. xvii. 2. Rev. xviii. 3.

'THIS, with grief of heart, we ſee too viſible. For the doctrine and traditions of *Rome*, who is myſtery *Babylon*; and ſince her apoſtacy the mother of harlots; (*For the woman which thou ſaweſt, is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth*;) have ſo corrupted the earth, and clouded the underſtandings of the ſons of men, that the great and moſt important truths of God cannot be receiv'd or believ'd. The reaſon why the nations are ſo generally beguil'd in the concernments of their ſouls is, becauſe the greateſt part being carnal and unregenerate perſons, they are naturally inclin'd to ſuch ways of worſhip, as are accompany'd with external pomp and glory. And therefore the Spirit of the Lord teſtifies, that the *great harlot* Rev. xvii. 18. Rev xvii. 4.

' *lot* filleth her abominations, and filthy ' fornications in a golden cup; like the ' phyſician that gilds his bitter pill, that ' his patient may the better ſwallow it.

' THUS doth the *Romiſh* church, and ' her followers; who to make their *car-* ' *nal ordinances* find the better reception, ' deliver them to the inhabitants of the ' earth, by ſuch as are honourable a- ' mongſt men; in worldly ſanctuaries, ' moſt magnificently built and adorn'd, ' endow'd with lordly revenues, accom- ' pany'd with muſick and voices, and ' pontifical veſtments; yea, many ſuper- ' ſtitions and cuſtoms merely earthly and ' ſenſual, if not worſe. Which, we ſay, ' ſo pleaſeth the earthly and unregenerate ' man, that he is ready to ſay, this is the ' beſt religion, which is of moſt eſteem ' in the nations, and accompany'd with ' all earthly glory and delights: Altoge- ' ther forgetting, *That ſtrait is the gate,* ' *and narrow is the way that leads to life,* ' *and few there be that find it.* And ' that which is highly eſteem'd among ' men, is abomination in the ſight of ' God.

Matt. vii. 14. Luke xvi. 15.

' AND if it had been the mind of the ' Lord *Jeſus*, that the Goſpel ſhould have ' been recommended unto the world, and ' accompany'd with theſe ceremonies and ' formalities that are practis'd in the wor- ' ſhip of the nations, or were us'd amongſt

' the

'the *Jews*; it is very ſtrange we ſhould
'not have one word for it all the ſcrip-
'tures of the New Teſtament; when Heb. iii.
'Chriſt was as faithful over his houſe, 2, 5, 6.
'as *Moſes* was over his, and is to be Deut.
'heard in all things, as *Moſes* himſelf xviii. 18,
'commanded. And there will be little 19.
'encouragement to touch with the *Gen-*
'*tile* nations in their ſuperſtitious ceremo-
'nies, when it ſhall be conſider'd, that
'the rites and ceremonies of the *Moſaical*
'law, being once the appointment of
'God, did far exceed in glory what the
'ſhallow inventions of the *Romiſh* or any
'of the national churches are able to pro-
'duce; yet wholly taken away. Which
'the author to the *Hebrews* notably
'proves: ſaying, *Then verily the firſt co-*
'*venant had alſo ordinances of divine ſer-*
'*vice, and a worldly ſanctuary; for there*
'*was a tabernacle made, the firſt wherein*
'*was the candleſtick, and the table, and*
'*the ſhew-bread, which is call'd the ſanc-*
'*tuary; and after the ſecond vail the ta-*
'*bernacle, which is call'd the holieſt of all.*
'They had alſo their High-Prieſt and of-
'ferings, and linen ornaments belonging
'to this covenant. But, ſaith our au-
'thor, *If that firſt covenant had been* Heb. viii.
'*faultleſs, then no place had been ſought* 7.
'*for the ſecond; and, he taketh away the* Heb. x. 9.
'*firſt, that he might eſtabliſh the ſecond.*
'And now under the ſecond covenant,

'which is the Goſpel, the *Romiſh* Biſhop, 'or any man on earth, cannot be our 'High-Prieſt. *For we have ſuch an High-* 'Prieſt, *who is ſet on the right-hand of* 'the throne of the Majeſty in the heavens; 'a miniſter of the ſanctuary, and of the 'tabernacle which the Lord pitcheth, and 'not man.

'AND under this ſecond covenant, 'God hath not promiſed his preſence to 'any temple built with wood and ſtone, Acts vii. 48. 'as of old; *For now the Moſt High* 'dwelleth not in temples made with hands, 'as the ſuperſtitious clergy would per-'ſuade us; but *where two or three are* 'gather'd together in the name of Chriſt, 'there is he in the midſt of them; altho' 'it be in a houſe, by a river's ſide, on 'a mountain, or in a wilderneſs; ſuch 'little reſpect hath he to *place*.

'AS little reſpect hath God to *perſons*, 'becauſe of any honour or eſteem they 'may have in the world, either for birth or 'natural endowments; but ſuch as uſu-'ally are *fooliſh*, *weak*, *and baſe in the eyes* 'of the world, doth he make uſe of in 'the work of the Goſpel; that ſo the 1 Cor. i. 26, &c. 'learned Doctors, and Maſters of Art 'may not have wherewithal to boaſt.

'WHICH deſpis'd way of the Goſpel, 'we well know, becomes a *ſtumbling* 'block to the *Gentile Nations*, as in the 'firſt delivery of it, it did unto the

'Jews,

'*Jews*, who *would not receive the Lord* '*of life*, nor his doctrine, becauſe not 'accompany'd with that earthly glory 'which their corrupt hearts affected: 'And rather would retain that exploded 'diſpenſation of the law, which God had 'departed from, than they would receive 'the glorious Goſpel by thoſe hands the 'wiſdom of God thought fit to tender 'it. For which obſtinacy, as the Apo- 'ſtle *Paul* ſaith, *The wrath of God is* '*come upon them to the uttermoſt*, even 'to the laying waſte their temple and ci- 'ties, the great ſlaughter of their perſons, 'and captivating their poſterity, as at 'this day. Let therefore the *Gentile Na-* 1 Theſſ. '*tions* fear; but more eſpecially this na- ii. 16. 'tion. For ſome ſuch ſpirit ſeems to ap- 'pear amongſt thoſe that would retain 'their empty and dead forms of wor- 'ſhip, which God hath ſhewed his diſ- 'pleaſure againſt, and have no footing in 'the whole book of God, rather than 'they will receive the pure way of God, 'without the mixture of human inven- 'tions and traditions.

'BUT the bare rejection of truth, and 'embracing of error, is not all the evil, 'that the nations generally are engag'd 'in by the Church of *Rome*, and her 'followers; but for to compleat and fill 'up the meaſure of their iniquities, like '*Nebuchadnezzar*, nothing leſs muſt be

'in-

'inflicted on the ſervants of the Moſt High 'God, that cannot bow down to the 'Golden Image of their inventions, than 'the *fiery furnace* of *perſecution*; many 'times unto death itſelf.

'AND this the people of the Lord muſt 'endure; it being as certain their portion 'to be perſecuted, as it is the practice of 'the falſe Church to perſecute; who 'build their ſuperſtructures of will-wor-'ſhip on no other foundations but violence 'and cruelty. Elſe what mean theſe im-'priſonments, baniſhments, wars, and 'maſſacres, which have been made in '*Europe* for religion? What troubles and 'deſolations in *Germany*; civil commo-'tions in *France*; cruelties exercis'd in 'the *Netherlands*, by that darling of 'the *Romiſh* Church, the Duke of *Al-'va*, and others? What maſſacres in '*France*, *Piedmont* and *Ireland*, to car-'ry on the buſineſs of religion, for the 'ſatisfaction of a blood-thirſty and inſa-'tiable Clergy; when the diſciples of the 'Lord *Jeſus* were to uſe no other vio-'lence againſt thoſe that rejected them, Acts xiii. 51. Matt. x. 14, 15. 'than to *ſhake the duſt from their feet*, 'which would be a witneſs againſt them 'at the tribunal of *Jeſus*, not *Cæſar*'s? 'Yea, this *Popiſh* principle of propagat-'ing religion by the ſword, hath reach'd 'the poor *Americans*; many hundred 'thouſands of them having been deſtroy'd,

'becauſe

'becauſe they would not be *proſelytes*, 'no other cauſe being to be given. For 'it cannot be ſuppos'd, thoſe remote and 'ſimple people had ſo much as known 'the *Spaniard*, much leſs done any in-'jury unto him. Our own nation hath 'alſo felt the rage of this fury, both be-'fore, and in the reign of Queen *Mary*. 'And the wiſe may judge, whether the 'Biſhops endeavours to impoſe their li-'turgy in *Scotland*, with their cruelties in '*England*, did not contribute much to 'our late unhappy troubles. But cer-'tainly if the *Romiſh* and national clergy 'were guided by the Spirit of God, the 'authority of Scripture, or force of argu-'ment to ſupport their forms of worſhip; 'they would not then impoſe them by 'external force; when by ſuch proceed-'ings they render themſelves altogether 'unlike the Lord *Jeſus*, the prince of 'peace; *who came not to deſtroy men's 'lives, but to ſave them.*

'BUT on the contrary, it will evince 'to all that have their eyes open, how 'like they are to that woman, which is '*drunken with the blood of ſaints, and* Rev. xvii. '*with the blood of the martyrs of* Jeſus; 6. '*in whom will be found the blood of pro-* Rev. xviii. 24. '*phets, and of ſaints, and of all that were '*ſlain on the earth.* Altho' as our Lord 'and maſter hath foretold, in killing o- John xvi. 2. 'thers,

'thers, ſhe may think ſhe doth God ſer-
'vice.

'LEST, therefore, thoſe unchriſtian
'principles of perſecution for conſcience,
'which troubleth the world, ſhould take
'root in this nation, to the ſtirring up
'men's minds to ſhed the blood of the
'innocent, the guilt whereof is able to
'ſink the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms into
'an ocean of miſery and calamity; we
'have here following written ſome argu-
'ments, which we humbly offer to all
'men, to prove how contrary to the
'Goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus*, and to good
'reaſon, it is for any magiſtrate, by out-
'ward force, to impoſe any thing in the
'worſhip of God, on the conſciences of
'thoſe whom they govern; but that li-
'berty ought to be given to all ſuch, as
'diſturb not the civil peace, though of
'different perſuaſions in religious matters.
'In which diſcourſe we neither deſire
'nor deſign to diminiſh any of that pow-
'er which God hath given to the King's
'Majeſty that now reigneth: Whom we
'own to be chief magiſtrate and gover-
'nour of theſe nations, over all perſons, as
'well eccleſiaſtical as temporal. And to
'all his commands that do not oppoſe the
'ſcriptures of truth, ſhall we yield active
'obedience, not only for wrath, but al-
'ſo for conſcience ſake. And if any
'thing otherwiſe ſhall be requir'd, we

'ſhall

'ſhall be paſſive, and ſuffer what may 'be inflicted on us for our conſciences. 'For whatever hath been ſuggeſted by 'evil men; yet that magiſtracy and go- 'vernment is an ordinance of God, hath 'been frequently aſſerted in our diſcourſes 'and writings, and is by us believ'd, as 'fully as the Apoſtle *Paul* in the 13th 'of the *Romans* hath taught. And all 'that we deſire, which is dearer to us 'than our lives, is, that our ſpirits and 'conſciences may be left free to ſerve 'the Eternal God: Which ought to be 'granted us, ſeeing, as the ſame Apoſtle 'ſaith in theſe caſes, *We ſhall every one* Rom. xiv. '*of us give an account of himſelf to God.* 12. 'But to our arguments. The firſt of 'which ſhall be that, which ſome of us 'made uſe of to the King's Majeſty from '*Maidſtone*; which we have not yet ſeen 'weaken'd.

See the confeſſion of faith, printed in March 1659; *and ſince re-printed, and preſented to his Majeſty.*

'LET it, therefore, be conſider'd, If 'any magiſtrate under heaven, in the 'days of the Goſpel, hath power by out- 'ward force to impoſe any thing in the 'worſhip and ſervice of God on the con- 'ſcience; it is given him as he is a ma- 'giſtrate only, or as a chriſtian ſo con- 'ſider'd. But that no ſuch power is 'given by God to any magiſtrate, ap- 'pears,

'1. BECAUSE if magiſtrates as ſuch, 'have ſuch an authority; then all magi-

'ſtrates

'ſtrates in all nations have the ſame pow-
'er. Then, if we liv'd in *Turkey*, muſt
'we receive the *Alcoran*, and be wor-
'ſhippers of *Mahomet*; if in *Spain*, be
'*Papiſts*; in *England*, ſometimes *Papiſts*,
'as in *Henry* VIII's days, *Proteſtants* in
'*Edward* VI's, *Papiſts* again in Queen
'*Mary*'s; and *Proteſtants* again in Queen
'*Elizabeth*'s. And ſo for ever, as the
'authority changes religion, we muſt do
'the ſame; but God forbid, for nothing
'is more abſurd.

'2. SEEING in the days of the Goſ-
'pel, the Lord *Jeſus* is that great *Pro-*
'*phet*, *which* as *Moſes* ſaid, *is to be heard*
'*in all things*; and as himſelf teſtifieth,
Matt. xxviii. 18. '*Hath all power in heaven and earth gi-*
'*ven unto him:* Then if magiſtrates have
'power to impoſe any thing by outward
'force on the conſcience, it muſt be com-
'mitted unto them from the Lord *Jeſus*,
'and written in the ſcriptures of the New
'Teſtament; or elſe how doth it appear?
1 Cor. iv. 6. '*Let no man think of men above that*
'*which is written.* But the whole ſtream
'of the New Teſtament ſcriptures run
'clear in another channel. And there is
'no colour for any ſuch impoſition, as
'farther appears,

'3. BECAUSE the Apoſtles themſelves,
'that gave forth thoſe commands which
'are written in ſcripture, to be obedient
'to magiſtrates, refus'd to be obedient to
'their

'their rulers, when they were commanded to forbear, that which they judg'd 'part of the worſhip of God: And ſaid, '*Whether it be right in the ſight of God,* Acts iv. '*to hearken unto you more than unto God,* 19, 20. '*judge ye.*

'4. ALL the ſcriptures of the New 'Teſtament, that enjoin obedience unto 'magiſtrates, were written when the *Romans* had the empire of the world; 'whoſe Emperors were for the moſt part, 'if not all, *heatheniſh* idolators, for the 'firſt three hundred years, until *Conſtantine's* time. It, therefore, cannot be 'ſuppos'd, that any of thoſe texts of ſcripture, that call for obedience to magiſtrates, intend an obedience in matters of 'faith: For then the Chriſtians that liv'd 'under thoſe Emperors muſt needs have 'denied Chriſt, and worſhipped the *Roman* Gods, as ſome of the Emperors *As* Dio- 'commanded. *cleſian,* Euſeb. Book VIII. chap. 3.

'5. IF magiſtrates, as ſuch, have 'power from God in the days of the Goſ- 'pel to command in ſpiritual matters, 'and to puniſh thoſe that obey not: Then 'muſt Chriſtians ſurely be actually obedient, *not only for wrath, but alſo for 'conſcience ſake*: becauſe elſe they ſhould '*reſiſt the ordinance of God.* But if this 'were true, the way to heaven would be 'ſo far from being *ſtrait and narrow,* that 'any might be a *diſciple of Chriſt,* with- Luke xiv. 'out 17.

'out *taking up the croſs and following him*; yea all ſufferings and perſecutions 'ſhould wholly be at an end, and they 'that undergo them ſhould utterly be 'condemn'd. For it is not to be ſup-'pos'd there could be perſecutions, if all 'the commands of the magiſtrate in ſpi-'ritual cauſes were actually to be obey'd. 'It, therefore, reaſonably follows; that 'no magiſtrate, as ſuch, hath power from 'God to compel in ſpiritual cauſes. But
Rev. vii. 14, 15. Jam. i. 12. Acts xiv. 22. 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.
'on the contrary, for ſaints to endure 'perſecutions and ſufferings rather than 'actually obey, is abundantly by the Lord 'foretold, rewarded and juſtified; as by 'the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament 'appears.

'BUT if it be objected, that neither 'the magiſtrate is to command, nor the 'ſubjects actually to obey, any thing but 'what is according to the mind of God; it 'is anſwer'd, that all magiſtrates ſuppoſe 'whatever they impoſe to be ſo; but the 'queſtion is, who is to determine. For 'if the magiſtrate, or any other man, or 'men, have power from God to judge 'and determine what is lawful for men 'to obey; then no room is left for them 'to diſpute the lawfulneſs of any of his 'commands, it being their duty to obey 'whatever is commanded; and ſo as it hath 'been ſaid before, *the croſs of Chriſt ceaſes.*
Rom. xiv. 12. '*But if every one ſhall give account for*

'*himſelf*

'*himſelf to God*; then it reaſonably follows, that every man muſt judge for himſelf in matters ſpiritual: And therefore, for the magiſtrate to compel, cannot be warrantable by ſcripture or reaſon. Joſh. xxiv. 15.

'AGAIN: That the power to judge and determine in ſpiritual matters, is not in a magiſtrate as ſuch, *Gallio* the *Roman* deputy of *Achaia* well underſtood, when the *Jews* made inſurrection with one accord againſt *Paul*, and brought him to the judgment-ſeat, ſaying, *This fellow perſuadeth men to worſhip God contrary to the law.* Which almoſt ever ſince hath been the great cry by all ſorts of the *national clergy*, whoſe turns it hath been to have the magiſtrate on their ſides, againſt all others that have differ'd from them. But *Gallio* ſaid; *If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdneſs, O ye* Jews, *reaſon would that I ſhould bear with you: But if it be a queſtion of words, and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of ſuch matters. And he drave them from the judgment-ſeat.* Which worthy example, if magiſtrates would be perſuaded to follow, by judging and puniſhing only civil injuries and wrongs, and leaving ſpiritual differences to be decided and judg'd, and puniſh'd by *Jeſus Chriſt* according to Acts xviii. 12, &c.

But in that he ſuffer'd Sosthenes *to be beaten he did not well, it being a civil injury.*

'to the Goſpel; they then would find 'themſelves and governments quickly 'free from many inconveniences that 'now they are involv'd in, about decid- 'ing religious controverſies, with exter- 'nal force and power.

'AND now that no magiſtrate, altho' 'a chriſtian, hath power to be a lord over 'another's faith, or by outward force to 'impoſe any thing in the worſhip of 'God, is alſo very clear.

'1. BECAUSE the Lord *Jeſus* him- 'himſelf would never by any outward force 'compel men to receive him or his doc- 'trine. For when his diſciples, ſuppoſing 'they might uſe violence, as under the 'law, would have commanded fire to 'come down from heaven, as *Elias* did, to 'conſume them that would not receive 'him, Chriſt turn'd and rebuk'd them; Luke ix. 54, &c. 'ſaying, *Ye know not what ſpirit ye are 'of; for the ſon of man is not come to de- 'ſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.* And 'moſt remarkable doth it appear, that it 'is not the intent of the Lord *Jeſus*, that 'judgment ſhould be executed on thoſe 'that reject his words, to the puniſhing 'them in their bodies and eſtates in this 'life, as under the law, from his own John xii. 47, 48. 'ſayings, which ſpeak thus: *If any man 'hear my words, and believe not, I judge 'him not: for I came not to judge the 'world, but to ſave the world. He that*

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'*rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words,*
'*hath one that judgeth him: the word*
'*that I have ſpoken, the ſame ſhall judge*
'*him at the laſt day.* And the Apoſtles
'alſo, were ſo far from propagating the
'Goſpel by outward violence and force, Matt. x. 14.
'that all their proceedings were by in- Acts xiii. 52.
'treaty and perſuaſion; and in caſe of re-
'ſiſtance, to ſhake the duſt from their
'feet as a witneſs againſt their oppoſers.
'Nor will it avail to ſay, becauſe the
'magiſtrate exerciſes authority on civil
'and temporal things, which the Lord *As the dividing inheri-*
'Chriſt would not, that therefore in ſpi- *tances*, &c.
'ritual things they may do the ſame;
'unleſs it may be ſuppos'd the magiſtrates
'right to have ſupremacy over the world
'to come, in all heavenly and eternal
'things; becauſe God hath given him
'power over the world that now is, in
'earthly and temporal things. Which
'may be conjectur'd upon as good ground
'from what is written, as that a magiſ-
'trate under the Goſpel diſpenſation hath
'more power in ſpiritual cauſes, than the
'Lord Chriſt or his Apoſtles would ex-
'erciſe; eſpecially, ſeeing there is not
'the leaſt warrant for any ſuch power
'from Chriſt or the Apoſtles, from any
'thing that is written in the ſcriptures
'of the New Teſtament. *And to the*
'*law, and to the teſtimony; if they ſpeak*

'*not according to this word, it is becauſe*
'*there is no light in them.*

'2. IF any men, as Chriſtians under
'heaven, have had any ſuch power in
'the days of the Goſpel, the Apoſtles and
'Elders in the primitive times muſt needs
'have had it. But this they utterly diſ-
2 Cor. i. 24. 'claim'd: As *Paul, Not for that we*
'*have dominion over your faith, but are*
'*helpers of your joy: for by faith ye ſtand.*
'Yea, the Lord *Jeſus*, when they ſtrove
Matt. xx. 25. 'for domination, forbids it, ſaying: *Ye*
'*know that the princes of the Gentiles ex-*
'*erciſe dominion over them, and they that*
'*are great, do exerciſe authority upon*
'*them; but it ſhall not be ſo amongſt*
'*you.* Even ſo ſaith *Peter*, ſpeaking to
1 Pet. v. 2, 3. 'the Elders; *Feed the flock of God which*
'*is amongſt you, taking the overſight*
'*thereof, not by conſtraint, but willingly;*
'*not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.*
'*Neither as being lords over God's heri-*
'*tage, but being examples to the flock.*
'Why therefore the Chriſtian Religion
'ſhould be built and ſupported by vio-
'lence and cruelty, when the foundation
'was laid, and the work carried on all
'the Apoſtles days, and ſome hundred of
'years after, by a quite contrary means;
'is a queſtion would be reſolved by thoſe,
'whoſe ſtrongeſt argument for the ſup-
'port of their religion is, TAKE HIM,
'JAYLOR. For ſuch is the difference

'between

'between the way which the Apoſtles and
'primitive ſaints took, in carrying on the
'work of the Goſpel, and approving
'themſelves to be the Miniſters of God,
'and the way now uſed by the *national*
'*Clergy*, than which nothing is more un-
'like. They being ambaſſadors for the 2 Cor. v.
'prince of peace, did in his ſtead beſeech 20.
'and pray the diſobedient to be reconcil'd
'to God; never ſtirring up the nations
'to ruin, and deſtroy by external violence
'thoſe that oppos'd them in their mini-
'ſtry; but as the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith, *Be-* 1 Cor. iv.
'*ing reviled, we bleſs; being perſecuted, we* 12, 13.
'*ſuffer it: Being defamed, we entreat.*
'*Giving no offence in any thing, that the* 2 Cor. vi.
'*miniſtry be not blamed: But in all things* 3, &c.
'*approving ourſelves as the miniſters of*
'*God, in much patience, in afflictions, in*
'*neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in ſtripes, in impri-*
'*ſonments, in tumults, in labours, in watch-*
'*ings, in faſtings, by pureneſs, by knowledge,*
'*by long-ſuffering, by kindneſs, by the Holy*
'*Ghoſt, by love unfeigned*, &c. O ye ru-
'lers of the world, and inhabitants of the
'earth, this was the way, the Lord of all
'things, with his diſciples and followers,
'took to plant and eſtabliſh the doctrine
'of the Goſpel in the hearts and affec-
'tions of the ſons of men. Be ye not
'therefore unlike thoſe whom you ſay you
'follow, by impoſing your doctrines and
'traditions by the violence of penal laws and

'edicts, to the *impriſoning*, *baniſhing*, and
'*ſpoiling* the goods of the conſcientious;
'cauſing them, as the ſaints of old, to
Heb. xi. 36, &c. 'be *deſtitute*, *afflicted*, *and tormented*, al-
'though for their innocency and upright-
'neſs, *the world is not worthy of them.*

'3. IT is very plain, that the Lord *Je-*
Matt. xiii. '*ſus* himſelf, in his parable of the *tares*
'and *wheat*, forbids any outward force
'or violence to be exerciſed upon falſe
'worſhippers and hereticks as ſuch. For
'by the *tares*, which he forbids the pul-
'ling up, cannot be intended the tranſ-
'greſſors of the ſecond table, ſuch as
'*thieves*, *murderers*, or any that ſhould
'do that civil injury or wrong unto ano-
'ther, which he would not have done
'unto himſelf. For all confeſs with one
'conſent, that the magiſtrates authority
'reaches ſuch. Neither can it be in-
'tended that *the children of the wicked*
'*one*, in any ſenſe, that viſibly appear to
'be ſo, ſhould be tolerated in the church;
'for that deſtroys the power of excom-
'munication. That which unavoidably
'then follows is, that although men are
'*tares*, or *the children of the wicked one*,
'by erring in the worſhip of God, yet
'ſhould they not be *plucked up*, but *to-*
'*lerated in the field of the world*, until
'the *harveſt* ſhall come, *at the end of*
'*this world*; when the *angels*, who are to
'be the reapers, and infallibly can diſtin-
'guiſh

'guiſh between the *tares* and the *wheat*, 'which no magiſtrate now can, ſhall 'gather the *tares* in bundles, and *caſt 'them into a furnace of fire*; *there ſhall 'be wailing and gnaſhing of teeth.* Which 'ſcripture ſo eminently concludes for a '*toleration*; that the greateſt enemies to 'true liberty have been at a great loſs, 'when they have endeavour'd to make it 'ſpeak ſome other thing. As that ex- J. T. *Sup-* 'poſitor is, who ſays; *It ſeems to him,* *plement,* 'p. 29. *not to note the duty of the civil magiſ- 'trate, but the event of God's providence, 'that God would permit the co-habitation 'of the wicked in the world with the juſt; 'not that magiſtrates or miniſters ſhould 'permit them, and not by civil puniſhment 'or eccleſiaſtical, remove them out of the 'church or the world.* But if men did 'not fight againſt truth, they would not 'ſo evidently contradict their own ſayings. 'For who can believe that it ſhould be the 'mind of God, to permit the co-habita- 'tion of the wicked in the world with 'the juſt, as aforeſaid, and yet the ma- 'giſtrate ſhould not permit them; but 'remove them by civil puniſhment out of 'the world? Hath the magiſtrate power 'to remove thoſe out of the world, that 'God would have permitted to live? 'How ſoon may a magiſtrate, if guided 'by ſuch doctrine, bring the blood of 'the innocent upon himſelf and nation?

2 Kings xxiv 4. ‘ *And innocent blood the Lord will not*
‘ *pardon.* It therefore highly concerns
‘ all magiſtrates, before they perſecute
‘ any for matters of faith or wor-
‘ ſhip, to ſee they have a better warrant
‘ for ſo doing, than the word of men;
‘ which will not ſecure them at that day,
Rom. ii. 16. ‘ *when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men,*
‘ *by Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Goſpel.*
Rev. xx. 12. ‘ Which will be found to be *the book*
‘ *that ſhall be opened,* when *the dead,*
So many as have lived where the word of the Goſpel comes. ‘ *both ſmall and great, ſhall ſtand before*
‘ *God, to be judged by what is written*
‘ *therein, according to their works.* As
‘ the Lord *Jeſus* ſaith: *The word that I*
‘ *have ſpoken, the ſame ſhall judge you at*
‘ *the laſt day.* And this is his word, to
‘ *let both tares and wheat grow together*
‘ *in the field of the world, until the har-*
‘ *veſt.*

‘ 4. IT can in no wiſe be ſafe for ma-
‘ giſtrates, in the days of the Goſpel, to
‘ perſecute and deſtroy thoſe that are
‘ contrary minded in religious matters,
‘ becauſe of their fallibility. And that is
‘ the very reaſon why the Lord *Jeſus,*
‘ in the fore-mention'd parable, forbids
Matt. xiii. 29. ‘ gathering up the *tares*; *leaſt the wheat*
‘ *be rooted up* along *with them.* That
‘ magiſtrates may err in ſpiritual and re-
‘ ligious matters, woful experience hath
‘ taught the world in all ages. The Lord
‘ of Life himſelf was put to death, for

‘ ſup-

'ſuppos'd blaſphemy and wickedneſs, and
'accus'd for being *an enemy unto Cæſar.*
'Which great miſtake was committed
'through ignorance; as *Peter* ſaith, *And* Acts iii.
'*now, brethren, I wot that through igno-* 17.
'*rance ye did it, as alſo did your rulers.*
'And at this day, what miſtakes are con-
'tinu'd in magiſtrates about religion?
'Some being *Calviniſts*, as in *Holland* and *In* Europe.
'*Geneva*, more *Lutherans*, but the great-
'eſt part *Papiſts:* And each of theſe
'condemneth, and many times perſecut-
'eth the other for hereſy, or ſuperſtition.
'Unavoidably therefore it follows, that
'ſome of theſe muſt err: But we need not
'go far for the proof of this in one and the
'ſame perſon, who receives that at one
'time for truth, which at another time
'muſt be perſecuted for error. This ap-
'pear'd notably in King *Henry* VIII. who
'perſecuted the *Proteſtants* to death; and
'writes againſt *Luther*, for which the
'*Pope* gives him the title of *defender of*
'*the faith:* And yet a while after re-
'ceives ſome of *Luther*'s doctrines, and
'rejects the ſupremacy and authority of
'the *Pope*; and ſerves the *Papiſts* as he
'did the *Proteſtants.* Nor will magiſ-
'trates be the more free from miſtakes,
'by relying on the authority of Synods,
'Popes, or general Councils, becauſe
'ſuch eminent contradictions and oppoſi-
'tions have appear'd amongſt each of them,
'that

'that nothing is more uncertain than their
As Jer. Taylor *now Bishop of* Down, *in his liberty of Proph.* Sect. VI. *at large proves.*
'conclusions. As for general Councils,
'whose authority is in the greatest esti-
'mation of the three, it is plain, they
'are so far from being infallible, that
'their decrees have been not only directly
'opposite to plain texts of scripture, and
'the practice of the primitive church,
'but also against each other. Which
'appear'd first in the Council of *Con-*
'stance, in the thirteenth session; where
'it was decreed, that the Lord's-Supper
'should be given but in one kind;
'when nothing is more plain, than that
Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.
'the Lord *Jesus* instituted it; the A-
'postle *Paul* afterwards deliver'd it to
1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.
'the *Corinthians*; and the primitive
'church receiv'd it, with both the bread
'and the cup.

'So for the Council of *Trent*, to de-
'cree that the service in the church
'should be perform'd in *Latin*; how
'contrary is it to the doctrine of *Paul*;
1 Cor. xiv. 19.
'who said, *In the church he had rather*
'speak five words with understanding, that
'he might teach others, than ten thousand
'words in an unknown tongue. So also
'have they clash'd one with another: The
'Council of *Trent* allowing picturing of
'God the father; the Council of *Nice*
'altogether disallowing it. And in the
'great *Arian* controversy, which was
'no circumstantial business, how many

'Coun-

‘ Councils and Conventions, were both
‘ for and againſt it?

‘ As little reliance can be put on any
‘ ſuppos'd infallibility the *Pope* may have;
‘ there having been two or three at one
‘ time, each raging againſt the other, with
‘ their cenſures and decrees. And noto-
‘ rious it is, what diſſention there was
‘ amongſt the Popes and Cardinals about
‘ Pope *Formoſus*; who being firſt Biſhop
‘ of *Pontiniack*, was degraded by Pope
‘ *John* VIII. and made to take an oath
‘ to lead a ſecular life all his days. Yet
‘ by Pope *Martin* that ſucceeded *John*,
‘ was *Formoſus* releas'd from his oath, re-
‘ ſtor'd to his Biſhoprick, and afterwards
‘ came to be *Pope*, and ſo continu'd 5 years,
‘ making ſeveral decrees. But *Stephen* VI.
‘ coming to the Popedom, abrogates the
‘ decrees of *Formoſus*, takes up his body,
‘ cut off two of his fingers, throws them
‘ into the river *Tyber*, and then buries
‘ him in a *Layman*'s ſepulchre. Next to
‘ *Stephen* ſucceeds *Romanus*; who on the
‘ the other hand repeals the acts and de-
‘ crees of his predeceſſor *Stephen* againſt
‘ *Formoſus*. And Pope *John* X. in a ſy-
‘ nod at *Ravenna*, ratifies all the decrees
‘ and doings of *Formoſus*. Yet after all
‘ this, comes Pope *Sergius*, digs up again
‘ *Formoſus*, cuts of his head and three
‘ more off his fingers, and throws his
‘ body into the *Tyber*, and likewiſe de-
‘ pos'd

Benedict. Silveſter III. Gregory VI.

Fox's *acts and mon.* p. 188.

'pos'd all ſuch as had been conſecrated by 'him. All which ſchiſms and diſſen-'tions make it plain to the world, that 'there is nothing of infallibility in the '*Popes*.

'AND for national conventions and 'ſynods; they are ſo far from any ſhew 'of infallibility, that the ſame complec-'tion and temper the nation is of, where-'in they are call'd, and have their pro-'motions, you ſhall be ſure to find them 'of; becauſe they have their dependency 'on the authority that calls them toge-'ther. So that although the laſt nation-'al ſynod in this nation, would have e-'ſtabliſh'd *Preſbytery*, becauſe that then 'was moſt like to take; yet it is very 'queſtionable, if now a convention be 'call'd, whether it will be much talk'd 'of amongſt them.

'THEN this muſt be concluded from 'all, that ſeeing magiſtrates themſelves, 'general Councils, Popes, or national Sy-'nods may err, in judging and determi-'ning the moſt weighty controverſies in 'religion; there can therefore be no ſe-'curity for a magiſtrate that he doth well 'in perſecuting or putting to death the 'contrary minded in religious matters; 'ſeeing through miſtake, he may as ſoon 'perſecute or put to death the true fol-'lowers of the Lord *Jeſus*, as any other. 'Yea, in likelihood much ſooner; be-

'cauſe

'cauſe they in conſcience towards God, 'cannot receive the inventions and traditions of men, in the worſhip of God; 'but muſt be a witneſs for the eternal 'God againſt them, for which they are 'accounted as the ſaints of old, *peſtilent* Acts xiv. 'fellows, *movers of ſedition, turners of the* 5. 'world upſide down, *enemies to* Cæſar, and Acts xvii. 'upon this account perſecuted; when the 6, 7. 'greateſt part of men being unregenerate, 'and having no other ſpirit in them but 'what is of this world, there is therefore 'no reaſon why the world ſhould perſecute and hate his own.

'5. FOR magiſtrates to inflict temporal puniſhments upon any of their ſubjects, for not conforming to their decrees, that enjoin any ſpiritual worſhip 'or ſervice, is undoubtedly a breach of that 'royal law, which ſays, *Whatſoever ye* Matt. vii. 'would that men ſhould do to you, do you 12. 'even ſo them, for this is the law and the 'prophets; and is a ſure and ſtanding rule, 'by which all men, if they would deal ingenuouſly by themſelves, might meaſure 'the juſtice of their proceedings towards 'others. For who, that was not a deſperate enemy to himſelf, would put out 'another man's eye, if he was ſure his 'own ſhould be put out as ſoon as he 'had done; as he was to be ſerv'd by 'the judicial law. Neither would thoſe 'that are forward to perſecute, be very

'zealous

'zealous in their proceedings, if they 'were ſure, that thoſe whom they perſe-'cute ſhould have power on their ſides, 'to *mete the ſame meaſure unto them.* And 'this is worthy of obſervation; that this 'rule of doing as we would be done un-'to, can be receiv'd and pleaded by all 'ſorts of men, whilſt they are under af-'fliction and perſecution; but who re-'members it, when they have power to 'afflict and perſecute others? The *Pa-'piſts* themſelves, when out of power, 'in this and other nations, can plead a-'gainſt perſecution for their conſcience;
Camb-den's *An-nals of* Eliz. *p.* 20. 'as they did in the reign of Queen *Eli-'zabeth*, procuring the letters of the Em-'peror, and other Princes, to intercede 'for ſome places to be allow'd, where 'they may worſhip by themſelves. But 'in this they deſir'd more than themſelves 'would allow to others when in power.
As in France. 'So, many of the *Proteſtants*, where the 'magiſtrate is different from them in re-'ligion, can be well pleas'd with a *tole-'ration:* And *Martin Luther* in his ſer-'mon of the good ſhepherd; engliſh'd 'by *W. G.* in the year 1581, ſpeaking 'of the kingdom of Chriſt, ſaith, it is 'not govern'd at all by any force or pow-'er, but by outward preaching alone, 'that is, by the Goſpel. Why, there-'fore, cannot the *Proteſtants*, who would 'ſeem to have an honourable eſteem of

'this

'this man, be of the ſame ſpirit; and 'the *Papiſts* be as much for liberty in 'proſperity, as in adverſity; ſeeing the 'Lord *Jeſus* hath not directed at one 'time, to the uſe of force and violence, 'in the work of the Goſpel; and at ano-'ther time, if the civil ſword be not to be 'procur'd, then to uſe arguments and 'perſuaſions? No, at all times the rule 'which his diſciples muſt take notice of, 'ſays, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould* Matt. vii. 'do to you, do you even ſo to them; for* 1, 2. 'with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be 'meaſured to you again.

'AND becauſe myſtery *Babylon* hath 'not regarded theſe ſayings, but exerciſ-'eth all manner of cruelties, and deaths 'upon ſuch as cannot believe as ſhe be-'lieves and practiſes; therefore God will 'find out a way to retaliate upon her all 'the blood of his ſervants; *And in the* *As at this* 'cup which ſhe hath filled, ſhall it be filled to* *day.* Rev. xviii. 'her double. How much ſhe hath glorified* 6, &c. 'herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much tor-'ment and ſorrow give her: for ſhe ſaith 'in her heart, I ſit a queen, and am no wi-'dow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow. Therefore 'ſhall her plagues come in one day, death, 'and mourning and famine, and ſhe ſhall 'be utterly burnt with fire, for ſtrong is 'the Lord God who judgeth her. And the 'kings of the earth who have committed 'fornication, and lived deliciouſly with

'her,

'*her, ſhall bewail and lament for her. And*
'*her merchants, which are the great men*
'*of the earth, who traffick with her in*
'*things coſtly, delicate, and of eſteem in the*
'*world*, and in *ſlaves, and ſouls of men*,
'or as by the margin it may be read,
'*bodies and ſouls* of men, theſe alſo *ſhall*
'*mourn over her; for no man buyeth their*
'*merchandize any more.* And thus the
'fierceneſs of God's wrath will overtake
'her, to the ſinking of her like a mill-
'ſtone, into the bottom of the ſea; be-
'cauſe the great weight of innocent blood
'lieth upon her. *For in her will be*
'*found the blood of prophets, and of ſaints,*
'*and of all that were ſlain upon the earth.*
'He that therefore would not partake
'with her in any of her plagues, let
'him flee from her, and partake not
'with her in any of her ſins; one of the
'greateſt being the perſecution of men
'for keeping a good conſcience. For
'except the great God ſhould ceaſe to be
'what he is, if men repent not of their
'deeds, there will be as certainly puniſh-
'ment, as there is ſin; and it ſhall not
'be the arm of fleſh that will be able to
'ſupport this ſtrumpet, although many
'kingdoms ſhould engage in her quar-
'rel; neither ſhall the wiſdom and pru-
'dence of great ſtateſmen be able to keep
'off her judgments. For if men ſhould
'ceaſe to do any thing againſt her, yet

'God

'God will make the very elements to 'fight againſt her; and will contend 'with her by famine and peſtilence, yea, 'and ſword too, altho' ſhe fears it not. 'For God will ſtir up the ten Kings to do 'his will upon her; and by his great 'works, and judgments that he will ma-'nifeſt in the earth, will he gain him-'ſelf a name, and great honour and glory. 'Even ſo, *Amen.*

'As it is no ways lawful from the 'word of God, for chriſtian magiſtrates, 'in the days of the Goſpel, to deſtroy 'and root out the contrary-minded in re-'ligious matters, tho' idolaters; ſo ſuch 'proceedings may ſometimes prove in-'conſiſtent, with the very being of nations. 'For ſuppoſe any nation were wholly 'heatheniſh idolaters, and the word of 'God coming in amongſt them, ſhould 'convert the chief magiſtrate, and one 'twentieth part of the nation more; muſt 'he then, with that twentieth part, de-'ſtroy all the other nineteen, if they will 'not be converted, but continue in their 'heatheniſh idolatry? It cannot poſſibly 'be ſuppos'd to be warrantable. And 'this reaſon holds good, likewiſe, againſt 'the rooting up and deſtroying hereticks 'out of the world; becauſe if the church 'proceeds againſt any of her members to 'excommunication, the church's deport-'ment towards him ſo caſt out, is to be

'the ſame, as towards a *heathen*. So
Matt. 'ſaith Chriſt himſelf; *If he neglect to hear*
xviii. 17. '*the church, let him be unto thee as an*
'*heathen man, and a publican*; who, for
'the aforeſaid reaſon, is not to be de-
'ſtroy'd becauſe he is ſo. And moreover,
'ſeeing the Lord, who is abundantly
'merciful, many times gives repentance
'not only to the unbelieving idolater, but
'alſo to the excommunicated perſon; he
'therefore that deſtroys the body of ſuch a
'one, doth as much as in him lieth deſtroy
'his ſoul alſo. For the Lord, you ſee, brings
'into his vineyard *ſome at the third hour*,
'*ſome at the ſixth, ſome at the ninth, and*
'*others at the eleventh*. He, therefore,
'that ſhall deſtroy any at the third, or
'ſixth hour of the life, hinders his con-
'verſion, that poſſibly may be call'd at
'the ninth or eleventh hour; and ſo may
'be charg'd with bringing eternal loſs
'and damage to him whom he deſtroys.

'OBJECTION. But whereas the example
'of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, is
'made the greateſt pillar to ſupport the
'magiſtrates proceedings under the Goſ-
'pel, in perſecuting and puniſhing the
'contrary-minded in religious matters, or
'ſuch as ſhall be adjudg'd guilty of blaſ-
'phemy or idolatry; therefore the ſecond
'*canon* of the *Engliſh* Church tells us,
'*Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the King's*
'*Majeſty hath not the ſame authority in*
'*cauſes*

'*cauſes eccleſiaſtical, that the godly Kings had amongſt the* Jews, *ſhall be excommunicated.* But if magiſtrates would defer perſecuting any man for religion, until the clergy had prov'd this unto them, it would be happy for the moſt conſcientious under them, and themſelves too.

'ANSWER. But in anſwer, we deny not, but the Kings of the *Jews* had power to puniſh idolaters, and blaſphemers, and ſome other trangreſſors of the then law of God: Which power was given them of God, and written in plain precepts, in the *Moſaical* law. But who tells them, that magiſtrates under the Goſpel diſpenſation, hath ſuch power? Hath the Lord *Jeſus* ſaid any ſuch thing? Or if he have, where is it written? Nay, where is it written from the beginning of *Geneſis*, to the end of the *Revelations*, that magiſtrates under the Goſpel ſhould have the ſame power in religious cauſes, as thoſe under the law? If the judicial law be a rule for magiſtrates under the Goſpel to walk by; then why muſt it be mangled in pieces, and juſt ſo much taken of it as ſuits their intereſt, and all the reſt rejected? Is it left to magiſtrates now, or was it ever left to the *Jewiſh* Kings, to take what part of it they pleaſe to be a rule to them, and reject all the reſt? And

'it is eminently remarkable, how this 'plea is by the Clergy themſelves, that 'moſt contend for it, made altogether 'invalid. For by it they will ſtir up 'the civil magiſtrate, to puniſh thoſe that 'diſſent from them about the doctrine 'and worſhip, under the notion of a blaſ-'phemer or heretick; and againſt ſuch 'this law muſt be held authentick: But 'he that *ſmiteth, or curſeth his father or* 'mother, or *ſtealeth a man*, or him that 'committeth *adultery*, or *breaketh the ſab-*'bath, who were all them ſure to be put 'to death, by the ſame judicial law; 'yet in theſe caſes they will not tell the 'magiſtrate it is any rule; but it is to 'be rejected, becauſe here they cannot 'much make it reach their ſuppos'd here-'ticks, who they are more jealous of, 'than any of the afore-mention'd offen-'ders.

'BUT beſides; it is obſervable, that 'the Kings of the *Jews*, all the time 'they kept to the Law of God, had ad-'vantages to give righteous judgment in 'ſpiritual cauſes, which magiſtrates un-'der the Goſpel have not. For they had 'that ſtanding oracle of God amongſt 'them, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, together 'with extraordinary prophets, which in 'all difficult caſes they had recourſe unto, 'and would infallibly direct them to 'judge according to the mind of God.

'But

'But when theſe Kings became wicked, 'and loſt the benefit of the aboveſaid ora-'cle, and extraordinary prophets; then, al-'though they had the written law a-'mongſt them, did they run headlong into 'ſuch groſs miſtakes, that the true pro-'phets of the Lord were ſure to be per-'ſecuted; and thoſe prophets which 'would propheſy ſmooth things unto 'them, were cheriſh'd, although many 'times, by heark'ning unto them, they 'loſt their kingdoms, lives, and it is to 'be fear'd, ſouls and all. How groſly 'did *Ahab* miſtake, when he accounted '*Elijah* the *troubler of Iſrael*; and caus'd 'poor *Micajah* to be impriſon'd, and *fed* '*with bread and water of affliction*, be-'cauſe he would not help to deceive him, 'as his 400 * time-ſerving prophets had 'done? So *Jeremiah* was accus'd for 'ſeeking the hurt of his nation, and not 'the welfare, and muſt be put in a miry 'dungeon; becauſe he in plainneſs deli-'ver'd the mind of the Lord to the 'King, his princes and people. How, 'therefore, can the *Gentile* rulers aſſure 'themſelves they do any better than theſe 'rulers did, if they ſhall perſecute the 'contrary-minded in religious matters;

* 400 Falſe Prophets muſt eat bread at *Jezabel's* table, when *Micajah* muſt have bread and water of affliction, *Jer.* xxxviii. 4, 5, 6. as it hath been in our day.

'ſeeing they have neither an infallible oracle to enquire at, nor extraordinary prophet, nor yet ſuch written precepts, as the *Jews* under the *Moſaical* law had; that did not only direct them what offenders ſhould be puniſh'd, but alſo what the particular puniſhment to every ſeveral offence ſhould be?

'FURTHERMORE, it is very plain, that the Goſpel which we live under, is clear another diſpenſation, far different in all its ordinances and adminiſtrations from the law; under which the Lord *Jeſus* is the only law-giver. Who doth not, as *Moſes*, proceed againſt the tranſgreſſors of his precepts by external force and power, to the deſtroying them in their bodies and eſtates in this life; but in long-ſuffering waits on men, *not willing they ſhould periſh, but rather that they ſhould repent and be ſaved.* And when any continues in diſobedience to the Goſpel, his puniſhment is eternal in the world to come. Therefore, as the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith, *Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come; who will bring to light hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the councels of the hearts; and then ſhall every man have praiſe of God.* The ſame Apoſtle teſtifieth of himſelf, *that he was a blaſphemer and perſecutor*; and if the mind of God had been, that he ſhould have ſuffer'd

1 Theſſ. i. 9. 2 Pet. i. 9. Acts xvii. 31. 1 Tim. i. 13.

'death

'death in that condition, how ſhould he 'have had repentance given him, and 'been ſuch a glorious inſtrument in the 'church, as afterwards he was?

'AND it is too well known, that the 'Jews are the great blaſphemers againſt 'our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, that are on earth. 'Yet it is not the mind of the Lord, 'they ſhould be deſtroy'd from the face 'of the earth. For how then ſhould 'the ſcripture be fulfilled, wherein God 'hath promis'd to call them, and make 'them the moſt glorious nation on the 'earth? Or how can they be converted, 'if they be not permitted, where the 'Goſpel is preach'd? We ſpeak not this 'in favour of any blaſphemy, for our 'ſouls abhor it; but becauſe all men that 'have power in their hands, might be as 'tender of the lives of men, as the moſt 'righteous and holy God is: Who would 'have men be imitators of himſelf, in 'mercy and goodneſs towards others; '*and maketh his ſun to riſe on the evil,* '*and on the good, and ſendeth rain on the* '*juſt and unjuſt.*

'IF it ſhall ſtill be objected, that it is 'inconſiſtent with the ſafety and well-'being of any nation, to allow or tole-'rate any more ways of worſhip than 'one: We anſwer, experience hath 'taught the contrary to ſeveral countries 'of *Europe*; as *France*, and the *United*

'*Provinces*, and ſeveral countries of *Ger-*
'*many*. Beſides, thoſe that ſay they are
'the ſervants of God, ſhould conclude
'that to be moſt for the ſafety and
'well-being of their countries, which is
'moſt agreeable to his heavenly will, de-
'clar'd in his word. It was the ruin of
'*Jeroboam*, and almoſt all the Kings of
'*Iſrael*, that ſucceeded him, that they
'would rather act by corrupt principles
'of ſtate policy, than by the word which
'God had ſpoken. And although God
'had rent ten tribes from *Rehoboam*, and
'given them to him, yet he wanted faith
'to believe his new kingdom could any
'ways be ſecur'd to him, or kept from
'going back to the lineage of *David*, un-
'leſs he devis'd ſome new way of wor-
'ſhip, to keep the people in their own
'land. And for his ſo doing, he thought
'he had much reaſon of ſtate: For what
'*Prince* now will conclude it good po-
'licy, to permit his people to go up
'yearly, into his enemies chief *city* to
'worſhip; but will conclude it to be a
'notable way to alienate the affections
'of his ſubjects from him, to his great
'prejudice and detriment? Thus *Jero-*
'*boam* reaſons, as by his words appear.
1 Kings xii. 26, 27, 28. 'Take them at length. *And* Jeroboam
'*ſaid in his heart, Now ſhall the kingdom*
'*return to the houſe of* David: *If this*
'*people go up to do ſacrifice in the houſe*
'*of*

'of the Lord at Jeruſalem, *then ſhall the*
'*heart of this people turn again unto their*
'*lord, even unto* Rehoboam *king of* Ju-
'dah; *and they ſhall kill me. Whereup-*
'*on the king took counſel, and made two*
'*calves of gold; and ſaid to them, it is too*
'*much for you to go up to* Jeruſalem; *be-*
'*hold thy Gods, O* Iſrael, *which brought thee*
'*out of the land of* Egypt. Which policy
'of his procur'd this event, which God
'denounc'd againſt him; ſaying, *I will* 1 Kings
'*bring evil upon the houſe of* Jeroboam, xiv. 10,
'*and will cut off from* Jeroboam *him that* 11.
'*piſſeth againſt the wall, and him that is*
'*ſhut up, and left in* Iſrael; *and will take*
'*away the remnant of the houſe of* Jero-
'boam, *as a man taketh away dung, till*
'*it be all gone.* And for the ſin where-
'in he made *Iſrael* to ſin, is he branded
'to all poſterity. But on the other hand,
'had he permitted the people to go up to
'*Jeruſalem* to worſhip, and kept the ap-
'pointments of God, tho' ſeemingly a-
'gainſt his preſent intereſt; then had the
'promiſe of God been made good unto
'him, which the prophet *Ahijah* declar'd
'long before he came to the kingdom;
'ſaying, *And it ſhall be, if thou wilt* Chap. xi.
'*hearken unto all that I command thee, and* 38.
'*wilt walk in my ways, and do that is*
'*right in my ſight, to keep my ſtatutes*
'*and commandments, as* David *my ſervant*
'*did; that I will be with thee, and build*

'*thee*

'*thee a ſure houſe, as I built for* David,
'*and will give* Iſrael *unto thee.* Which
'things were written for the example of
Pſa. ii. 10, 11, 12. 'ſuch, as ſhould come after. *Be wiſe now*
'*therefore, O ye kings; be inſtructed, ye*
'*judges of the earth. Serve the Lord*
'*with fear, and rejoice with trembling.*
'*Kiſs the ſon, leſt he be angry, and ye pe-*
'*riſh from the way, when his wrath is*
'*kindled but a little; bleſſed are all they*
'*that put their truſt in him.*

'WE ſhall take leave to mind and
'keep in memory the *liberty of tender*
'*conſciences*, which the King's Majeſty
'declar'd from *Breda*; and ſhall yet live
'in hope and expectation to be partakers
'of the benefit thereof; being reaſona-
'bly perſuaded, that the ſame principle
'that led his Majeſty to aſſert ſuch *Chri-*
'*ſtian Liberty*, ſtill remains with him, to
'the allowing and protecting his peace-
'able ſubjects, in their religious concern-
'ments: Humbly praying, that God
'may order his heart, and the hearts of
'his great council, to proclaim *liberty* by
'a law, and *the opening of the priſons to*
'*them that are bound.* That theſe de-
'ſires may not ſeem novel, or ſuggeſted
'by us in the day of our diſtreſs, we
'have herewith inſerted the teſtimony of
'the ancients; which we have collected
'out of Dr. *Jer. Taylor*'s *liberty of pro-*
'*pheſying*, which we pray may be impar-
'tially conſider'd.

'IT

'IT is obſervable, that reſtraining of liberty, impoſing upon other mens underſtanding, being maſters of their conſciences, and lording it over their faith, came in with the retinue and train of Antichriſt: That is, they came as other abuſes and corruptions of the church did, by reaſon of the iniquity of the times, and the cooling of the firſt heats of chriſtianity, and the increaſe of intereſt, and the abatement of chriſtian ſimplicity; when the church's fortune grew better, and her ſons grew worſe, and ſome of her fathers worſt of all. For in the firſt 300 years, there was no ſign of perſecuting any man for his opinion, though at that time there were very horrid opinions commenc'd: For they then were aſſaulted by new ſects, which deſtroy'd the common principles of nature, of chriſtianity, of innocence, and publick ſociety. And they who us'd all the means, chriſtian and ſpiritual, for their diſprovement and conviction, thought not of uſing corporal force, otherwiſe than by blaming ſuch proceedings. To which I add; that all wiſe princes, till they were overborn with faction, or ſolicited by peeviſh perſons, gave *toleration to differing ſects*, &c. Epiſt. *p.* 18.

'AND the experience which *Chriſtendom* hath had in this laſt age, is ar-

'gument

'gument enough, that *toleration of diſ-*
fering opinions is ſo far from diſturbing
the publick peace, or deſtroying the in-
tereſt of princes and commonwealths,
that it does advantage to the publick. It
ſecures peace, becauſe there is not ſo
much as the pretence of religion left to
perſons to contend for it, being alrea-
dy indulg'd to them.

'WHEN the *French* fought againſt
the *Hugonots*, the ſpilling of her own
blood was argument enough, of the im-
prudence of that way of promoting re-
ligion. But ſince ſhe hath given per-
miſſion to them, the world is witneſs,
how proſperous ſhe hath been ever
ſince. Indeed, there is great reaſon for
princes to give *toleration to diſagreeing*
perſons, whoſe opinions by fair means
cannot be alter'd. For if the perſons
be confident, they will ſerve God ac-
cording to their perſuaſions: And if
they be publickly prohibited, they will
privately convene.

'AND it is alſo a part of Chriſtian
Religion, that the liberty of mens con-
ſciences ſhould be preſerv'd in all things,
where God hath not made a limit, or
ſet a reſtraint; that the ſoul of man
ſhould be free, and acknowledge no
maſter but *Jeſus Chriſt*; that matters
ſpiritual ſhould not be reſtrain'd by pu-
niſhments corporal; and that the ſame

'meekneſs

'meekneſs and charity ſhould be preſerv'd 'in the promotion of chriſtianity, that 'gave it foundation, and increment, and 'firmneſs in the firſt publication; that 'concluſions ſhould not be more dogma-'tical than the virtual reſolution and effi-'cacy of the premiſe; and that the per-'ſons ſhould not more certainly be con-'demn'd, than their opinions confuted; 'and laſtly, that the infirmity of man 'and difficulty of things ſhould be both 'put in ballance, to make abatement in 'the definitive ſentences againſt mens 'perſons.

'AND therefore the beſt of men, and 'moſt glorious of princes, were always 'ready to give *toleration*, but never to make 'executions for matters diſputable: As '*Euſebius*, in his ſecond book of the life 'of *Conſtantine*, reports.

'ALSO King *James*, writing to the 'ſtate of the *United Provinces*, dated the '6th of *March* 1613, among other 'things, ſaith; that you charge them to 'maintain peace, by bearing one with 'another, in ſuch differences of opinions 'and judgments. The like counſel in 'the diviſions of *Germany*, at the firſt 'reformation, was thought reaſonable by 'the Emperor *Ferdinando*, and his ex-'cellent ſon *Maximilian*. For they had 'obſerv'd that violence did exaſperate, 'was unbleſſed, unſucceſsful, and unrea-

'ſonable;

'sonable; and therefore they made de-
'crees of *toleration*, and appointed tem-
'pers and expedients to be drawn up by
'discreet persons. And *Emanuel Philibert*,
'Duke of *Savoy*, repenting of his war
'undertaken for religion against the *Pe-*
'*demontani*, promised them *toleration*,
'and was as good as his word. As much
'is done by the nobility of *Polonia*. So
'that the best princes and best bishops
'gave *toleration* and impunities. Also in
'*Rome* itself, till the time of *Justinian*
A.D. 525. 'the Emperor, the *Catholicks* and *Nova-*
'*tians* had churches indifferently permit-
'ted: And the *Popes* were the first
'preachers of force and violence in mat-
'ters of religion; and yet it came not so
'far as death. But the first that preach'd
'that doctrine was *Dominick*, the founder
'of the begging order of *Fryers*; the
'*Fryer's* preachers; in memory of which
'the inquisition is intrusted only to the
'*Fryers* of his order.

'IN *England*, altho' the *Pope* had as
'great power here as any where, yet
'there were no executions for matter of
'opinion, until *Henry* IV. who, because
'he usurp'd the crown, was willing by
'all means to endear the clergy, by de-
'stroying their enemies, that so he might
'be sure of them to all his purposes.
'And, indeed, it may become them well
'enough, *who are wiser in their genera-*

'*tion*

'*tion than the children of light:* It may 'poſſibly ſerve the policies of evil per- 'ſons, but never the pure and chaſte de- 'ſigns of chriſtianity.

'BY this time I hope it will not be 'thought reaſonable to ſay; he that teach- 'eth mercy to erring perſons, teaches in- 'differency in religion; unleſs ſo many 'fathers, and ſo many churches, and the 'beſt of Emperors, and all the world, 'till they were abuſed by tyranny, po- 'pery, and faction, did teach indifferen- 'cy. For I have ſhew'd, that chriſtiani- 'ty does not puniſh corporally, perſons 'erring ſpiritually; but, indeed, *popery* 'does; and hath done ever ſince they 'were taught it by their St. *Dominick.*

'AND yet after all this, I have ſome- 'thing to exempt myſelf from the cla- 'mour of this objection. For let all er- 'rors be as much and as zealouſly ſup- 'preſs'd as may be; but let it be done 'by ſuch means, as are proper inſtru- 'ments of their ſuppreſſion, by preach- 'ing and diſputation (ſo that neither of 'them breed diſturbance) by charity and 'ſweetneſs, by holineſs of life, and aſ- 'ſiduity of exhortation, by the word of 'God and prayer; For theſe ways are 'moſt natural, moſt prudent, moſt peace- 'able and effectual. Only let not men 'be haſty in calling every diſlik'd opi- 'nion by the name of hereſy; and when

'they

'they have resolv'd that they will call it 'it so, let them use the erring person 'like *a brother*; not beat him like a dog, 'or convince him with a gibbet, or vex 'him out of his understanding and per-'suasion.

'WHY are we so zealous against those 'we call *Hereticks*, and yet great friends 'with drunkards, and fornicators, and 'swearers, and intemperate and idle per-'sons? I am certain that a drunkard is as 'contrary to God, and lives as contrary to 'the laws of christianity, as a *Heretick*: 'And I am also sure, that I know what 'drunkenness is; but I am not sure, that 'such an opinion is heresy, *&c.* Thus 'far Dr. *Taylor*, now Bishop of *Down*.

'NOW whereas we have given pub-'lickly an account of the former ages, in 'their carriages and behaviours towards 'persons differing in judgment in religi-'ous things; we take the leave humbly 'to desire, and beg the same privilege, 'as was granted unto the *Waderdopers*, 'by the Prince and State of the *Nether-'lands*: Which was to admit a publick 'dispute, between the ministers and the 'persons aforesaid, in the presence of the 'Prince, which we humbly conceive is 'but a reasonable request.'

IN this year was publish'd a small piece, written by Dr. *John Griffith*, a *Baptist* mini-

miniſter, who afterwards ſuffer'd a long impriſonment in *Newgate* for the cauſe of Chriſt; entitled, *A complaint of the oppreſs'd againſt oppreſſors: or, The unjuſt and arbitrary proceedings of ſome Soldiers and Juſtices, againſt ſome ſober godly perſons in and near* London, *who now lie in ſtinking goals for the teſtimony of a good conſcience; with ſome reaſons why they connot ſwear allegiance to obtain their liberty.* It is introduc'd thus:

John Griffith's *complaint of the oppreſs'd againſt oppreſſors.*

'THE unjuſt proceedings of ſome 'in preſent power, againſt many 'in this nation fearing God, cannot but 'be manifeſt to ſuch ſober men, that 'do or will take a view of the ſame. I 'having knowledge of the ſufferings of 'many godly perſons, eſpecially in and 'about *London*, whom their very adver'ſaries cannot blemiſh juſtly with the 'leaſt ſpot of infamy, dare not but 'let the world know the innocency of 'the men, and the tyranny of their op'preſſors. And in what I ſhall ſay, I 'dare appeal to the conſciences of all ſo'ber and judicious perſons, of what per'ſuaſion ſoever, except the proud *prelate*; 'whether it be not *tyranny* to the height, 'for men to be ſeiz'd and taken out of 'their beds, at midnight by ſoldiers, in 'a hoſtile manner, with their ſwords 'drawn; by means of which their wives

'wives and children have been much af-
'frighted to their great detriment in point
'of health; and this done in a time of
'peace, and without warrant from any,
'no not ſo much as a warrant from a Ju-
'ſtice of Peace. Others taken from their
'peaceable meetings, when they have
'been in the Lord's ſervice in a publick
'manner, the doors being open for all
'that would come in to ſee what they
'did, and hear what they ſaid. Others at-
'tack'd as they have paſs'd along the ſtreets,
'about their lawful employments. And
'all this done by ſoldiers, without war-
'rant from any, and by them carried be-
'fore ſome men call'd *Juſtices*, but ſuch
'only in name and title, nothing ſo in
'truth.'

John Sturgion's *plea for toleration.*

IN this year alſo, Mr. *John Sturgion*, a *Baptiſt*, wrote a Tract, which he entitled, *A plea for toleration of opinions and perſuaſions in matters of religion differing from the Church of* England: *Humbly preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.* Which he introduces in this manner:

'*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

'I HAVE had ſtrong impulſes upon
'my mind, for ſome days, to preſent
'this paper to your Majeſty. And I
'humbly hope it will not be made to
'ſuffer

'suffer much under an evil resentment, 'upon its presentation to your hand, 'because it bears a testimony of the 'Author's good affection to your royal 'self. For my witness is on high; 'that I did not write this paper because I 'love you not, because I honour you 'not, because I own you not, in your 'royal capacity of magistracy and civil 'power. God knoweth, that you have 'not any subject more christianly real or 'cordial unto you. I humbly beg, that 'your Majesty would be pleas'd so far to 'deny yourself, as to read it with pati-'ence, and to judge of it as you shall 'see cause.'

AFTER some reasonings with his Majesty, respecting the prohibition of all *meetings* whatsoever, he thus expresseth himself:

'AND may it further please your Ma- P. 7.
'jesty, to consider your afflicted and in-'nocent subjects, how they have been 'hall'd from their peaceable habitations, 'and thrust into *prisons*, almost in all '*counties* in *England*; and many are still 'detain'd, to the utter undoing of them-'selves and families: And most of them 'are poor men, whose livelihood, under 'God, depends upon the labour of their 'own hands. So that they lie under 'more than an ordinary calamity; there

'being ſo many thruſt into little rooms 'together, that they are an annoyance each 'to other; eſpecially in the *City* of *Lon-* 'don, where the *Lord-Mayor* crouds 'them very cloſe together; that it hath 'been obſerv'd, the keepers have com- 'plain'd they have had too many gueſts; 'and whilſt they ſuffer there, ſome of 'their wives and tender babes want bread 'at home.'

THEN he lays before his Majeſty ſix reaſons againſt reſtraining, or uſing force in matters of religion: And ſays,

P. 17. 'Now if your Majeſty will but con- 'ſider, what it is which the *baptized peo-* 'ple, and divers others, have made ſuch 'earneſt ſuit to your Majeſty for: It is 'not for *titles of honour*, nor for *places* 'of great profit, either in a *civil* or *eccle-* 'ſiaſtical capacity: But only this is their 'requeſt and humble deſire, that we may 'ſerve the Lord without moleſtation, in 'that faith and order, which we have 'learn'd in the Holy Scripture; giving 'honour to our King, to whom honour 'belongs, fear to whom fear, tribute to 'whom tribute belong; in every thing, 'as far as we have abilities, to render to Rom. xiii. 7. 'God the things that are God's, and to 'the magiſtrate the things that are 'his.'

A SUDDEN ſtorm ariſing now, from I know not what ſurmiſe of a plot, and thereby danger ariſing to the government; the meetings of the Diſſenters were broken up throughout the city, and ſuch as were there found, were put into priſon. Among whom Dr. *John Griffith*, author of the afore-mention'd complaint of the oppreſs'd, was apprehended and committed to *Newgate*, where he lay ſeventeen months for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of *Proteſtants*. Ellwood's *life*.

THIS ſtorm was not confin'd to the city, but alſo reach'd the country. For the worthy Mr. *Thomas Grantham*, and ſome others, were taken from their meeting at *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, by ſome ſoldiers, who lodg'd them all night in a publick inn: Where they continu'd ſwearing and curſing inceſſantly, to the no ſmall grief of Mr. *Grantham* and his companions, he and two more only being detain'd, and the reſt being diſmiſs'd. In the morning he with his companions were convey'd to the common goal at *Lincoln*, and there confin'd; where they met with one Mr. *Cox*, who had been committed there before them. In this place were they detain'd till the aſſizes, without ſo much as the leaſt pretence of any crime laid to their charge. It was rumour'd about by ſome, that Mr. *Grantham* was a *Papiſt*;

piſt; and ſeveral of the clergy, who came to ſee him during his confinement, affirm'd to his face that he was a *Jeſuit*. In order to remove this ſlander, he publiſh'd a controverſy he had with a *Roman Catholick*; and entitled it, *The Baptiſt againſt the Papiſt*. By which prudent conduct he happily put an end to that ſcandalous report; tho' it was the ordinary aſperſion caſt on thoſe of the *Baptiſt perſuaſion*, and then deſign'd not ſo much to bring reproach on their perſons as their profeſſion. However at the aſſizes no one appearing, and no crime being alledg'd againſt them, they were diſmiſs'd: And they return'd to the churches to which they belong'd, who expreſs'd no little joy for their deliverance, after fifteen months impriſonment. During this confinement, Mr. *Grantham* wrote his book, entitled, *The priſoner againſt the prelate: or, a dialogue between the common Goal of* Lincoln, *and the Cathedral*. From ſeveral paſſages, in which it appears, that the ſufferings of the *Baptiſts* were numerous, the perſecutions againſt them, were carried on with great vehemence by the clergy, who thought it not ſufficient to impriſon their perſons, and take away their liberty, unleſs they could alſo take away their good names. They therefore ſpread ſeveral ſcandalous reports about them, as if the perſons

they

they injur'd were *Papiſts*, *Jeſuits*, and immoral perſons. However their demeanour was ſo peaceable, and their behaviour in priſon ſo edifying, they being very much employ'd in praying to, and praiſing God; and in holy converſation with one another, or private meditations; that they gain'd the reputation of being godly men, who ſuffer'd for conſcience ſake: while the clergy were look'd on as perſecutors of thoſe, who were better than themſelves; and as having an eye in what they did more to their own intereſt than the honour of Chriſt.

THE Mayor of *Dover*, Mr. *John Home*, and the Juſtices there, began very early to ſhew themſelves, and their zeal againſt their diſſenting neighbours, more particularly the *Baptiſts*. Upon which, one who ſtil'd himſelf *a poor ſubject*, wrote the following letter to them.

'*To the honour'd the Mayor, and Juſtices*
'*of this town.*

'WE deſire to let you know, yet *Manuſcipt penes me.*
'once more, that we do acknow-
'ledge your power, and do deſire to
'ſubmit unto it, ſo far as we are engag'd
'by the rule of truth. But we do hum-
'bly conceive, that your power doth not

'reach ſo far as to tie our conſciences, to
'worſhip our God according to your man-
'ner. We muſt not ſee with your eyes,
'but we muſt worſhip God according to
'that light, that he hath been pleas'd to
'give unto us from the ſcriptures of truth.
'But haply you may ſay, that you have
'the ſcriptures as well as we, and more
'learning than we have to underſtand
'them. And ſo far we may agree, that
'you have the ſcriptures, and more human
'learning than we: But we muſt intreat
'you to excuſe us in this, that we dare
'not worſhip the true God in a falſe
'manner, according to the traditions of
'men, according to the revolutions of
'ages; as we humbly conceive you do,
'with the reſt of the nations, tho' not
'in ſuch a groſs manner of idolatry as
'ſome other nations do. But we do not
'know how ſoon you may be as vile as
'the worſt of them. We have great cauſe
'to fear ſuch a thing, becauſe in one
'thing you are more vile already; in
'that there is liberty given by ſome o-
'ther nations, and alſo in this nation,
'more than in this place. We intreat
'you in the bowels of love to conſider
'of it. We know you have knowledge,
'but we intreat you to take heed you be
'not puff'd up in your knowledge;
'which if you be, it will cauſe you to

'be

'be ſo blind, that you will act quite 'contrary to truth, and to your own 'knowledge. We hope you will not be 'offended, becauſe you know it is the 'exhortation of the Apoſtle *Paul*, and 'it is his teſtimony, that *knowledge* will '*puff up*, if there be not good care taken. 'So we ſhall leave at preſent, theſe 'things to your judgment and conſidera-'tion.

'IF any friend, ſays he, ſeem to be offend-'ed with my beginning, and judge me to 'offend in giving ſuch titles unto men, 'judging it to be flattering titles; I de-'ſire to be excus'd, inaſmuch as I have 'no intent to flatter. But as at preſent, I 'judge it my duty to give that honour 'unto men in their places, as they are 'ſet; ſo I judge not without the provi-'dence of God, or at leaſt, God doth 'ſuffer it ſo to be, that they have the 'power; and I am bound to honour 'them, however they may be perſuaded 'to perſecute me, and think it their duty 'ſo to do, and judge me to be an here-'tick. But that I muſt leave to God, 'that will judge all in righteouſneſs, with-'out reſpect of perſons, powers and ſub-'jects, rich and poor; there will be no 'reſpect with God in judgment. There-'fore whatſoever the judgment of ſome 'may be, as touching the civil honour 'and titles belonging to men in power;

'I

'I desire to be excus'd, in giving to man, 'that belongs to him in his place, altho' 'I may suffer never so much evil at 'their hands.

'By me *James Atkins*, in the 'behalf of us all, that are like 'to be prohibited of our liber- 'ties, by the envy of some in- 'struments, that are soliciting 'the magistrate to that pur- 'pose.'

THE magistrates of *Dover* were very severe upon these people. They took them from their meeting-house in the year 1660, and committed them to prison. After keeping them there four and twenty days, they were admitted to bail, paying their charges; and appearing at the next *sessions*, were forbid to meet any more at their meeting-house, and allow'd to meet together in one of the churches. The which they did every Lord's-day for about the space of five months, meeting together about eleven in the morning, and continuing till about three in the afternoon. This privilege being denied them by the succeeding *Mayor*, they assembled again at their own meeting-place. The *Mayor* disturb'd them, took their names, and warn'd them to appear at the *hall*. They appear'd, and four of them, *viz.*

Thomas

Thomas Williams, *Chriſtopher Streetind*, *John Hales* and *James Houſon*, were committed to priſon. The next Lord's-day the *Mayor* diſturb'd them again, took their names, and ſent ſix who were country-men to priſon; *viz. Thomas Partridge*, *John Finis*, *Edmund Finis*, *Simon Loveleſs*, *John Barrows*, and *John Hobbs*: And the next Lord's-day after ſent four more. The *Mayor* diſturb'd them a fourth time, and then committed them all, being ten in number. At the *Quarter-ſeſſions*, a bill of indictment was found againſt them, ſome travers'd it, others ſubmitted to the court, and the reſt were remitted to priſon again.

THESE hardſhips under which they groan'd, at length ſtirr'd them up to ſeek for mercy from the higher powers: And thereupon they drew up a petition to the King, and ſoon after another to the Duke of *York*. I have plac'd them together; and they are in their own words, as followeth:

' *To the ſupreme magiſtrate of theſe Na-*
' *tions*, Charles II. *King of* England,
' Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Domi-*
' *nions thereto belonging*, *together with*
' *his honourable Privy-Council.*

' THE humble petition of many *Manu-*
' of thoſe poor ſuffering diſtreſs'd *ſcript pe-*
' people, falſely call'd *Anabaptiſts*, in the *nes me.*
' behalf

'behalf of themſelves and many others, 'differing from thoſe called *Church of* 'England, in matter of faith, and alſo 'form of worſhip; who, notwithſtanding, 'do walk in all good conſcience to- 'wards God, and in ſincerity of heart, 'do alſo acknowledge the King to be 'chief in all temporal things, and there- 'fore do and ſhall yield, in all temporal 'things, due obedience unto him, *not only* 'for wrath but for conſcience ſake; and ſo 'in all things ſhall give untothe King that 'which is his, and unto God that which 'only belongs unto himſelf.

'Now therefore, may it pleaſe your 'Highneſs to lay to heart what hath 'been formerly in humility preſented 'unto you, by way of petition and ad- 'vice relating to liberty of conſcience, 'the innocent deſires of your peaceable 'ſubjects; and let our lives, and the lives 'of our wives and children be precious 'in your eyes, for we are free-born 'Engliſhmen, and one fleſh as the fleſh 'of others. O be pleaſed to conſider, 'that thoſe that have had the greateſt 'means of light, and have been as zea- 'lous as any, yet they have pluckt up 'the wheat inſtead of tares, and have kil- 'led the moſt precious children of God 'inſtead of the children of the wicked 'one. O let our words be acceptable 'unto you, *for the wiſdom that comes*

'*from*

'*from above is firſt pure*, and teacheth all 'men to do as they would be done 'unto; *it is peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to 'be intreated, full of mercy*; yea, the 'great things of God's law, *are judgment, 'mercy and faith*. Moreover, the Goſpel 'is *the Goſpel of peace*; and ſo the Apo-'ſtles made it their work, not to force, 'but to perſuade men. And as our *Savi-'our* ſaith, that five ſhould be in one houſe, 'three againſt two, and two againſt three, 'and ſo commonly the poor ſheep and 'lambs of Chriſt have much tribula-'tion, but in him having peace they 'bear it patiently. O be pleaſed there-'fore to conſider, how diſagreeable it 'is with chriſtianity, to bring tribula-'tion upon any for conſcience ſake, ſee-'ing all things in worſhip muſt be done 'in faith and love. But nevertheleſs, 'your peaceable ſubjects are liable to 'the penalty of ſuch laws and ſtatutes, 'as enjoin ſuch ſervice and conformity, 'as in conſcience to God we cannot do 'in faith and love; the penalty of which 'ſtatutes are ſuch, as in a little time, 'if proſecuted, will work out ruin to 'ourſelves and families.

'Now here, we humbly beſeech 'your Highneſs, to take into ſerious 'conſideration the deplorable condition of 'your peaceable Subjects, and to grant unto 'us what you were pleaſed to promiſe,

'upon

'upon the word of a King, at *Breda*, 'and alſo ſince your arrival; not only 'by your declaration for eccleſiaſtical 'affairs, but alſo at ſeveral other times 'to ſeveral of us, when we made our 'addreſſes unto you; and therefore we 'do crave theſe things with the more 'boldneſs and confidence, foraſmuch as 'innocency is found in us, and againſt 'the King and his Government we 'have done no harm, whatever may be 'reported to the contrary, to our re-'proach. Theſe premiſes conſidered, 'we pray, we may not be interrupted 'in our worſhipping the God of Hea-'ven, as we are taught in his holy 'word, which indeed we do prize 'above all the world. The which, if 'we ſhall enjoy, will greatly encourage 'us to pray and praiſe the Lord on 'your behalf, which *rules the hearts* 'of Kings, *as the rivers of water.*

'BUT if notwithſtanding what hath 'been and is deſired, we ſhall be denied, 'that which we humbly conceive, the 'law of God and Nature doth allow 'us; yet we ſhall, in the ſtrength of 'the Lord, patiently ſuffer what ſhall 'be inflicted upon us. *For the weapons* 'of our warfare are not carnal, *but ſpi-*'ritual and mighty, *to the pulling down of* 'ſtrong-holds.

To his Highneſs the Duke of York.

'FORASMUCH as the all-diſpoſing hand of God's providence hath brought your Highneſs into this place; we hope it is, that by you, as a fit inſtrument to ſo good a work, to deliver us, his harmleſs people, and peaceable ſubjects to the King. And inaſmuch as what is done unto us, is done in your name; we humbly lay before you, that many of us inhabitants of this town, [*Dover*] for the ſpace of ſix weeks, have been impriſoned, for no other cauſe, but for our peaceable meeting to worſhip our God, and thereby are brought into great ſtraits; ſome of our families, being numerous, whoſe daily ſupply dependeth on our daily labour; ſo that our wants and ſtraits are like to be very great, by reaſon of our preſent ſufferings. And foraſmuch as the like is not done to our friends in other places, but the King is pleaſed to protect them as his peaceable ſubjects, we think it hard meaſure to be thus dealt withal, our offence being no more criminal than theirs.

'THE premiſes conſidered, we humbly intreat your Highneſs to ſhew mercy to us, your peaceable yet oppreſſed ſubjects, in ſetting us at liberty, that

'the

'the cries of our little ones and fami-
'lies, by reaſon of our ſufferings, do
'not provoke the great God of mercy
'and truth againſt this land of our na-
'tivity. And if you pleaſe to anſwer
'our deſires, we are ſure God will re-
'ward you an hundred fold; ſince he
'hath promiſed, that he that giveth
'but a cup of cold water to any of his
'ſuffering people, ſhall not loſe his
'reward; and you will engage us ſo
'much the more, both to ſpeak well
'of, and pray for you. In this reſo-
'lution we ſubſcribe ourſelves, in the
'innocency of our ſouls, in the ſight
'of God,

James Houſon *John Finis*
Simon Loveleſs *Tho. Partridge*
John Hales *Tho. Williams.*

From the Priſon in Dover, *the 17th day of the 9th month*, 1661.

The perſecution of the Baptiſts about London.

IN the year 1662, was publiſhed a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, *Behold a Cry*; *or, a true relation of the inhuman and violent outrages of divers Soldiers, Conſtables and others, practiſed upon many of the Lord's people, commonly, tho' falſely called* Anabaptiſts, *at their ſeveral meetings in and about* London, and is thus introduced:

THE

'THE ſundry and divers abuſes
'that hath been offered time after
'time to the free-born people of *Eng-*
'*land*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the
'*Petition of right* and all the known
'laws of the land, the declaration and
'proclamation of the King that now
'is, we cannot ſuppoſe the nation whol-
'ly ignorant of. But how inhumanly
'they have been uſed, and with what
'violence ſoldiers and others have pro-
'ceeded in ſeveral places where they
'have, in the fear of the Lord, been
'aſſembled: Their uſual manner being
'to come with ſoldiers, which com-
'monly were moſt of them rude youths
'or mercenary men, of the ruder and
'viler ſort; and they with their muſ-
'kets, and ſome with their ſwords
'drawn, to the affrighting of women
'and children, breaking and ſpoiling
'their goods, doing violence to their
'perſons, by pulling, halling, and beat-
'ing ſome of them, the which they
'may not underſtand. Now that all,
'both *Magiſtrates* and People, may be
'rightly informed, the mouth of falſe-
'hood and ſcandal ſtopped, and ſuch
'abuſes redreſſed; we ſhall, in particu-
'lar, give a brief hint of ſome of them
'as followeth:

'IN *June* 1661, there came divers
'rude ſoldiers, wicked, ſwearing, and

Brick-lane *Meeting-houſe diſturb'd and more than 20 ſeiz'd.*

'debauched perſons, to the meeting-houſe in *Brick-lane* near *White-Chapel*, and laid hands on ſeveral men, to the number of more than *twenty*; who, in a peaceable manner, demanded of them their warrant for ſo doing, but they would not ſhew them any, which one *William Caſwell* ſeeing, he ſaid to this purpoſe, that if they had a warrant he would obey it; but if they had none they ſhould carry him for he would not go: With that they beat him with their hangers about the head, and pulled him along by force; and ſometimes taking him up between three or four of them, and then letting him fall with violence into the dirt; pulling by great force his ſtomach and breaſt againſt the rails; inſomuch that with blows and falls he is deprived of health to this day. And when there were ſeveral of the actors of this tragedy arreſted, * and ſute being, according to law, commenced againſt them, and the perſons abuſed intending to go on, they were ſuddenly ſurprized and prevented by *John Robinſon*, who granted a warrant to

Wm. Caſwell *ſorely abuſed.*

'ſeize

* The King in his proclamation, *Jan.* 10, 1660, declared that if any ſhould be ſo hardy as to ſeize the perſons of any without warrant, &c. that then they ſhould be left open to the law to be proceeded againſt, and receive according to their demerit.

'ſeize the body of *Thomas Hull* and the aboveſaid *William Caſwel.* The ſaid *Thomas Hull* being taken in the ſtreet, by virtue of the aforeſaid warrant, and carried before *John Robinſon*, who in a fury demanded how he durſt arreſt his ſoldiers, and would not take bail, but ſent him to *Newgate*, and one with him, who only came along with his friend, the ſaid *Thomas Hull*, and deſired to bail him; where they both lay about ten or twelve days before they could be bailed, and were held bound from ſeſſions to ſeſſions, for a long time after, before they could be diſcharged. So little was the King's proclamation regarded by *John Robinſon.*

Tho. Hull and his friends who came to bail him, both impriſoned by John Robinſon, *a great proſecutor.*

'Secondly, ON the 20th of *October* 1661, there came a parcel of the aforeſaid rude ſoldiers to the meeting at *Brick-lane*, and took away one that was then preaching. Some there deſired them to ſhew their warrant for their ſo doing: One lieutenant *Wilton* ſhewed his commiſſion as he was an officer; which being read, he ſaid, that was ſufficient. One anſwering, ſaid, that was not ſufficient, he ought to have a particular warrant, with the name of the perſon ſeiz'd expreſſed in it, and under the hand and ſeal of ſome one juſtice or more. One en-

'ſign *Spike* anſwered, if that were not 'ſufficient, it was ſufficient, Sir *John* 'Robinſon, as he called him, bid them 'by word of mouth to do what they 'did. To which was anſwered, that 'a verbal order from him, or any other 'juſtice elſe, was not according to law 'in ſuch a caſe, neither did the law in-'title them to be executioners of it; 'but if they had a warrant, as they 'had none, it ought to be directed to 'ſome peace officer, and not to them.

A Baptiſt Miniſter ſeiz'd without warrant, and ſent to Newgate.

'Yet notwithſtanding they carried him 'away to the *Tower*, before *John Robin-ſon*, who ſent him to *Newgate*, pre-'tending and inſerting great matters in 'his *mittimus*; where he lay *thirty weeks*, 'without any thing laid to his charge, 'and then they releaſed him.

'Thirdly, ON the 3d day of *Novem.* '1661, they came again in the like 'manner to the aforeſaid place, in as rude 'a manner as before, and with as little 'a ſhew or face of law: They ſeized 'him that was preaching, as one was 'at that time; and when they had ta-'ken him down, they took away three 'more; two of which were ſitting at 'the table. Whom they carried before

Another Miniſter and three more ſent to New-Priſon.

'*John Robinſon*, who committed them 'all to *New-Priſon*; inſerting in their '*Mittimus*, things of an high nature; 'as their ſpeaking of treaſonable words,

'and

'and the like. When ſome queſtioned 'the legality of their ſeizure, he, *John* '*Robinſon*, reply'd, with ſome indigna- 'tion, that he ſent them to do what 'they did; as if his verbal command 'were ſufficient to juſtify their illegal 'proceedings. And at *Seſſions* following, 'there was one of them remov'd in time 'of *Seſſions*, only by *John Robinſon*'s 'warrant from *New-Priſon* to *Newgate*; 'in order, as he ſaid, to his trial, which 'he could never attain to have, nor 'any thing laid to his charge, tho' he 'often called for it in the face of the '*Court*, but had no notice taken of him, 'nor never returned in the calendar; 'yet was he kept in *Newgate twelve weeks* 'unjuſtly, 'till he was fetched out by a 'perſon in authority. He ſuffered in all 'near *eighteen weeks* impriſonment; and the 'reſt of his fellows ſuffered *twenty-eight* '*weeks* impriſonment, and then were re- 'leaſed, nothing being laid to their charge.'

J. James's meeting diſturbed.

IT was about this time, that a congregation of *Baptiſts* holding the *ſeventh-day* as a *ſabbath*, being aſſembled at their meeting-houſe in *Bulſtake Alley*, the doors being open, about three of the clock in the afternoon, whilſt Mr. *John James* was preaching, one Juſtice *Chard*, with Mr. *Wood*, an *Headborough*, came into the meeting-place. *Wood* commanded him in the King's name to be ſilent, and come

down, having ſpoken treaſon againſt the King: But Mr. *James* taking little or no notice thereof, proceeded in his work. The *Headborough* came nearer to him in the middle of the meeting-place, and commanded him again in the King's name to come down, or elſe he would pull him down; whereupon the diſturbance grew ſo great, he could not proceed, but told the *Headborough* he would not come down, except he was pulled down: Whereupon he pulled him down, and halled him away, being charged with treaſonable words uttered in his ſermon, by one *Tipler*, a pipe-maker's journey-man. Who being a ſcandalous idle-fellow, the Juſtice took not much notice of what he ſaid; but bringing a neighbour with him, he was provok'd by him to regard his teſtimony.

His hearers ſent to priſon.

John Robinſon with three more Juſtices of the Peace, ſitting at the *Half-moon* tavern, both *men* and *women* who were at the meeting, were brought before them by *ſevens*. To whom they tender'd the oath of allegiance, and committed thoſe that refus'd, ſome to *Newgate*, both *men* and *women* being guarded thither by the *Hamlets*.

Narrative p. 8

'AFTERWARDS the ſame *Juſtices*, 'entring the meeting-place, ſat down a-'bout the table with their clerk; and 'Major *Stanley* ſtanding by, did ſend for

'*John*

'*John James*. And in the mean time 'the Lieutenant of the Tower read a pa- 'per which he pull'd out of his pocket; 'ſaying, he would read to them what 'doctrine was preach'd there that day; 'being of the nature of a charge, which 'they drew up from *Tipler*'s mouth a- 'gainſt *John James*; demanding of cer- 'tain *women*, relating to the meeting, 'yet detain'd, and whoſe names they 'were then taking, how they could hear 'ſuch things as thoſe? To which they 'unanimouſly reply'd in the fear of the 'Lord, *That they never heard ſuch words, 'as they ſhall anſwer it before the Lord, 'and they durſt not lie.*

John James being brought before them into the meeting-place, *John Robinſon* examin'd him. Among other queſtions put to him, were theſe following, *viz.* *Himſelf examined.*

'WHETHER he had not been before 'him before this? Who anſwer'd, he had: 'And whether he had not been civilly 'us'd? He reply'd, yea; and for his ci- 'vility he thank'd him. Then the *Lieu- 'tenant* aſk'd him, if he was not coun- 'ſell'd for to take heed for the future? 'He anſwer'd, yea; and he had taken it 'ſo far as he could with a good conſci- 'ence. Upon which the *Lieutenant* told 'him, he ſhould *ſtretch* for it; and if he 'were not *hang'd*, he would be *hang'd* for him. *John James* told him, he was

' not careful in that matter; and that they
' could do no more, then they ſhould be
' ſuffer'd by the Lord to do. The *Lieu-*
' *tenant* told him, he thought he was not
' careful; for he had a mind to be *hang'd*,
' as ſome of his *holy brethren* that went
' before him? *John James* deſir'd he
' would not ſpeak ſo lightly. The *Lieu-*
' *tenant* ſpake ſomething to him about
' the *fifth kingdom*; and aſk'd him, whe-
' ther that was his principle? Who told
' him, he did own the *fifth-kingdom*,
' which was to come. Whereupon they
' laugh'd one upon another, and ſaid, now
' they had it from his own mouth. Some-
' thing alſo was charg'd upon him about his
' learning to ſound a trumpet, in order
' to a riſing with *Venner*'s party. To
' which he ſaid, there was a friend of
' his who lay in his houſe, minding to
' go to ſea, being to learn to ſound, de-
' ſir'd he might have liberty to be
' taught in his houſe; but he never
' learn'd himſelf, neither was he one of
' thoſe in that *riſing*, judging it to be a
' *raſh act*.

' THEN the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*,
' call'd in Captain *Hodgſkin*, who com-
' manded the party of ſoldiers that ſtood
' at the door: And ſaid, take this *man*,
' be careful of him, and commit him
' cloſe priſoner to *Newgate*. So they
' carried him away with his *Mittimus*,
' hereafter expreſs'd.

' *To*

'*To the keeper of the goal of* Newgate,
'*or his deputy*; Middlesex.

'THESE are in the King's Majesty's name, to require you to receive into your custody, the body of *John James*, whom we send you herewith; being taken this present day at a *Conventicle* or private meeting, in the parish of *White-chapel*; and there speaking in the audience of the people present, *treasonable words* against his Majesty's royal person. You shall therefore keep him close prisoner until further order; and this shall be your warrant. Given under our hands, this 19th day of *October* 1661. *And committed to prison.*

'*John Robinson*, Lieut. *of* '*the* Tower; *Thomas Bide*, '*Edw. Chard*, *Tho. Swallow.*

I SHALL refer the reader to the narrative, publish'd in 1662, where he may see the crimes charg'd against him; how prov'd, by whom, and in what manner; with his defence and avow'd innocency, from first to last; and his solemn appeals to the Lord thereupon, that by some signal testimony, he would manifest the same. Of which no judgment is there pass'd,

paſs'd, but ſubmitted to the diſcerning and impartial reader.

His wife petitions the King for him.

IN the interval between his caſting and condemnation, upon *Wedneſday* evening, his wife, by the advice of ſome friends, endeavour'd to make addreſs to the King, to acquaint him with her huſband's innocency, and the condition of thoſe looſe perſons, who had falſely accus'd him. Which ſhe put in writing, leſt ſhe might either want an opportunity, or not have courage enough to ſpeak to him. With ſome difficulty at laſt ſhe met the King, and preſented him with the paper, acquainting him who ſhe was. To whom he held up his finger and ſaid, '*Oh! Mr.* James, *he is a ſweet gentle-*'*man*;' but following him for ſome further anſwer, the door was ſhut againſt her.

Narrative, p. 24.

THE next morning ſhe attended again; and an opportunity ſoon preſenting, ſhe implor'd his Majeſty's anſwer to her requeſt. Who then reply'd, '*That* '*he was a rogue, and ſhould be hang'd.*' One of the Lord's attending him, aſk'd her of whom ſhe ſpake. The King anſwer'd, '*Of* John James, *that rogue*; *he* '*ſhall be hang'd*; *yea, he ſhall be hang'd.*'

Is rejected.

WHEN he was brought to the bar to receive ſentence; he was aſk'd what he had to ſay for himſelf, why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſs'd upon him.

He

He anſwer'd, 'That he had not much 'to ſay, only two or three ſcriptures he 'would leave with them.

'THE firſt ſcripture was, *Jer.* xxvi. 'v. 14, 15. *As for me, do as ſeemeth good 'unto you. But know ye for certain, that 'if you put me to death, you ſhall ſurely 'bring innocent blood upon yourſelves, and 'upon this city, and upon the inhabitants 'thereof.*

'THE ſecond ſcripture was, *Pſalms* 'cxvi. 15. *Precious in the ſight of the 'Lord is the death of his ſaints.* He al- 'ſo minded that good word of the Lord: '*He that toucheth the Lord's people, touch- 'eth the apple of his eye.*

'HE told them, he had no more to 'ſay for himſelf; only one word for the 'Lord, and ſo he had done:

'THAT *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſon of 'God, was King of *England*, *Scotland*, 'and *Ireland*, and of all the kingdoms of 'this world.'

WHICH being ſpoken, they ſilenc'd him, and the court proceeded to ſentence; and the Judge pronounc'd ſentence of death againſt him; and he was executed, according to his ſentence, at *Tyburn*, *Nov.* 26. 1661. *He is executed at* Tyburn.

NOW if there was any undue combination againſt this poor man; if it was for ſome reaſon of ſtate, rather than for any real guilt on his part; if his judgment

ment and conſcience, rather than any juſt crime, were the cauſe of his thus ſuffering; his blood muſt be innocent blood.

SOME remarkable things are taken notice of in the Narrative, publiſh'd after his death, as befalling thoſe, who had been inſtruments in his ſufferings, or had expreſs'd a delight in them. But I chuſe to paſs them over in ſilence.

THE blood of this poor man, did not ſatiate that devouring wolf *John Robinſon*: For many (who ſuffer'd much from the brutiſh hands of his ſoldiers, to whom he gave money to encourage them in their barbarity) were by him committed to priſon.

Anno 1662. *Behold a cry*, p. 5.

'ON the 25th of *May* 1662: At a 'meeting in *Shakeſpear*'s-*walk*, near *Wapping-wall*, where ſome people were 'peaceably met, there came ſoldiers in a 'hoſtile manner, with ſwords and muskets, 'pulling and halling ſome of them; and 'the man that was preaching, they pull'd 'violently down from the place where 'he ſtood, though it was his own hired 'houſe. And ſuch was their rage, not-'withſtanding he was their priſoner, be-'cauſe he continu'd ſpeaking, they cry'd, 'ſhoot him, before he had any *trial*, or 'was found worthy or not worthy of 'death. And ſuch was their violence, 'that a child belonging unto the family,

'about

'about a year and a quarter old, was so 'affrighted and awak'd out of its sleep, 'as it lay in the cradle; with which 'fright it fell sick, and never recover'd 'its sickness, but died three days after. 'And whether they were the cause of 'its death or no, is left to the Lord to 'determine at the last day. They car- 'ried *two* of the said meeting before 'John Robinson; who committed them 'to *Newgate*, where they still remain, 'nothing being laid to their charge.

Two more imprison'd by John Robinson.

'ON the same 25th of *May*, the sol- 'diers came to *Beech-lane*, to a meeting 'there, with their swords drawn, pul- 'ling and halling of them violently: And 'two of them they carried in the morn- 'ing to *Newgate*; where they were kept, 'and never had before any *magistrate* to 'be heard, nor accus'd by any till the 'quarter-sessions, which was a month or 'five weeks after.

Ibidem, p. 6.

Two carried to Newgate *without a mittimus.*

'ON the first day of *June* 1662, they 'came to the aforesaid *Beech-lane*, with 'their swords drawn as before. The *En- 'sign* came in with his sword drawn, 'holding it over the head of him that 'was preaching; pulling them violently 'down the stairs, carrying them to 'Paul's-yard, and from thence to *Ri- 'chard Brown*, who committed them to 'Newgate.

Some sent to Newgate *by* Richard Brown.

'ON

'ON the firſt day of *June* 1662, the 'ſoldiers came to *Brick-lane* in like vio-'lent manner, with ſwords and muſkets; 'and forced him that was ſpeaking down, 'with great outrage; and carried *ten* of 'the men before *John Robinſon*, who 'after his wonted manner committed 'them to *New-priſon*. This was in the 'morning. And in the afternoon they 'came again with far greater violence; 'broke the pulpit all to pieces, they left 'not a whole piece of wood; and car-'ried *eight* more to the *Tower*, before '*John Robinſon*, who committed them to '*New-priſon* alſo. But not to omit an 'act worthy the obſerving; *John Robin-'ſon* as he came at night by the watch-'houſe, at *Brick-lane* end, where the 'valiant ſoldiers were keeping guard; 'they told him what they had done, how 'they had broken the pulpit? He, *John 'Robinſon*, anſwer'd, it was well done; 'and gave the ſoldiers a piece of gold, as 'a reward for their good ſervice.

Ten ſent to New-Priſon *by* Robinſon.

Eight more committed by him.

Ibid. p. 7. 'ON the eighth of *June* 1662, the 'ſoldiers came again to *Brick-lane*, exer-'ciſing their wonted violence and tu-'multuous behaviour. They carried a-'way *ſeven* men before *John Robinſon*, 'who committed them to *New-priſon*, 'where they yet remain. On the ſame 'eighth of *June*, the ſoldiers came to the 'meeting in *Beech-lane*, manifeſting their 'fury

Sevenmore committed by Robinſon.

'fury and rage: They took away only him that was preaching, and carried him before *Richard Brown*; when the man was before him, amongſt the reſt of his learned diſcourſe, he told him, *He ſhould teach him a new trade* (meaning, as we ſuppoſe, that he would ſend him to *Bridewell*) *and have the ſkin from his back:* He committed him to *Newgate*. *A miniſter committed by* Brown.

'ON the fifteenth of *June* 1662, the ſoldiers came again to *Brick-lane*, in ſuch manner as they were wont. They took *ſix* men and carried them to *John Robinſon*, who committed them to *Newgate*. And on the ſame day they came to the meeting at *Beech-lane*, and violently ſet upon them with drawn ſwords, pulling of them out of their meeting-place with great rage. The place they ſtood to preach in they broke it down with ſuch fury, that they broke their muskets: They ſtruck ſeveral perſons to their detriment in point of health. After which they took *two* men more, carried them to *Paul's-yard*, and from thence to *Newgate*, where they were kept while *Seſſions*, not being at all committed, or had before any *magiſtrate*; and at Seſſions returned to *Newgate*, nothing being laid to their charge, where they ſtill remain. *Six committed by* Robinſon. *Two committed without Mittimus.*

'ON

'ON the ſame fifteenth of *June*, 1662, 'the ſoldiers came with great fury and 'rage, with their ſwords drawn, to the 'meeting at *Petty-France*; where they 'very inhumanly wounded a boy almoſt 'to death; it was doubtful whether he 'would recover. They took away him 'that preached, and carried him to *New-*'*gate*, and never had him before any *A miniſter committed without a mittimus.* '*magiſtrate*, where he remained till Seſ-'ſions, and from thence was returned 'to *Newgate* again, where he yet re-'mains.

'ON the twenty-ninth of *June*, ſol-'diers came to *Petty-France*, full of rage 'and violence, with their ſwords drawn. 'They wounded ſome, and ſtruck others, 'broke down the gallery, and made 'much ſpoil: This was in the morning. 'In the afternoon the ſoldiers came to '*Brick-lane*, practiſing their wonted cruel-'ty, by pulling, halling, and beating them; *Several committed by* Robin-ſon. 'and took ſeveral, had them before *J.* '*Robinſon*, who committed them to *New-*'*Priſon*.

Ibidem, p. 8. 'ON the ſixth of the month called '*July*, the ſoldiers came like beaſts of 'prey, to *Brick-lane*, where they ſhut 'the door, and kept in all that were 'there, and with great violence they 'broke the forms before their faces; 'they left not one form whole, taking 'the legs and hurling them againſt the

'win-

'dows, pulling and hauling many; not 'regarding *ſex*, *childhood*, nor *old age*. 'They took *ſix* men, and had them be- 'fore *John Robinſon*, who committed them 'to *New Bridewell*. In the morning fol- 'lowing, they were by the keepers of 'Bridewell, call'd *to beat hemp:* Which 'they refuſing to do, were put into *New-* 'priſon, to the reſt of their fellow-ſuffer- 'ers, where they ſtill are. *Six committed by Robinſon.*

'ON the 27th of the ſame month, 'the ſoldiers came to *Brick-lane* afore- 'ſaid, with a multitude of rude people, 'as butchers out of *White-chapel*, bailiff's- 'followers, boys and ſuch like unruly 'and debauch'd fellows, with a conſta- 'ble like themſelves: Who, as we heard, 'told *John Robinſon*, that he could not 'overcome them, nor break the meet- 'ing at *Brick-lane*. *John Robinſon* an- 'ſwer'd, as was ſaid, *That then he ſhould* 'let in the multitude upon them, and let 'them tear the cloaths from their backs; 'or words to that purpoſe: Which may 'very well be judg'd to be true, for the 'aboveſaid ungodly wretches, ſoldiers and 'conſtables, after they had beat, pull'd, 'and hall'd them in a very inhuman 'manner themſelves, ſet the great gates 'wide open: The conſtable, namely 'Bartlet a cook, and *Brown* the mar- 'ſhal, a wicked lewd fellow, calling the 'rude multitude in, march'd down be-

'fore them, ſaying to them, *Do your work, boys:* Which they did, for they beat the women and maids, broke the forms, the glaſs windows, and the door, making ſuch ſpoil and havock as was ſeldom heard of; ſparing none, no not women big with child. This *Brown* the marſhal being aſk'd, why he beat the women? he ſaid, Who ſaw me? Who will ſwear it? And with thoſe words, fell more violently upon the women, ſome whereof were with child; ſtriking of them with his fiſts, ſuch blows that made them reel. Again, a maid had her bible ſnatch'd away; ſhe labouring to get it again, was ſtruck over the eye, that it was black a long time after. Then the ſoldiers took *ſix* men and a woman, and carried them to *John Robinſon*; who notwithſtanding committed them all to *New-priſon.*

Seven committed by Robinſon.

Ibidem, p. 9.

'ON the third day of the month call'd *Auguſt* 1662, when the priſoners in *Newgate*, call'd *Baptiſts*, were in their chamber, ſeeking the Lord, and ſpeaking to one another, that they might as their duty is, provoke one another to love and good works: About four of the clock in the afternoon, the thieves, as houſe-breakers, pick-pockets, highwaymen, came with violence into our room, one took up a bible from the table, and threw it down to the ground,

The Baptiſts *priſoners aſſaulted in* Newgate.

Heb. x.

'aſking

'asking what we did there? Struck one 'in the face with his fist, and he with 'the rest fell upon us, drew their knives, 'and endeavour'd to stab some of us. But 'the Lord was pleas'd to deliver us from 'their cruelty; for we took courage 'to defend ourselves, and escaped their 'bloody hands. And on the same day, 'the like violence, as we were in- 'form'd, was offer'd to those brethren 'in the *White-Lyon*, *Southwark*, by the 'felons there. And on the first of *June* 'so called, 1662; which was upon the 'first day of the week, after we were 'brought to *prison*, some of the keepers 'did come up to us, and charge us that 'we should not pray nor preach; for if 'we did, they had order to put us into 'the hole, and that they must do it. 'And though that was not executed; yet 'the felons did come violently upon us 'in our room, and did beat some of us, 'and threaten us all, saying, they would 'now order us well enough, for they had 'commission so to do.

And in White-Lyon *prison in* Southwark.

POSTCRIPT.

'WE would not be understood by 'any, that we send out this *cry*, be- 'cause we are wearied with what we 'have suffer'd, or afraid of what we 'may further suffer; but that we might

Ibidem, P. 15.

'ſhew to the world that our ſufferings
'are altogether contrary to law and hu-
'manity itſelf.

'FOR did they no more than were
'law, we ſhould be ſilent, and willing,
'with much rejoycing, to endure and
'ſuffer it, in that bleſſed cauſe of the
'Goſpel, which we are not aſham'd of,
'nor of the teſtimony of the Lord *Je-*
'*ſus*; for whom we are willing to ſuf-
'fer the loſs of all things, eſteeming it a
'very choice mercy, that the Lord ſhould
'accept of ſuch poor nothing and un-
'worthy creatures as we are, to bear a
'teſtimony for him, againſt idolatry and
'prophaneſs.'

Anno 1664. THE perſecution againſt the *Baptiſts* ſtill increas'd; and many more inſtances might be produc'd of the ſeverities us'd againſt them, both in *London*, and in almoſt all the counties in *England*; and in the country was uſually the greateſt cruelty and injuſtice practis'd.

Manuſcript penes me. NEAR *Ailſbury* in *Buckinghamſhire*, there were ſeveral Gentlemen, if they deſerve that name, in the commiſſion of the peace, who endeavour'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves, by their zeal in proſecuting the *Non-conformiſts*. They not only fill'd the *county goal*, with priſoners of this character; but alſo took two large houſes in *Ailſbury*, and turn'd them into *priſons*, to make room

room for their great numbers. Nor were they contented with the ordinary ſeverities in this caſe, ſuch as impriſonment and confiſcation of goods, which were their daily exerciſe; but they endeavour'd to revive the old practice of puniſhing *Hereticks* with *baniſhment and death.*

THERE was a clauſe, in an Act made the 35th of *Elizabeth* againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, to this purpoſe, that if any perſon had been legally convicted of being at a *Conventicle*, and ſhould after three months impriſonment for the ſame, refuſe to conform to the Church of *England*, they ſhould be oblig'd to abjure the land, that is, be baniſhed, and ſwear never to come back again without leave; and if they ſhould refuſe, *either to conform or abjure the realm*, they ſhould then be guilty of *felony*, without benefit of the *clergy*. This clauſe ſeem'd not to have been taken notice of ſince the *Reſtoration*, or at leaſt none would ſo mind it, as to put it into execution. Draconica, *p.* 2. Pulton's *Stat.* p. 1030.

THERE were twelve perſons, ten men and two women, all *Baptiſts*, who had been taken at their meeting, in or near *Ailsbury*; and having been legally convicted of the ſame, three months before, were now brought before the bench of juſtices at their *Quarter-ſeſſions*; and there required, either to conform themſelves to the *Church of England*, *Ten men and two women condemned at* Ailſbury.

and take the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*, or to abjure the realm, as this law directed; and were aſſured, that if they refuſed to do either of theſe, *ſentence of death* ſhould be paſſed againſt them. However, that there might be ſome ſhew of clemency, they gave them 'till the afternoon to conſider of it. Mr. *Farrow*, one of the juſtices of that county, who liv'd at *Ailsbury*, was the principal agent in this proſecution: And the better to carry on his malicious deſign, he was this day made their *Chairman*. Several of the *Juſtices* left the bench, either being aſhamed of theſe rigorous proceedings, or afraid of the conſequences of ſuch ſeverity. But *Farrow* and three or four more continued, and were reſolved to puſh on this matter.

WHEN the *priſoners* were again brought forth, they all declared, that *they could neither conform to the Church of England, nor abjure their native country and relations*, and therefore muſt throw themſelves on the mercy of the *court*. Upon this they were by virtue of the aforecited law, declared guilty of *felony*, and ſentence of *death* accordingly paſſed on them, and they were remitted back to *goal*, 'till their *execution*. The men were, *Stephen Dagnal*, miniſter; —— *Ellit*, a teacher; *William Whitchurch*, a glover and deacon of their congregation; *Thomas Hill*,

a

a linnen-draper; *William Welch*, a tallow-chandler; *Thomas Monk*, a farmer; —— *Brandon*, a ſhoemaker; and three more, whoſe names I cannot obtain: The women were, *Mary Jackman*, a widow, who had ſix children; *Ann Turner*, ſpinſter.

THE ſentence was no ſooner paſſed againſt them, but the officers were ſent to their ſeveral houſes, to ſeize on their goods, and whatever effects of theirs could be found: Which order was executed immediately, and great havock made of what little poſſeſſions they had. The reſt of the *Diſſenters* who lived in that town were not a little alarmed at this proceeding, and expected it would quickly come to their turns, to be treated after the ſame manner. Theſe therefore ſhut up their ſhops alſo; who being the greateſt part of the inhabitants, it put a great ſtop to commerce, and ſtruck the whole *town* with great horrour and ſurprize. *Brandon*, one of the condemned perſons, was prevailed upon, by the tears and earneſt entreaties of his wife, to make a recantation, and take the oaths; but he preſently found ſuch horrour and diſtreſs in his mind, for what he had done, as exceeded all his former fears of death, or grief for his family. He voluntarily returned to the *Priſon* again, declared, with the greateſt

The Town much alarmed thereat.

ſigns of grief and trouble, his repentance of what he had done, and there continued with his companions, reſolving to die with them, in defence of that cauſe he had ſo ſhamefully renounced.

Thomas Monk, ſon to him of that name, among the condemned, upon the paſſing of the ſentence, immediately took horſe for *London*, where he applied himſelf to Mr. *William Kiffin*, a man of great note among the *Baptiſts*. and one that had as great an intereſt at court, as any of that profeſſion, and particularly with chancellor *Hide:* When he had revealed the whole matter to him, they go with great expedition to *Hide*, and intreat him to lay their caſe before his Majeſty, which he readily did. The King ſeemed very much ſurprized, that any of his ſubjects ſhould be put to death for their religion only, and enquired whether there was any law in force that juſtified ſuch proceedings. When he was ſatisfied about this, he promiſed his pardon, and gave orders to the Lord Chancellor accordingly: But when they conſidered, that the form of paſſing a pardon would require ſome time, and that thoſe who had ſo haſtily paſſed *a ſentence of death*, might be as raſh alſo in the execution of it; they renewed their ſuit to his Majeſty, that an immediate reprieve might be granted, which his Majeſty as graciouſly

The King pardons them.

ouſly comply'd with; and it was immediately given to the ſaid *Thomas Monk*, who thereupon made all poſſible haſt down again to *Ailsbury*.

WHEN he reported the ſucceſs he had met with at court, and produced his Majeſty's reprieve, it was not more joyful to his friends, than ſurprizing to their perſecutors; and this put ſome ſtop to the violence of their proceedings in thoſe parts.

HOWEVER, the condemned perſons were continued cloſe priſoners 'till the next aſſizes, and then the judge brought down his Majeſty's pardon with him, and they were all ſet at liberty again.

Mr. Ben. Keach.

THE reverend and famous Mr. *Benjamin Keach* had no ſmall ſhare in the ſufferings of theſe times: He was often ſeized, when preaching, and committed to priſon, ſometimes bound, ſometimes releaſed upon bail, and ſometimes his life was threatened. The troopers, who were ſent down into *Buckinghamſhire*, where he was, to ſuppreſs ſuch meetings of the *Diſſenters* as they could find; having diſcovered a meeting where Mr. *Keach* was preaching, they came with great rage and violence upon the aſſembly, and ſwore they would kill the *preacher*. Accordingly he was ſeiz'd, and four of the troopers declared their reſolution to trample him to death with their

His Life attempted.

their horſes; and laying him bound on the ground, prepared themſelves for the fact. But the officer ſeeing their deſign, rode up towards them, and juſt as they were going to ſpur all their horſes at once upon him, interpoſed and prevented them. Then he was taken up and tied behind one of the troopers croſs his horſe, and ſo carried to *goal*; from whence after ſome time of ſuffering great hardſhips and trouble, he was releaſed.

He publiſhes a Primmer. In this year he wrote a little book, intitled, *The Child's Inſtructor; or, a new and eaſie Primmer.* Several of his friends deſired him to print it for the uſe of their children; and accordingly he ſent it to *London* to be printed, without fixing his name thereunto, and had a recommendatory preface fixed to it by another hand. In this book were ſeveral things aſſerted, contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the *Church of England:* As that *infants* ought not to be baptized. That *Laymen* having abilities may preach the Goſpel. That *Chriſt* ſhould reign perſonally upon the earth in the latter day. &c.

Is taken up for it, and bound over to the Aſſizes. THIS book was no ſooner printed, and ſome few of them ſent down to him, but one Mr. *Strafford*, a Juſtice of the Peace for that county, was inform'd thereof; who taking a Conſtable with him, went preſently to the houſe of Mr.

Mr. *Keach*, ſeized all the books he found there, and bound him over to the *Aſſizes*, in a recognizance of *one hundred pounds*, and two ſureties with him, *fifty pounds* each.

THE *Aſſizes* began at *Ailſbury*, *Octo.* 8. 1664, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Hide* was Judge. On the firſt day of the *Aſſize*, in the afternoon, Mr. *Keach* was called, who anſwering to his name, was brought to the bar. After the Judge had made ſome unjuſt reflections upon his perſon and profeſſion, to render him odious to the court, he held up one of the *Primmers* in his hand, and ſaid unto him, did not you write this book? Mr. *Keach* readily acknowledged, that he writ the greateſt part of it. Upon this the Judge anſwered, with a great ſhew of indignation, what have you to do to take other mens trades out of their hands? *I believe you can preach as well as write books.* Thus it is, to let you, and ſuch as you are, *to have the ſcriptures, to wreſt to your own deſtruction.* In your book you have made a new *creed*; I have ſeen three *creeds* before, but never ſaw a fourth till you made one. *His Trial.* *A brave proteſtant Judge.*

Keach. I have not made a *creed*, but a confeſſion of the *chriſtian faith?*

Judge. WHAT is a *creed* then?

Keach. YOUR Lordſhip ſaid, that you had never ſeen but three *creeds*; but thou-

thouſands of chriſtians have made a confeſſion of their faith.

THEN the judge ſaid ſeveral things concerning *baptiſm* and the *miniſters* of the Goſpel; and when Mr. *Keach* began to make anſwer, the Judge ſtopt him, ſaying, you ſhall not preach here, nor give the reaſons of your *damnable doctrine*, to ſeduce and infect the King's ſubjects; theſe are not things for ſuch as you to meddle with, nor to write books of divinity, I will try you for it before I ſleep, and then gave directions to the *Clerk* to draw up the indictment. But he was not ſo good as his word; for tho' he was very dilligent, and ſpent much of his own time to aſſiſt the *Clerk*, in preparing the bill, yet they could not get all things ready for the tryal till the next day.

WHILE the *Indictment* was drawing up, the witneſſes were ſworn, and bid to ſtand by the *Clerk*, 'till it was finiſh'd, and then to go with it to the *Grand Inqueſt*. During this interval, the Judge endeavoured to incenſe the *Jury* againſt the *priſoner*, repreſenting him as a baſe and dangerons fellow. I ſhall ſend you preſently, ſaid he, a bill againſt one, that has taken upon him to write a new *Primmer*, for the inſtruction of your children; and if this be ſuffered, children by learning of it will become ſuch as he is,

and

and therefore I hope you will do your duty; and then the court broke up for that day. The next day, the court being ſet, the *Grand Jury* found the bill againſt him, and brought it in, endorſed, *billa vera*; and Mr. *Keach* being called to the bar, the *Clerk* ſaid,

Benja. Keach, hear your charge, and then read his *indictment*, which was to this effect:

THOU art here indicted by the name of *Benjamin Keach*, of *Winſlow* in the county of *Bucks*, for that thou being a ſeditious, heretical, and ſchiſmatical perſon, evilly and maliciouſly diſpoſed, and diſaffected to his Majeſty's government, and the government of the *Church of England*; didſt maliciouſly and wickedly, on the firſt day of *May*, in the ſixteenth year of the reign of our ſovereign Lord the King, write, print, and publiſh, or cauſe to be written, printed, and publiſhed, one ſeditious and venemous book, entitled, *The Child's Inſtructor*; *or*, *a new and eaſy Primmer*; wherein are contain'd by way of queſtion and anſwer, theſe *damnable poſitions*, contrary to the book of Common Prayer, and the Liturgy of the *Church of England*; that is to ſay, in one place you have thus written.

Q. WHO are the right ſubjects of *baptiſm?*

A.

A. Believers, or godly men and women only, who can make confeſſion of their faith and repentance. And in another place, you have maliciouſly and wickedly written theſe words.

Q. How ſhall it go with the ſaints?

A. O very well, it is the day that they have longed for; then ſhall they hear that ſentence, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you*; and ſo ſhall they reign with Chriſt on the earth a thouſand years, even on mount *Sion*, in the new *Jeruſalem*, for there will Chriſt's throne be, on which they muſt ſit down with him.

Then follows this queſtion with the anſwer thereunto in plain Engliſh words:

Q. WHEN ſhall the reſt of the wicked and the fallen angels, which be the devils, be judged?

A WHEN the thouſand years ſhall be expired, then ſhall all the reſt of the devils be raiſed and then ſhall be the general and laſt judgment; then ſhall all the reſt of the dead, and devils be judg'd by Chriſt, and his glorified Saints, and they being arraigned and judged, the wicked ſhall be condemned, and caſt by the angels into the lake of fire, there to be burned for ever and ever.

IN another place, you have wickedly and maliciouſly written, theſe plain Engliſh words: *Q.*

Q. WHY may not *Infants* be received into the church now, as they were under the law?

A. BECAUSE the fleſhly ſeed is caſt out, tho' God under that diſpenſation did receive *Infants* in a lineal way by generation; yet he that hath the key of *David, that openeth and no man ſhutteth, that ſhutteth, and no man openeth*, hath ſhut up that way into the church, and hath opened the door of regeneration, receiving in none now but *believers*.

Q. WHAT then is the caſe of *Infants?*

A. Infants that die are members of the kingdom of glory, tho' they be not members of the viſible church.

Q. Do they then that bring in *Infants* in a lineal way by generation, err from the way of truth?

A. YEA, they do; for they make not God's holy word their rule, but do preſume to open a door, that Chriſt hath ſhut, and none ought to open.

AND alſo, in another place, thou haſt wickedly and maliciouſly compoſed *A ſhort confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith*; in which thou haſt affirmed this concerning the ſecond perſon in the Bleſſed Trinity, in theſe plain Engliſh words:

I ALSO believe, that he roſe again from the dead, and aſcended into Heaven above, and there now ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence

thence he ſhall come again, at the appointed time, to reign perſonally upon the earth, and to be judge of the quick and dead.

AND in another place, thou haſt wickedly and maliciouſly affirmed theſe things concerning true Goſpel Miniſters, in theſe plain Engliſh words following:

CHRIST hath not choſen the wiſe and prudent men after the fleſh, not great *Doctors* and *Rabbies*, not many mighty and noble faith, St. *Paul*, are called, but rather the poor and deſpiſed, even tradeſmen, and ſuch like, as was *Matthew*, *Peter*, *Andrew*, *Paul* and others. And Chriſt's true Miniſters have not their learning and wiſdom from men, or from univerſities, or human ſchools; for human learning, arts and ſciences, are not eſſential, in order to the making of a true miniſter; but only the gift of God, which cannot be bought with ſilver or gold. And alſo, as they have freely received the gift of God, ſo they do freely adminiſter; they do not preach for hire, for gain or filthy lucre, they are not like falſe teachers, who look for gain from their quarters; who eat the fat, and cloath themſelves with the wool, and kill them that are fed. Thoſe that put not into their mouths they prepare war againſt. Alſo, they are not Lords over God's heritage, they rule them not by force and cruel-

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ty, neither have they power to force and compel men to believe, and obey their doctrine, but are only to perſuade and intreat; this is the way of the Goſpel as Chriſt taught them. And many other things haſt thou ſeditiouſly, wickedly, and maliciouſly written in the ſaid book, to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the ſcandal of the Liturgy of the *Church of England*, the diſaffection of the King's people to his Majeſty's government, the danger of the peace of this Kingdom, to the evil example of others, and contrary to the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

THE *Indictment* being read, the *Clerk* ſaid,

How ſay you, *Benjamin Keach*, are you guilty or not guilty?

Keach. THE *Indictment* is very long, I cannot remember half of it, nor have I been accuſtomed to plead to *Indictments*; I deſire to have a Copy of it, and liberty to confer with council about it, in order to put in my exceptions; and then I ſhall plead to it.

Judge. IT is your intention to delay your trial 'till the next *Aſſizes*.

Keach. No, my Lord, I have no deſign by this to delay my trial.

Judge. I will not deny you what is your right, but you muſt firſt plead to the

Indictment, and afterwards you ſhall have a copy of it.

Keach. I deſire I may have a copy of it, before I plead, in order to put in my exceptions againſt it.

Judge. YOU ſhall not have it before you plead, *guilty or not guilty.*

Keach. IT is what has been granted to others.

Judge. YOU ſhall not have a copy of it firſt, and if you refuſe to plead *guilty or not guilty*, I ſhall take it *pro Confeſſo*, and give *judgment* againſt you accordingly.

WHEN Mr. *Keach* ſaw he was thus overruled by the Judge, and that he was denied his right as an Engliſhman, he pleaded *not guilty.*

Judge. NOW you may have a copy of your *Indictment*; and I will give you *an hour's time* to conſider of it.

Keach. IF I may have no longer time, I don't deſire one.

Judge. I have ſomething elſe to do than to wait upon you, you are not a perſon fit to go abroad 'till the next *Aſſizes*, and you would think it hard if I ſhould commit you to *Goal* till then; but becauſe you ſhall not ſay, but that you were offered fair, if you will find ſufficient ſureties for your appearance at the next *Aſſize*, and for your good behaviour till then, you ſhall not be tried till then.

BUT

BUT Mr. *Keach* knowing, that his appearing at any diſſenting-meeting, would be deemed in thoſe evil times a breach of his good behaviour, dared not to accept of this propoſal, and ſaid, I am willing to be tried now.

Judge. Go on then, a God's name.

THEN the *Jury* were called by their names, and ſworn well and truly to try the *Traverſe* between the King and the Priſoner.

UPON this the *Clerk* read the *Indictment*, and told them that he had pleaded *not guilty*, and that their charge was to enquire whether he was *guilty* or not; and ſo the witneſſes were called, whoſe names were *Neal* and *Whitehall.*

Neal ſwore, that Juſtice *Strafford* ſending for him to wait upon him, he coming to his worſhip, was commanded to fetch his *ſtaff of authority*, and come to him again, and then they went to one *Moody*'s ſtall, and asked for ſome *Primmers* which he had; but he anſwered he had none; from thence they went to *Benjamin Keach*'s houſe, where firſt they ſaw his wife, he himſelf being in an inward room; they asked her if there were not ſome *Primmers* in the houſe; ſhe ſaid there were, and there were about thiry brought forth, and delivered to him.

JUSTICE *Strafford* alſo depoſed, That going to the houſe of the *Priſoner*, he

found and ſeized the ſaid *Primmers*; and that the *Priſoner* at the bar confeſſed before him, that he writ and compoſed the ſaid book; and then a copy of the *Priſoner*'s examination before the ſaid deponent, ſigned with his own hand, was produced and read. Wherein was contained, that the *Priſoner* being asked whether he was the *Author* or writer of the ſaid book, anſwered, yes he was, and further declared, that he delivered part of the *Copy* to one *Oviat*, a printer, ſince dead, and that the reſt of the ſaid *Copy* he ſent up by another hand, but that he knew not who printed it; that about forty of them were ſent down to him, of which he had diſpoſed about twelve, and that the price was five pence each book.

THEN the Judge called for a *Common Prayer Book*, and ordered one of the *Primmers* to be given to the *Jury*, and commanded the *Clerk* to read thoſe ſentences in the *Indictment*, that were taken out of the ſaid book, that the *Jury* might turn to them, to ſee that the ſaid poſitions were contained therein.

THE firſt poſition, which affirms that *Believers only are the right ſubjects of Baptiſm*, being read. This, ſays the Judge, is contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*, for that appoints *Infants* to be baptized, as well as men and women; and then read

read ſeveral places, wherein the baptizing of ſuch is enjoined and vindicated.

THE next poſition is that, which affirms, that *the Saints ſhall reign with Chriſt a thouſand years.*

THIS, ſays the Judge, is contrary to the *Creed*, in the book of *Common Prayer*, and is an old *Hereſy*, which was caſt out of the Church a thouſand years ago, and was likewiſe condemned by the council of *Conſtance*, about five hundred years after, and hath lain dead ever ſince, 'till now this *Raſcal* hath revived it.

UPON reading that poſition in the *Indictment*, which denies that *Infants are to be received into the Church now, as they were under the Law*: The Judge ſaid, this alſo is contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*; which appoints *Infants* to be received into the Church, and directs the Prieſt to ſay, when he hath ſprinkled the Child, *We receive this Child into the Congregation of Chriſt's Flock*, &c.

AND to the next poſition in the *Indictment*, wherein it is affirmed, that *Infants that die, are Members of the Kingdom of Glory, tho' not of the viſible Church.* The Judge ſaid, this he ſpeaks of *Infants* in general; ſo that the Child of a *Turk*, is made equal to the Child of a *Chriſtian*; but our Church hath determined otherwiſe, *viz.* That if an *Infant* die after *Baptiſm*, and before it hath actually ſinned,

ned, it is ſaved; becauſe *original Sin* is waſhed away in *Baptiſm.*

AFTER this was read, that poſition in the *Indictment* which was taken out of the *confeſſion of Faith,* made by *Benja. Keach.* This, ſaith the Judge, is contrary to our *Creed*; for whereas this ſaith of Chriſt, *that he aſcended into Heaven above, and there now ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he ſhall come again, at the appointed time of the Father, to reign perſonally upon the Earth, and to be the judge both of the quick and dead.* Our Creed ſaith only, *from thence he ſhall come to judge both the quick and dead.* And as to that concerning *Goſpel Miniſters,* he ſaid, this is alſo contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*: For whereas the poſition in the *Indictment* ſaith, *that Chriſt hath not choſen great Rabbies and Doctors, but rather the Poor and Deſpiſed, and Tradeſmen*: The book of *Common Prayer,* does admit of ſuch *viz. Doctors and Rabbies,* and then read ſome paſſages, concerning the qualifications of *Miniſters,* and their manner of conſecration in proof of it. And afterwards ſaid, becauſe Chriſt when he was upon earth made choice of tradeſmen to be his Diſciples, this *Fellow* would have *Miniſters* to be ſuch now; *Taylors, Pedlars,* and *Tinkers,* ſuch *Fellows* as he is; but it is otherwiſe now, as appears from the manner in which the

the Church has appointed them to be choſen, ordained, and conſecrated.

THE Judge having done, the *Priſoner* thought now he might have liberty to ſpeak for himſelf, and accordingly began.

Keach. As to the *Doctrines* ——

Judge. YOU ſhall not ſpeak any thing here, except to the matter of *Fact*, that is to ſay, whether you wrote this book or not.

Keach. I DESIRE liberty to ſpeak to the particulars of my *Indictment*, and anſwer thoſe things that have——

Judge. YOU ſhall not be ſuffered to give the reaſons of your *Doctrine* here, to ſeduce the King's ſubjects.

Keach. Is my *Religion* ſo bad, that I may not be allow'd to ſpeak?

Judge. I KNOW your *Religion*, you are a *fifth monarchy man*, and you can preach as well as write books, and you would preach here if I would let you; but I ſhall take ſuch order, as you ſhall do no more miſchief.

THIS threatning, made Mr. *Keach* and ſome of his friends, who were unacquainted in the law in this caſe, fear, that he intended to have him hanged.

Keach. I DID not write all the book, for there is an *Epiſtle* wrote to it by another hand, neither can it be proved, that I writ all that is put into the *Indictment*.

Judge. IT is all one, whether you

writ it yourſelf, or dictated to another, that wrote it; but it appears, by your examination, under your own hand, that you wrote it all.

Keach. BECAUSE I writ the greater part of it, I was contented to let it go with the word *all* in my examination before Juſtice *Strafford*; but I cannot in conſcience ſay that I writ it all, nor is it proved, that I publiſhed it.

Judge. YES, for *Moody* had ſix books of you.

Keach. I DID neither ſell them nor deliver them unto him.

Judge. HE had them at your houſe, and tis not likely he ſhould take them without your conſent.

Keach. I Do not ſay he had them without my conſent.

Judge. IT is all one then.

SOME few more words paſſed; but Mr. *Keach* being not permitted to anſwer to the particulars charged upon him, was content not to inſiſt upon more proof of his being the *Author* of the book.

THEN the Judge ſummed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the *Jury*, wherein he caſt many reflections on the *Priſoner*, to incenſe them againſt him, like as he had done before to the *Grand Inqueſt*.

THE *Jury* having received their charge, withdrew, and ſtaid for ſome hours. At length one of the Bailiffs who attended them, came and told the Judge, that the Jury about the

the *Primmer* could not agree. But, ſaid the Judge, they muſt agree; the *Bailiff* replied, they deſire to know whether one of them may not ſpeak to your Worſhip, about ſomethimg whereof they are in doubt. Yes, *privately*, ſaid the Judge; and ordered that one ſhould come to him on the bench. And when the *Officer* had fetched one, he was ſet upon the *Clerk*'s table, and the Judge and he whiſpered together a great while. And it was obſerved, that the Judge having his hands upon his ſhoulders, would frequently ſhake him, as he ſpake to him.

UPON the Perſon's returning, the whole *Jury* quickly came in, and being according to cuſtom, called over by their names, the *Clerk* proceeded.

Clerk. How ſay you, is *Benja. Keach* guilty of the matter contained in the *Indictment* againſt him, or not *guilty?*

Foreman. GUILTY in part.

Clerk. OF what part?

Foreman. THERE is ſomething in the *Indictment* which is not in the book.

Clerk. WHAT is that?

Foreman. IN the *Indictment*, he is charged with theſe words; when the thouſand years ſhall be expired, then ſhall all the reſt of the *Devils* be raiſed; but in the book it is, then ſhall the reſt of the *Dead* be raiſed.

Clerk. Is he guilty of the *Indictment*, that ſentence excepted?

ONE

ONE *of the Jurymen.* I cannot in conſcience find him *guilty*, becauſe the words in the *indictment*, and the book do not agree.

Judge. THAT is only thro' a miſtake of the *Clerk*, and in that one ſentence only: And you may find him guilty of all, that ſentence excepted. But why did you come in before you were agreed?

Foreman. WE thought we had been agreed.

Judge. YOU muſt go out again and agree. And as for you that ſay, you cannot in *conſcience* find him *guilty*, if you ſay ſo again, without giving reaſons for it, I ſhall take an order with you.

THEN the *Jury* withdrew, and in a little time return'd again, and brought in this verdict, that he was guilty of the indictment; that ſentence, wherein *devils* is inſerted inſtead of *dead*, only excepted.

His ſentence. UPON this *Benjamin Keach* was call'd to the bar; and the Judge proceeded, and paſs'd *ſentence* as follows:

Judge. Benjamin Keach, you are here convicted, for writing, printing and publiſhing, a ſeditious and ſchiſmatical book, for which the court's judgment is this, and the court doth award: That you ſhall go to *goal* for a fortnight without bail or mainprize; and the next *Saturday*, to ſtand upon the *pillory* at *Ailſbury*

bury, in the open market, for the ſpace of two hours, from eleven of the clock to one, with a paper upon your head with this inſcription: 'For writing, printing 'and publiſhing, a ſchiſmatical book, 'intitled, *The Child's Inſtructor, or, a 'new and eaſy Primmer.*' And the next *Thurſday*, to ſtand in the ſame manner, and for the ſame time, in the market of *Winſlow*; and there your book ſhall be openly burnt, before your face, by the common hangman, in diſgrace of you and your doctrine: And you ſhall forfeit to the King's Majeſty the ſum of *twenty pounds*; and ſhall remain in *goal*, until you find *ſureties* for your good behaviour, and appearance at the next *Aſſizes*, there to *renounce your doctrines*, and make ſuch publick ſubmiſſion as ſhall be enjoined you: Take him away, keeper.

Keach. I HOPE I ſhall never *renounce thoſe truths*, which I have written in that book.

Clerk. MY Lord, he ſays, he hopes he ſhall *never repent*; but the Judge making no anſwer to this, the *Jaylor* took him away.

IT is eaſy to diſcover, that this trial was carried on in a very arbitrary manner, and a *verdict* extorted againſt him from the *Jury*. Not could any pardon be obtain'd, or the leaſt relaxation of the ſevere

ſevere ſentence, and the *Sheriff* took care that every thing ſhould be punctually performed, and that other things ſhould be expected: For according to the rigour of the law, he was kept cloſe priſoner till the *Saturday*; when according to the ſentence, he was brought to the *pillory* at *Ailſbury*; ſeveral of his religious friends and acquaintance accompanying him: And when they expreſſed his hard caſe, and the injuſtice of his ſufferings, he ſaid with a chearful countenance, *the croſs is the way to the crown.* His head and hands were no ſooner fixed in the pillory; but he began to addreſs himſelf to the ſpectators to this effect. Good people, I am not aſhamed to ſtand here this day, with this paper on my head; my Lord *Jeſus* was not aſhamed to ſuffer on the croſs for me; and it is for his cauſe that I am made a gazing-ſtock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedneſs that I ſtand here; but for writing and publiſhing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

Is put into the pillory at Ailſbury.

His behaviour there.

A CLERGYMAN that ſtood by could not forbear interrupting him: And ſaid, it is for writing and publiſhing *errors*; and you may now ſee, what your *errors* have brought you to.

MR. *Keach* reply'd, Sir, can you prove them errors; but before the *Clergyman* could

could return an anſwer, he was attacked by ſome from among the people. One told him, of his being pulled *drunk out of a ditch:* Another upbraided him with being lately found *drunk under a haycock.* At this all the people fell to laughing; and turn'd their diverſion from the ſufferer in the pillory to the *drunken prieſt*; inſomuch that he haſten'd away with the utmoſt diſgrace and ſhame.

AFTER the noiſe of this was over, the *priſoner* began to ſpeak again; ſaying, It is no new thing for the ſervants of the Lord to ſuffer, and be made a gazing-ſtock; and you that are acquainted with the ſcriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the croſs. The Apoſtle ſaith, *That thro' many tribulations we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven*; and Chriſt ſaith, *He that is aſhamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and ſinful generation, of him ſhall the ſon of man be aſhamed, before the father, and before his holy angels.* But he was frequently interrupted by the *Jaylor*, who told him that he muſt not ſpeak, and that if he would not be ſilent, he muſt force him to it. After he had ſtood ſome time ſilent, getting one of his hands at liberty, he pull'd his *Bible* out of his pocket, and held it up to the people; ſaying, take notice, that the things which I have written and pub-

publiſhed, and for which I ſtand here this day, a ſpectacle to men and angels, are all contain'd in this *book*, as I could prove out of the ſame, if I had an opportunity.

AT this the *Jaylor* interrupted him again; and with great anger enquired, who gave him the *book*; ſome ſaid, his wife, who was near unto him, and frequently ſpoke in vindication of her huſband, and the principles for he which ſuffered. But Mr. *Keach* reply'd, and ſaid, that he took it out of his own pocket. Upon this the *Jaylor* took it from him, and faſtened up his hand again. But it was almoſt impoſſible to keep him from ſpeaking; for he ſoon began again, ſaying to this effect: It ſeems I cannot be ſuffered to ſpeak to the cauſe for which I ſtand here; neither could I be ſuffered the other day (on his trial I ſuppoſe he meant) but it will plead its own innocency, when the ſtrongeſt of its oppoſers ſhall be aſhamed.

I DO not ſpeak this out of prejudice to any perſon, but do ſincerely deſire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their ſouls may be ſaved in the day of the Lord *Jeſus*. *Good people*, the concernment of ſouls is very great; ſo great, that Chriſt died for them: And truly a concernment

cernment for ſouls was that which moved me to write and publiſh thoſe things, for which I now ſuffer, and for which I could ſuffer far greater things than theſe. It concerns you therefore to be very careful, otherwiſe it will be very ſad with you, at the revelation of the Lord *Jeſus* from heaven, for we muſt all appear before his tribunal. Here he was interrupted again, and forced to be ſilent for ſome time. But at length he ventur'd to ſpeak again; ſaying, I hope the Lord's people will not be diſcouraged at my ſuffering. Oh! did you but experience, ſays he, the great love of God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any ſufferings for his ſake. And I do account this the greateſt honour, that ever the Lord was pleas'd to confer upon me. After this, he was not ſuffered to ſpeak much more: For the *Sheriff* came in a great rage; and ſaid, if he would not be ſilent, he ſhould be *gagged*; and the *officers* were ordered to keep the people at a greater diſtance from him, though they declar'd they could not do it. At the end of a long ſilence he ventur'd again: This, ſays he, is one *yoke of Chriſt*, which I can experience *is eaſy* to me, and a *burthen* which he doth make *light*. But finding he could not be ſuffer'd to ſpeak, he kept ſilence till the whole

whole two hours were expired; only uttering this ſentence, *Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* When the full time according to his ſentence was expired, the *Under-keeper* lifted up the board, and as ſoon as his head and hands were at liberty, he bleſſed God with a loud voice for his great goodneſs unto him.

He is put into the pillory again, and his book burnt.

ON the *Saturday* following, he ſtood in the ſame manner, and for the like time, at *Winſlow*, the town where he liv'd; and had his book *burnt before him*, according to the ſentence. But I cannot obtain any particulars of his behaviour there; and therefore therein muſt be ſilent, not doubting but that it was with the ſame chriſtian ſpirit and courage, as before.

THE perſon who preſerved this relation, being preſent, wrote down all he heard and ſaw, at the very inſtant; and makes this obſervation of his ſuffering, *viz.* That he ſtood in the pillory full two hours to a minute, which was a more ſtrict execution than ever he ſaw in town or country; that others always had their hands at liberty; but this *ſufferer* had his carefully kept in the holes, almoſt all the time which muſt render his ſuffering ſo much the more painful, yet, ſays he, *Thus judg-*

judgment is turned away backward, and juſtice ſtandeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the ſtreets, and equity cannot enter. He that departeth from evil, maketh himſelf a prey, and the Lord ſaw it, and it diſpleaſed him, that there was no judgment. Iſa. lxix. 14, 15.

THE perſecution againſt the profeſſing people of God, was carried on with great violence, and much innocent blood ſhed. But two dreadful judgments, one upon the back of the other, befel the great city of *London*; the *Peſtilence*, and the *Fire:* Which by many in that day, were look'd upon as tokens of God's anger againſt that perſecuting ſpirit gone forth amongſt the people.

THE account of the plague is taken notice of by Dr. *Calamy*, in his *continuation* of the account of the miniſters, *&c.* ſilenced after the Reſtoration, by or before the Act for Uniformity, taken from the treatiſe of Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, intitled, *God's terrible voice in the city*; which is very affecting. Anno 1665.

'HE there tells us, ſays the Doctor, 'that it was in *Holland* in 1664; and 'the ſame year began in ſome remote 'parts of this land; though the weekly 'bills of the city took notice but of three 'that then died there of that diſeaſe. In 'the beginning of *May* 1665, nine died of *Continuation*, P. 33.

'it in the heart of the city, and eight in 'the ſuburbs; the next week the bill 'fell from nine to three; in the next 'week it mounted from three to four-'teen; in the next to ſeventeen; in the 'next to forty-three. In *June* the num-'ber encreaſed from forty-three to one 'hundred and twelve; the next week to 'one hundred ſixty-eight; the next to 'two hundred ſixty-ſeven; the next to 'four hundred and ſeventy. In the firſt 'week of *July*, the number aroſe to ſe-'ven hundred twenty-five; the next week 'to one thouſand and eighty-nine; the 'next to one thouſand eight hundred and 'forty-three; the next to two thouſand 'and ten. In the firſt week in *Auguſt*, 'the number amounted to two thouſand 'eight hundred and ſeventeen; the next 'to three thouſand eight hundred and 'eighty; the next to four thouſand 'two hundred thirty-ſeven; the next to 'ſix thouſand one hundred and two. In '*September* a decreaſe of the diſtemper 'was hop'd for; but it was not yet come 'to its height: In the firſt week, there 'died of it ſix thouſand nine hundred 'eighty-eight: And though in the ſecond 'week the number abated, to ſix thou-'ſand five hundred forty-four; yet in the 'third week it aroſe to ſeven thouſand 'one hundred ſixty-five, which was the 'higheſt.

‘ higheſt. And then of the one hundred
‘ and thirty pariſhes, in and about the
‘ city, there were but four which were
‘ not infected: And in thoſe there were
‘ but few people remaining, that were
‘ not gone into the country. In the
‘ houſe where he lived [Mr. *Thomas Vin-*
‘ *cent*] there were eight in family, three
‘ men, three youths, an old woman and
‘ a maid. It was the latter end of *Sep-*
‘ *tember* before any of them were touch-
‘ ed. The maid was firſt ſeized with the
‘ diſtemper, which began with a ſhiver-
‘ ing and trembling in her fleſh, and
‘ quickly ſeized on her ſpirits. This was
‘ on the *Monday*, and ſhe died on *Thurſ-*
‘ *day* full of tokens. On *Friday* one of
‘ the youths had a ſwelling in his groin,
‘ and on the *Lord's-day* died, with the
‘ marks of the diſtemper upon him. On
‘ the ſame day, another of the youths
‘ ſickened, and on the *Wedneſday* follow-
‘ ing he died. On the *Thurſday* night
‘ the maſter of the houſe fell ſick, and
‘ within a day or two was full of ſpots,
‘ but was ſtrangely recover'd, beyond his
‘ own or others expectation. In the fourth
‘ week of *September* there was a decreaſe,
‘ to five thouſand five hundred thirty-
‘ eight. In the firſt week of *October*, there
‘ was a farther decreaſe to four thouſand
‘ nine hundred twenty-nine; in the next

'to four thouſand three hundred twenty-
'ſeven; the next to two thouſand ſix
'hundred ſixty-five; the next to one
'thouſand four hundred twenty-one; and
'the next to one thouſand and thirty-one.
'The firſt week in *November* there was
'an increaſe to one thouſand four hun-
'dred and fourteen; but it fell the week
'after to one thouſand and fifty; and
'the week after to ſix hundred fifty-two;
'and ſo leſſened more and more to the
'end of the year. And the whole number
'of thoſe that were reckoned to die of the
'plague in *London*, this year, was ſixty-
'eight thouſand five hundred ninety-ſix.

'THE main body, ſays Dr. *Calamy*,
'of the publick miniſters retired from
'the danger, and left their pulpits va-
'cant. In this caſe, the miniſters that
'had been ſilenced three years before,
'and had preached only privately, and
'to ſmall numbers, thought it their duty
'to give the beſt help they could to the
'many thouſands that remained in the
'city. They ſtaid and preached to vaſt
'congregations; and the immediate views
'of death before them, made both
'preachers and hearers, ſerious at an un-
'common rate.

Anno 1666. 'THE vices and immoralities of the
'nation, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, not being ſuf-

* Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 404.

'ficiently

'ficiently puniſhed by the *Plague*, it 'pleaſed Almighty God this year to ſuf-'fer the City of *London* to be laid in 'aſhes, by a dreadful *conflagration*, which 'began behind the *Monument* in *Pud-'ding-lane*, *Sept.* 2. and within three or 'four days conſumed thirteen thouſand 'two hundred dwelling houſes, and eigh-'ty-nine churches; among which was 'the Cathedral of St. *Paul's*; many pub-'lick ſtructures, ſchools, libraries, and 'ſtately edifices. Multitudes of people 'loſt their eſtates, their goods and mer-'chandize, and ſome few their lives; 'the King, the Duke of *York*, and many 'of the Nobility, were ſpectators of the 'deſolation, but had not power to ſtop 'it; till at length it ceas'd almoſt as 'wonderfully as it began. *Moorfields* was 'filled with houſhold-goods, and the 'people were forced to lie in huts and 'tents. Many families, who the laſt 'week were in large circumſtances, were 'now reduc'd to beggary, and oblig'd to 'begin the world again. The authors of 'this *fire* were ſaid to be the *Papiſts*, as 'appears by the inſcription upon the *Mo-'nument*. The Parliament being of this 'perſuaſion, petitioned the King to iſſue 'out a proclamation, requiring all *Popiſh 'Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* to depart the king-'dom within a month; and appointed a

'committee who received evidence of 'ſome *Papiſts*, that were ſeen to throw 'fire-balls into houſes, and of others who 'had materials for it in their pockets; 'but the men were gone, and none ſuf-'fer'd but one *Hubert*, a *Frenchman*, 'by his own confeſſion.'

IN this general confuſion, the churches being burnt, and many of the pariſh miniſters gone, for want of places of worſhip, the *Nonconformiſts* reſolved again to ſupply the neceſſities of the people. Some churches were rais'd of boards, which they called *Tabernacles:* And the *Diſſenters* fitted up large rooms with pulpits, ſeats and galleries; and many citizens frequented their meetings. But theſe calamities had no further influence upon the court prelates, than that they durſt not at preſent proſecute the preachers ſo ſeverely as before.

Anno 1667. THIS year put a ſtop to the power of the great Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, who had made himſelf obnoxious to the court, by his magiſterial air towards the King. He was impeached at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, of High-Treaſon, for ſundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, contrary to law, by which he had acquir'd a greater

greater eſtate, than could be honeſtly gotten in that time. The Earl did not think fit to abide the ſtorm, but withdrew to *France*; leaving a paper behind him, in which he denied almoſt every article of his charge; but the Parliament voted it ſcandalous, and order'd it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. He was baniſhed the King's dominions for life, by Act of Parliament: 'And ſpent, 'ſays Mr. *Neal*, the remaining ſeven years 'of his life at *Roan* in *Normandy*, among '*Papiſts* and *Preſbyterians*, whom he 'would hardly ſuffer to live in his own 'country; and employ'd the chief of his 'time, in writing the hiſtory of the Grand 'Rebellion.' He gloried, ſays *Rapin* *, in his hatred of the *Preſbyterians*: And, perhaps, contributed more than any other, to that exceſs of animoſity, which ſtill ſubſiſts among the followers of his maxims and principles. But what gives a luſtre to his glory, is, that from the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of *York*, ſprung two *Princeſſes*, ſucceſſively Queens of *England*. 'His Lordſhip, 'ſays Mr. *Neal*, was a perſon of very 'conſiderable abilities, which have been 'ſufficiently diſplay'd by his admirers; 'but I have not been able to diſcover

* Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. p. 650.

'any of his great or generous actions 'for the ſervice of the publick; and how 'far his conduct with regard to the *Non-* '*conformiſts* was conſiſtent with honeſty, 'religion or honour, muſt be left with 'the reader.'

CHAP. II.

From the baniſhment of the Earl of Clarendon, *to the end of the reign of King* Charles II.

Anno 1668.

LORD *Clarendon*, the great patron of perſecuting power, having loſt the King's favour; and Archbiſhop *Sheldon* and Biſhop *Morley* being likewiſe under his diſpleaſure, affairs began to take another turn. For Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves *, 'That when complaints were made of 'ſome diſorders, and of ſome Conventi- 'cles, the King ſaid, the Clergy were 'chiefly to blame for theſe diſorders, for 'if they had liv'd well, and gone about 'their pariſhes, and taken pains to con- 'vince the *Nonconformiſts*, the nation

* Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 258.

'might

'might have been well ſettled; but they 'thought of nothing, but to get good 'benefices, and to keep a good table.' He adds, that the King once ſaid the following things to him in his cloſet; 'If 'the Clergy had done their parts, it had 'been an eaſy thing to run down the '*Nonconformiſts*; but they will do no-'thing, and will have me do every thing; 'and moſt of them do worſe, than if they 'did nothing. That he had a Chaplain 'a very honeſt man, but a very great 'blockhead, to whom he had given a li-'ving in *Suffolk*, that was full of that 'ſort of people [*Nonconformiſts.*] That this 'Chaplain had gone about among them 'from houſe to houſe, tho' he could not 'imagine what he could ſay to them; 'but that he believ'd, his nonſenſe ſuited 'their nonſenſe, for he had brought 'them all to church; and that in re-'ward of his diligence, he had given him 'a Biſhoprick in *Ireland*.'

SOME attempts began now to be made by Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, Biſhop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and others, for a comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into the church, by ſome abatements, and a *toleration* for the reſt. But this project was blaſted by the Court Biſhops, and Lord *Clarendon*'s friends; who took Anno 1663.

took the alarm, and rais'd a mighty outcry of the *danger of the church.* So when the Parliament met, notice was taken, that there were rumours without doors, of a bill to be offer'd for *comprehenſion* and *indulgence.* Upon which a vote was paſſed, that *no man ſhould bring ſuch a bill into the houſe.* 'And to cruſh the *Nonconformiſts* more effectually, ſays Mr. 'Neal *, Archbiſhop *Sheldon* writ a circular letter to the Biſhops of his province, dated *June* 8. to ſend him a particular account of the Conventicles in their ſeveral Dioceſes, and of the numbers that frequented them, and whether they thought *they might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the civil magiſtrate.* When he was provided with this information, he went to the King, and obtain'd a proclamation to put the laws in execution againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, and particularly againſt the *preachers*; according to the Statute of the 17th of King *Charles* II. which forbids their inhabiting in corporations.

'THUS, ſays he, the perſecution was revived: And the Parliament ſtill bent on ſeverities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the *Nonconformiſts.* Who reported to the houſe, that divers Conventicles, and other ſe-

* Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 418.

'ditious

'ditious meetings, were held in their very 'neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, 'and to the danger of the peace of the 'kingdom. General *Monk*, who was near 'his end, and ſunk almoſt into contempt, 'was employ'd to diſperſe them; and 'received the thanks of the houſe for his 'zeal in that important ſervice, wherein 'he was ſure to meet with no oppoſition. 'They alſo returned his Majeſty thanks, 'for his proclamation for ſuppreſſing Con-'venticles, deſiring him to take the ſame 'care for the future. By this means, the 'private meetings of the *Diſſenters*, which 'had been held by connivance, were 'broken up again,' and many of them impriſoned.

BUT this was contrary to the King's inclination *: Who was only for playing the *Diſſenters* againſt the Parliament for a ſum of money. When the houſe therefore was up, his Majeſty ordered ſome of the *Nonconformiſts* to be told, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy; and that if they would petition for relief they ſhould be favourably heard: Upon which an addreſs was drawn up and preſented to him. The King receiv'd them graciouſly, and promis'd to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the eſtabliſhment. He wiſh'd there had been no bars

* *Neale*, Vol. IV. p. 420.

at

at all; ſignified that he was forced to comply for peace ſake, but that he would endeavour to remove them, tho' it was a work of difficulty. When he diſmiſſed them, he told them, *That he was againſt perſecution, and hoped e're long to be able to ſtand upon his own legs.* But, ſays Mr. *Neale*, his Majeſty's promiſes were always to be bought off by a ſum of money to ſupport his pleaſures.

Anno 1670.

THE Houſe of Commons were violently ſet upon perſecution; and the Court ſided therewith, to reduce the *Diſſenters* to the neceſſity of petitioning for a *general toleration.* They revived the *Conventicle* Act, and added two extraordinary clauſes thereto. The Court Biſhops were for the bill, but the moderate Clergy were againſt it. Biſhop *Wilkins* ſpoke againſt it in the houſe: And when the King deſired him in private to be quiet, he reply'd, that he thought it an ill thing, both in conſcience and policy; therefore as he was an *Engliſhman* and a Biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it: And ſince by the laws and conſtitution of *England*, and by his Majeſty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his opinion in that matter.

Burnet, *p.* 272.

HOWEVER the bill paſſed both houſes; and received the Royal Aſſent, *Ap.* 11. 1670.

1670. ‘ It was, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, to the ‘ following effect: That if any perſon ‘ upwards of ſixteen years, ſhall be pre- ‘ ſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle or ‘ Meeting, under colour or pretence of ‘ any exerciſe of religion, in any other ‘ manner than according to the Liturgy ‘ and practice of the Church of *England*; ‘ where there are five perſons or more ‘ preſent, beſides thoſe of the ſaid houſe- ‘ hold; in ſuch caſes the offender ſhall ‘ pay five ſhillings for the firſt offence, ‘ and ten ſhillings for the ſecond. And ‘ the preachers or teachers in any ſuch ‘ meetings, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds ‘ for the firſt, and forty for the ſecond ‘ offence. And laſtly, thoſe who know- ‘ ingly ſuffer any ſuch Conventicles in ‘ their houſes, barns, yards, *&c.* ſhall ‘ forfeit twenty pounds. Any Juſtice of ‘ Peace on the oath of two witneſſes, or any ‘ other ſufficient proof, may record the of- ‘ fence under his hand and ſeal, which ‘ record ſhall be taken in law for a full ‘ and perfect conviction, and ſhall be cer- ‘ tified at the next Quarter-Seſſions. The ‘ fines above-mention'd may be levied, by ‘ diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods ‘ and chattels; and in caſe of the pover- ‘ ty of ſuch offender, upon the goods ‘ and chattels of any other perſon or per-

* Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 426.

‘ ſons

'ſons that ſhall be convicted of having 'been preſent at the ſaid Conventicle, at 'the diſcretion of the Juſtice of Peace, 'ſo as the ſum to be levied on any one 'perſon, in caſe of the poverty of 'others, do not amount to above ten 'pounds for any one meeting: The Con-'ſtables, Headboroughs, *&c.* are to levy 'the ſame by warrant from the Juſtice, 'and to be divided, *one third for the uſe 'of the King, another third for the poor, 'and the other third to the informer or his 'aſſiſtants; regard being had to their di-'ligence and induſtry in diſcovering, diſ-'perſing, and puniſhing the ſaid Conven-'ticles.* The fines upon miniſters for 'preaching, are to be levied alſo by di-'ſtreſs; and in caſe of poverty, upon 'the goods and chattels of any other pre-'ſent; and the like upon the houſe where 'the Conventicle is held; and the money 'to be divided as above.

'AND it is further enacted; That the 'Juſtice or Juſtices of Peace, Conſtable, 'Headboroughs, *&c.* may by warrant, 'with what aid, force, and aſſiſtance 'they ſhall think neceſſary, break open, and 'enter into any houſe or place, where 'they ſhall be informed of the Conven-'ticle, and take the perſons ſo aſſembled 'into cuſtody. —— And the Lieutenants, 'or other commiſſioned officers of the 'militia, may get together ſuch force

'and

'and aſſiſtance as they think neceſſary 'to diſſolve, diſſipate, and diſperſe ſuch 'unlawful meetings, and take the per-'ſons into cuſtody. —— That if any Juſ-'tice of Peace refuſe to do his duty in 'the execution of this Act, he ſhall for-'feit five pounds.

'AND be it farther enacted; That all 'clauſes in this Act *ſhall be conſtrued 'moſt largely, and beneficially for the ſup-'preſſing Conventicles, and for the juſtifi-'cation and encouragement of all perſons 'to be employed in the execution thereof.* No '*warrant* or *mittimus* ſhall be made void, 'or reverſed, for any default in the form: 'And if a perſon fly from one county 'or corporation to another, his goods 'and chattels ſhall be ſeizable wherever 'they are found. If the party offend-'ing be a wife co-habiting with her huſ-'band, the fine ſhall be levied on the 'goods and chattels of the huſband, pro-'vided the proſecution be within three 'months.

'THE wit of man, ſays Mr. *Neal*, 'could hardly invent any thing ſhort of 'capital puniſhment, more cruel and in-'human. One would have thought ſuch 'a merciful Prince as King *Charles* II. 'who had often declared againſt perſecu-'tion, ſhould not have conſented to it; 'and that no Chriſtian Biſhop ſhould 'have voted for it. Mens houſes are to

'be

'be plundered, their perſons impriſoned, 'their goods and chattels carried away, 'and ſold to thoſe who would bid for 'them. Encouragement is given to a 'vile ſet of *Informers*, and others, to 'live upon the labour and induſtry of 'their conſcientious neighbours. Multi-'tudes of theſe ſordid creatures ſpent their 'profits in ill houſes, and upon leud 'women, and then went about ſtreets 'again to hunt for further prey. The 'law is to be conſtrued in the favour of 'theſe wretches, and the power to be 'lodged in the hand of every ſingle Juſ-'tice of Peace; who is to be fined five 'pounds if he refuſes his warrant. Upon 'this many honeſt men, who would not 'be the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, 'left the bench, and would ſit there no 'longer.

'GREAT numbers were proſecuted 'on this Act *, and many induſtrious 'families reduced to poverty. Many 'miniſters were confined in goals and 'cloſe priſons; and warrants were iſſued 'out againſt them, and their hearers, to 'the amount of great ſums of money. In 'the dioceſe of *Saliſbury* the perſecution 'was hotteſt, by the inſtigation of Biſhop '*Ward*; many hundreds being proſecuted 'with great induſtry, and driven from

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. p. 429.

'their

'their families and trades. The Act was 'executed with ſuch ſeverity in *Starling*'s 'mayoralty, that many of the trading 'men in the city were removing with 'their effects to *Holland*, 'till the King 'put a ſtop to it. *Informers* were every 'where at work; and having crept into 'religious aſſemblies in diſguiſe, levied 'great ſums of money upon miniſters 'and people. Soldiers broke into the 'houſes of honeſt Farmers, under pre-'tence of ſearching for conventicles; and 'where ready money was wanting, they 'plundered their goods, drove away their 'cattle, and ſold them for half price: 'Theſe vile creatures were not only en-'couraged, but puſhed on vehemently 'by their *ſpiritual guides*. For this pur-'poſe Archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent another 'circular letter to all the Biſhops of his 'province; and copies of this letter were 'ſent by the Archdeacons to the of-'ficers of the ſeveral pariſhes within 'their juriſdictions, earneſtly deſiring 'them to take a ſpecial care to perform 'whatſoever is therein required, and to 'give an account at the next viſitation. 'Many of the Biſhops choſe to lie be-'hind the curtain, and throw off the '*odium* from themſelves to the *Civil* '*Magiſtrate:* But ſome of the more zea-'lous could not forbear appearing in

'perſon; as Biſhop *Ward*, already mentioned, and Biſhop *Gunning*, who often diſturbed the *Meetings* in perſon. 'Once finding the doors ſhut, he ordered the Conſtable to break them open with a ſledge. Another time he 'ſat upon the bench at the Quarter-Seſſions: Upon which the Chairman deſired his Lordſhip to give the *Charge*, 'which he refuſing, received a very 'handſome rebuke; it being hardly conſiſtent with one that is an Ambaſſador of 'the prince of peace, to ſet in judgment upon the conſciences of his poor 'countrymen and neighbours, in order 'to plunder and tear them to pieces. 'The Biſhop was ſo zealous in the cauſe, 'that he ſunk his character by giving 'a publick challenge to the *Preſbyterians*, '*Independants*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers*; 'and appointed three days for the diſputation. On the firſt of which his 'Lordſhip went into the pulpit in the 'Church, where was a conſiderable congregation, and charged the former with 'ſedition and rebellion out of their books, 'but would hear no reply. When the 'day came to diſpute with the *Quakers*, 'they ſummoned their friends; and when 'the Biſhop railed, they paid him in his 'own coin, and followed him to his

'very

'very houſe, with repeated cries, the 'Hireling fleeth.

MR. *Vavaſor Powell*, was in theſe times greatly harraſſed by his perſecutors. The *High Sheriff* of the county of *Montgomery*, for his refuſing to give over preaching, according to his prohibition, had wrote to Secretary *Morrice*, and accuſed him of *Sedition*, *Rebellion* and *Treaſon*. And before he received a return, ſo willing was he to be doing, that he directed a warrant to apprehend him, and ſo he became a *Priſoner*, and continued ſuch ſeveral months; all ordinary ways of relief by law allowed in ſuch caſes, being wholly obſtructed. Vavaſor Powell *impriſoned in* Wales.

WHEN the Seſſions came on, after much importunity, Mr. *Powell* was called, but inſtead of being releaſed, or having juſt cauſe rendered why he ſhould be continued in priſon, the oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were tendered to him; and upon his refuſal of taking thoſe oaths, ſo arbitrarily impoſed, he was again committed to *Priſon*, the Judge refuſing to take any bail for him till the next Seſſions.

BUT he had not long continued there, when upon a falſe information, Mr. *Wickham*, a meſſenger of the Council, was ſent down with a *warrant* to bring him before the King and Council. From whence *Is brought before the King and Council, and ſent to the* Fleet-Priſon.

whence he was ſent to the *Fleet-Priſon*; where he was detained almoſt two years; and for twelve months in ſo cloſe a confinement, that he was not ſuffered to go out of his chamber. Which, together with the offenſive ſmell of a dunghill under his window, did ſo much impair his health, that he never after perfectly recovered it.

Is remov'd to South-Sea Caſtle.

FROM the *Fleet* in 1662, he was ſuddenly removed to *South-Sea Caſtle* near *Portſmouth*, where he continued about five years; and upon the removal of Chancellor *Hide*, he and many others ſued for an *Habeas Corpus*, and ſo at length he obtained his liberty.

THIS ſcarcely laſted ten months. For one *George Jones*, the Parſon of *Merthur* in *Glamorganſhire*, a man noted for whoredom, drunkenneſs, cheating, and putting away his wife, made complaint, and falſe information againſt him, before two deputy *Lieutenants*; and ſwore, that Mr. *Powell*, and the congregation to which he preached, were met near two miles from *Cardiff*, and many of them armed; both which were falſe. Yet upon this information, or depoſition, a *warrant* was granted againſt him; and he was thereupon apprehended and impriſoned again at *Cardiff*; and at a general meeting of the deputy *Lieutenants* at *Cowbridge*, on the 17th of *October*, he was exa-

Is impriſon'd again in Wales.

examined before them, by an *Officer* of the *Biſhop*'s *Court*; the contents of which you may find in his *Life*, too long to be inſerted here.

UPON the eighth of *November*, 1668, and the thirteenth of *January* following, he was convened before the *Juſtices*, and the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* tendered to him. Much *pro* and *con*, as may be ſeen in his *Life*, was ſpent upon this ſubject. In concluſion, Mr. *Powell* asked, whether they would be pleaſed to take ſufficient bail till the next Seſſions? ‘ * The *Juſtices* were ſilent. But the *Jaylor* made anſwer publickly, No. Says ‘ Mr. *Powell*, Sir, are you one of the ‘ *Judges* of the Court, that your No ‘ ſhould ſtand? But the Juſtices did not ‘ give him the leaſt check for his ſawcineſs. Then *P.* ſaid further; Gentlemen, I have been near eight years a ‘ *Priſoner*, and in thirteen *Priſons*, and ‘ yet in all theſe, I have not received ‘ ſo much incivility as from this man; ‘ Mr. *Jaylor*; and therefore I deſire liberty to take a private chamber in the ‘ town, giving ſecurity for my true impriſonment. But to this the *Juſtices* ‘ returned no anſwer; but commanded ‘ the *Jaylor* to take the *Priſoner* away, ‘ which was done accordingly, and re-

* Powell's Life, *p.* 187, *&c.*

'turned to Priſon again. About three 'months after this, a friend in *London* got 'a *Habeas Corpus*, to remove him to the '*Common Pleas* bar; which the *Sheriff* 'refuſed to obey. Then came an *Alias*, 'under penalty of 100 *l.* upon which 'they ſent him up; but would not let 'him know of his journey before hand. 'But about eight o'clock one night, the '*Under-Sheriff* came to give him notice 'to be gone in half an hour, and ſo 'took him with a guard, eight miles 'that night, being the ſixteenth of the
Is remov'd to the Common Pleas *bar* Weſtminſter.
'eighth month 1669; and brought him 'to *Weſtminſter* to the *Common Pleas* bar 'the twenty ſecond of the ſame; where, 'upon the examination of the return, it 'was found illegal. But *S. M.* their 'Council, pleaded he had not time to 'view it, and deſired time till next day, 'which the Judges granted.

'THEREUPON Mr. *P.* moved the 'Court to take bail then, and diſcharge 'his guard; which had been granted, 'but that *S. M.* ſaid, No, my Lord, then 'he will go preach. To which the *Priſoner* replied, that it was as lawful for 'him to preach, as for him to talk 'there at the bar.

'THE next day he was brought in- 'to the Court again; and the return 'was again argued, the *Priſoner* having 'the liberty to open his caſe himſelf.

'And

'And tho' the return was by all the 'Judges judged falſe and and illegal; 'yet was Mr. *Powell* committed to the 'Fleet Priſon by the Court; where he 'remained a Priſoner from the twenty-'fourth of the third month, 1669, 'till 'he was diſcharged by death, the twenty-'ſeventh of the eight month, 1670.

A diſputation between the Baptiſts and Quakers.

IT was about this time, that ſome bickerings happened between ſome of the *Baptiſts*, and ſome of the people called *Quakers*, in or about *High Wicomb* in *Buckinghamſhire*; occaſioned by ſomething a *Baptiſt* preacher had ſaid from the pulpit, againſt the *Quakers* doctrines, but eſpecially ſomething that *William Penn* had written. It came at length to this iſſue, that a publick diſpute was to be holden at *Wicomb*, between *Jer. Ives*, who eſpouſed his brother's Cauſe, and *William Penn*.

Ives argued againſt *the light within*, and *univerſal grace conferred by God on all men*. At laſt, after a long diſputation, when neither ſide could agree with the other, *Ives* ſtept down and departed, with a purpoſe to have broken up the Aſſembly: But the *Quakers* ſtaid and harangued the people. Which Mr. *Ives* underſtanding, came in again, and expreſſed his diſlike at the proceedure; as well he might be diſpleaſed at the detaining

taining of the people in order to prejudice them to their ſide.

HOWEVER the *Quakers* remaining thus maſters of the field of battle, triumphed; and *Thomas Ellwood* ſent a brief account of their victory to his friend *Iſaac Pennington* (by his Son and Servant who returned home, tho' it was late that evening) in the following diſtich: *

'*Prævaluit veritas*; *inimici terga dedêre*:
'*Nos ſumus in tuto*; *laus tribuenda Deo.*

Which he thus engliſhes:

'Truth hath prevail'd, the enemies did
' fly; (high.
'We are in ſafety; praiſe to God on

BUT he had no ſuch occaſion to triumph at *Jeremy Ives*'s quitting the diſputation, ſince it was time by what I can find, to give it over; for it was very late in the evening before Eſq; *Pennington*'s ſon and ſervant ſet out homewards.

'BUT both they [*Baptiſts*] and we '(*Quakers*) ſaith *Ellwood*, had quickly 'other work found us: It ſoon became 'a ſtormy time; the clouds had been 'long gathering, and threatened a tem-'peſt; the parliament had ſat ſome-'time before, and hatched that unaccoun-

* Ellwood's Life, *p.* 273.

'table

'table law, which was called the *con-*
'*venticle Act*: If that may be allowed
'to be called a law, by whomſoever
'made, which was ſo directly contrary
'to the fundamental laws of *England*,
'to common juſtice, equity and right
'reaſon, as this manifeſtly was. For,

'1. IT brake down, and overrun the
'bounds and banks, antiently ſet for the
'defence and ſecurity of *Engliſhmen*'s
'lives, liberties and properties, *viz. Trial*
'*by Juries*: Inſtead thereof, directing
'and authorizing Juſtices of the Peace,
'and that too, privately, out of *Seſſions*,
'to convict, fine, and by their warrants
'diſtrein upon offenders againſt it, di-
'rectly contrary to the *great charter*.

'2. BY that Act, the *Informers*, who
'ſwear for their own advantage, as be-
'ing thereby entitled to a third part
'of the fines, were many times conceal-
'ed, driving on an underhand private
'trade; ſo that men might be, and
'often were, convicted and fined without
'having any notice or knowledge of it,
''till the Officers came and took away
'their goods; nor even then could they
'tell by whoſe evidence they were con-
'victed: Than which, what could be
'more oppoſite to common juſtice?
'which requires, that every man ſhould
'be openly charged, and have his ac-
'cuſer face to face; that he might both

'anſwer

'anſwer for himſelf, before he be con-
'victed, and object to the validity of the
'evidence given againſt him.

'3. By that Act, the innocent were
'puniſhed for the offences of the guilty.
'If the wife or child was convicted of
'having been at one of thoſe aſſemblies,
'which by that Act was adjudged un-
'lawful, the fine was levied on the
'goods of the husband or father of ſuch
'wife or child; though he was neither
'preſent at ſuch an aſſembly, nor was
'of the ſame religious perſuaſion that
'they were of; but perhaps an enemy
'to it.

'4. It was left to the arbitrary plea-
'ſure of the Juſtices, to lay half the fine for
'the houſe or ground where ſuch aſſembly
'was holden, and half the fine for a
'pretended unknown preacher; and the
'whole fines of ſuch, and ſo many of
'the meeters as they ſhould account
'poor, upon any other or others of the
'people who were preſent at the ſame
'meeting, not exceeding a certain limi-
'ted ſum, without any regard to equity
'or reaſon; and, yet this, ſuch blind-
'neſs doth the ſpirit of perſecution bring
'on men, otherwiſe ſharp-ſighted enough,
'that this unlawful, unjuſt, unequal, un-
'reaſonable, and unrighteous law took
'place in almoſt all places, and was vi-
'gorouſly

'gorouſly proſecuted againſt the meet-
'ings of *Diſſenters* in general.'

WHEN the Biſhops had obtained this law, they and ſome others of the Clergy of all ranks, and ſome others too over-officious perſons, encouraged all they could *Informers*, and preferred to eccleſiaſtical offices ſuch as they thought would be moſt obſequious and active this way. Yet it took not alike every where; but ſome were forwarder in the work than others, according as the *Agents* employ'd therein had been prediſpoſed thereto.

FOR in ſome parts of the nation, ſays *Ellwood*, care had been timely taken by ſome, not of the loweſt rank, to chuſe out ſome particular perſons, men of ſharp wit, cloſe countenances, pliant tempers, and deep diſſimulation, and ſend them forth among the *Sectaries*, ſo called, with inſtructions to thruſt themſelves into all ſocieties, conform to all, or any ſort of religious profeſſions —In a word, to be all things to all, not that they might win ſome, but that they might, if poſſible, ruin all, at leaſt many. The drift of this deſign was, that by this means, they who employ'd them, might get a full account of the number of diſſenting meetings in each county, when they were kept, what number of perſons frequented them, and of what ranks, who were *P.* 276.

were perſons of eſtates, and where they lived, that they might know where afterwards to caſt their nets with advantage. He who was ſent on this errand in the county of *Bucks*, adventured to thruſt himſelf on a *Quaker*, as one of their number. But being ſuſpected by him, and thereon diſmiſſed unentertained, he betook himſelf to an inn, and there getting a little diſordered in liquor, he diſcovered what he was, and that he was ſent forth by Dr. *Mew*, then Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, on the deſign before related, and under the protection of Juſtice *Morton*; a warrant under whoſe hand and ſeal he there produced.

SENSIBLE of his error too late, when ſleep had reſtored him to ſome degree of ſenſe, and vexed at the ſucceſsleſſneſs of his attempt on the *Quakers*, he left that place, and croſſing the country, caſt himſelf among the *Baptiſts*, at a meeting they held in a private place, of which the over eaſy credulity of ſome who went among them (when he had craftily inſinuated himſelf into their favour) gave him notice. The entertainment he met amongſt them deſerved a better return than he made them; for having ſmoothly wrought himſelf into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn ſome of them into an unwary freedom, and openneſs of converſation with him,

upon

upon the unpleaſing ſubject of the ſeverity of the times, he moſt villanouſly impeached one of them whoſe name was —— *Headach*, a man well reputed amongſt his neighbours, of having ſpoken *treaſonable words*, and thereby brought the man in danger of loſing both his eſtate and life, had not a ſeaſonable diſcovery of his abominable practices elſewhere (imprinting terrour, the effect of guilt, upon his mind) cauſed him to fly both out of the *Court* and *Country*, at the very inſtant of time, when the honeſt man ſtood at the bar, to be arraigned upon his falſe accuſation: For he on the laying this falſe charge on the *Baptiſts*, was forced to lay off his *vizor*. And now the better to act, he reſolved to get a partner, which he ſoon after did, one who was not long before releaſed out of *Ailsbury* goal, where he had been put for cow-ſtealing.

THE country-people not knowing their names, called the one, the *Trepan*, the other the *Informer*; tho' afterwards they came to know, that the one was named *John Poulter*, a butcher of *Salisbury*'s ſon, an egregiouſly wicked fellow; and that the *Informer* was called *Lacy* of *Risborough*.

THESE two reſolved to make the firſt onſet on a *Quakers* meeting, in the pariſh of *St. Giles Chalfont*, in the county

ty of *Bucks:* But wanting a place to lurk in, they were obliged to apply to Parſon *Philips.* Very ready, able, and willing to aſſiſt them, he recommended them to one *Anne Dell*, once his pariſhioner, but ſince removed to a farm called *Whites*, in the pariſh of *Beaconſfield*; who readily received them, and what ſhe had was at their command. She had two ſons; the youngeſt of them *John Dell*, hoping to enrich himſelf with the ſpoil of their honeſt neighbours, liſted himſelf with his mother's new gueſts, as their guide, who were too much ſtrangers to know the names of any perſons they were to inform againſt.

ON *July* twenty fourth they came to the *Quakers* meeting; but *Poulter* did not ſtay in the country long after; for he was diſcovered to have *chriſtened a Cat*, as the term is, by the name of *Catherine Catherina*, in deriſion of the *Queen*, and of felonioufly taking certain goods from one of *Brainford*, whom alſo he had cheated of money. Theſe things forced him to leave the country. And thus *Headach* was preſerved, and the *Quakers* delivered at that time.

THO' it pleaſed God to put a ſtop, in a great meaſure, to the perſecution in this county, yet it was carried on with very great ſeverity and rigour in other parts both of the city and country: The worſt

of

of men, for the moſt part, being ſet up for *Informers*, the worſt of Magiſtrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worſt of Prieſts, who firſt began to blow the fire, now ſeeing how it ſpread, clapping their hands and hallooing them on to this evil work.

THE people thus ſet on by the encouragement of Magiſtrates and wicked Prieſts, their enmity roſe to ſuch a pitch againſt the *Baptiſts*, that they denied the benefit of the common burying places. Yea, ſo inhuman, ſays Mr. *Grantham*, hath been the uſage of ſome, that they have been taken out of their graves, drawn upon a ſledge to their own gates, and there left unburied. 'Thus, ſays he, did the 'inhabitants of *Croft* in the county of '*Lincoln*, deal by one *Robert Shalder*, a 'baptized believer, in the year 1666, to 'the infamy of the vile doers of that cruel 'act; whilſt this epitaph lives, to keep 'in memory their cruel action:

Chriſtianiſmus Primitivus, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 10.

'Sleep, pious *Shalder*, ſleep in thy
'ſequeſtred grave,
'Chriſt's faith thou well didſt keep,
'maugre the fierceſt wave
'Which Satan's ſtorms could raiſe againſt
'thy faith, and now
'In vain he findeth ways, his malice
'ſtill to ſhew.

'Thy

'Thy Saviour had no grave, but what
'a friend did lend;
'Enough, if the ſervant have like fa-
'vour at the end.
'And now thy faith divine, I'll pin
'upon thy herſe,
'It bright, tho' brief doth ſhine; *Heb.*
'vi. 1, 2, verſe.

Robert Shalder *taken out of the grave.*

THIS Mr. *Shalder* had ſuffered much by impriſonment for his zeal towards God, and dying ſoon after his releaſe from priſon, was interred in the common burying-ground amongſt his anceſtors. The ſame day that he was buried, certain of the inhabitants of *Croft* in the county of *Lincoln*, opened his grave, took him from thence, and dragged him upon a ſledge to his own gates, and left him there; upon which ſome verſes were written, and placed upon the grave, entitled, *The Dead Man's Complaint*, deſigned to check the envy of the Spiritual Court, who thus diſgraced the dead. Part of which ran as follows:

Your ſad preſenting men alive and dead,
What text will warrant, where can it be
read?
That *Chriſt* his *Church*, did ever thus pro-
ceed
'Gainſt any man. Oh! then behold your
dead.

Whilſt

Whilſt you pretend to chriſtianity,
Shew that you have no true humanity:
Let *Croft* beware, if ſhe behave her thus,
Her actions prove not ſadly ominous;
Of ſome impending evils (at the leaſt
Such as my corps being us'd worſe than a beaſt:)
On them or theirs; for as the Lord is juſt,
He'll plead his ſervants cauſe, tho' in the duſt.
They lie without regard from men, yet he
Accounts they touch the apple of his eye;
That toucheth his, nor ſhall it long time be,
E're I your face before his face ſhall ſee,
And there implead you at his awful bar,
For that which you have done. Oh! then prepare,
For death tends on you, as he did on me,
And you muſt to the ſame mortality.

THE chief actors in this inhumanity, ſo prodigiouſly rude and unnatural, did not long ſurvive it. For one of them died ſuddenly, and the other languiſhed for ſome time; being greatly terrified with the remembrance of what he had done to the dead.

IT was about this time that Mr. *Robert Wright* conformed to the Church of *England*. He had been a *Baptiſt* preacher, but was excluded for his irregular life and converſation. He continued in his evil courſe of life ſome years, and having

R. Wright *conforms to the eſtabliſhed Church.*

ing ſpent his eſtate, in the end made application to the then Biſhop of *Lincoln* for ſome benefice, promiſing to renounce his principles of baptiſm, and preach againſt the *Baptiſts*. The Biſhop accepted his offer, and he was accordingly admitted into their miniſtry, and preached up the Baptiſm of infants in oppoſition to that of believers. This did not a little affect the generality of the Church people, who from the impetuous diſcourſes and daring pretences of this ſuppos'd champion, expected that moſt, if not all the miniſters of the baptized churches would be eaſily overcome. The *Baptiſts* in order to vindicate themſelves, did in the open Aſſize time, draw, and poſt up four papers, containing a challenge or proteſtation againſt the ſaid Mr. *Wright*, as follows:

Manuſcript *penes me.*

'*To the citizens and inhabitants of the*
'*city and county of* Lincoln, *ſalu-*
'*tation.*

'FORASMUCH as you have heard,
'that one *Robert Wright*, once a
'member of the churches reproachfully
'call'd *Anabaptiſts*, hath lately recanted
'his principles; in token whereof he
'hath preached publickly in the city of
'*Lincoln*, by allowance of the Biſhop or
'Clergy of the ſame, to the great re-
'proach

'proach of the truth, touching the bap-
'tiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of
'ſins: Know therefore, that if the ſaid
'*Robert Wright* will accept of a friendly
'conference in the place where he preach-
'ed, and ſhall give convenient and pub-
'lick notice of the ſame, he ſhall find
'ſome, if God permit, to maintain the
'doctrine and baptiſm of repentance to
'be from heaven, and the ſprinkling
'and croſſing of Infants to be man's tra-
'dition.

'*The 11th day of the 1ſt month (Vulg.)*
'March, 1670.

'Written by *Tho. Grantham.*
'Poſted by *Wm. Pann.*

Two of theſe papers which were ſet above the hill were taken down in the morning, and, as was ſuppoſed, carried to the Biſhop and the Judge; the other two below the hill, were read by many, and in the afternoon taken down by the Clergy, who threatened that they who wrote them ſhould anſwer for it before the council-table. However, nothing more was done, but the drawing up an angry ill-natured paper, which was ſent to the *Baptiſts* by Mr. *William Silverton*, the Biſhop's Chaplain, dated from *Scroaby*, *Aug.* 6. 1669: By which it appeared, how much he was chafed at the *Baptiſts*

proceedings; nor was the Biſhop himſelf a little moved upon the ſame account, as was then well known. Mr. *Grantham*, to check the confidence of Mr. *Silverton*, drew up ſome counter poſitions and concluded his anſwer thus:

'FINALLY, Whereas Mr. *Silverton* 'ſaith, he will defend his propoſitions; it is 'hereby certified, that if he will either 'publiſh any thing upon the laſt two 'propoſals, or diſpute of them peaceably in a free audience, ſome of thoſe 'whom he in the height of his wit 'ſtiles, *erroneous antick Baptiſts*, are re'ſolved in the ſtrength of Chriſt, to 'hear and try that which he ſhall de'clare, time and place being convenient.

'*Thomas Grantham.*

THIS paper was delivered to Mr. *Silverton* by *William Pann*; but Mr. *Silverton* neither thought fit to enter into the controverſy by diſputation, nor to make any reply by writing, and ſo his great boaſting ended in a ſhameful ſilence.

Perſecutions in Suſſex.

THIS year was publiſhed a *Narrative of the late proceedings of ſome Juſtices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act againſt Conventicles; againſt ſeveral peaceable people in and about the town of*

of Lewes *in* Suſſex, *only for their being quietly met to worſhip God: Together with a brief account of the like proceedings againſt ſome at* Brighthelmſtone, *and others at* Chillington *in the ſame county.*

THE Author of this Narrative begins with a ſhort epiſtle thus:

READER,

'THOU art here preſented with an 'account of ſome proceedings, 'pretended to be grounded upon the late 'Act againſt *Conventicles*. Of the Act 'itſelf I ſay nothing at all; nor do I 'call theſe proceedings pretended to be 'grounded thereon, either arbitrary or 'illegal. Read, and be judge thyſelf: 'Only be ſure of this; that thou haſt 'a *faithful narrative*. What you find 'therein, relating to the conviction of 'theſe perſons, was reported by ſome '*Officers* then preſent, or dropt from the '*Informers* themſelves: And the witneſs 'of an enemy (we uſe to ſay) is a dou-'ble teſtimony.

'THAT, of the unreaſonableneſs of the 'diſtreſs, *&c.* will (if occaſion require) 'be atteſted by many, who were both 'eye and ear witneſſes; *for theſe things 'were not done in a corner.* Many ma-'terial circumſtances are herein, for bre-'vity ſake, omitted; none but what are

'upon due examination found true in-
'ſerted. The deſign of this *Narrative*
'is not to imbitter the ſpirits of any a-
'gainſt *lawful ſuperiors*. And I dare be
'ſo charitable as to judge, that ſuch a
'deſign would be as contrary to theſe
'*ſufferers* themſelves, being men that are
'peaceable, and faithful in the land. In
'matters of the kingdom, malice itſelf
'can find nothing wherewith to accuſe
'them; only in this matter of their God.
'And when they ſuffered thus the ſpoil-
'ing of their goods, they endured it with
'patience and joyfulneſs. But my end
'in this relation, is for the general in-
'formation of all; that thoſe who are
'fellow ſufferers with them in this cauſe,
'may not think ſtrange of theſe fiery
'trials; knowing that the ſame are
'accompliſhed in their brethren that are
'in the world; who are with them
'filling up that which is behind of the
'ſufferings of *Chriſt*. Beſides, hereby
'theſe harſh proceedings againſt a *peacea-*
'*ble people*, may come to the ear of ſome
'in authority, who may, out of pity
'to the diſtreſſed, and juſtice to their
'righteous cauſe, redreſs theſe grievances.
'And who knows, but that, (as *Morde-*
'*cai* ſaid of *Eſther*) ſome of them are
'come to theſe places of truſt for ſuch a
'time as this? Wiſhing (whoever thou art
'that readeſt theſe lines) that thou mayeſt

'never

'never meet with the like ſeverity from 'any, that theſe have done from ſome; 'I refer thee to the *Narrative* itſelf, 'which immediately enſueth:

'ON the twenty-ninth of *May*, 1670. 'being the Lord's-day, ſays the *Author*, '[whom I take to be Mr. *Jerem. Ives*] 'ſome chriſtians in and about *Lewes*, 'in the county of *Suſſex*, (to the num- 'ber of 500, ſay their adverſaries) were 'met together to hear the word of God, 'and that they might, if poſſible, avoid 'exaſperating their enemies on one hand, 'and provide for their own ſecurity on 'the other, the meeting was appointed at 'three a-clock afternoon (by reaſon of the 'peoples being at the publick) an hour 'of the greateſt privacy. People were 'appointed to go to a houſe, where uſu- 'ally they met, within a mile of *Lewes*; 'but from thence were directed to a pri- 'vate by-lane, within a quarter of a mile 'of the houſe. This may be enough to 'take of that imputation of contempt 'of authority, ſo frequently caſt upon 'them by ſome; and that of raſhneſs 'as frequently objected by others.

THERE were two perſons, who ſeeing ſome people go that way, followed them to the place of meeting, and became *Informers*. Upon which Sir *Thomas Nutt*, a violent perſecutor, and three other Juſtices, whom he had drawn into a com- Relf *and* Goring. *Sir.* Tho. Nutt, *a violent perſecutor.*

pliance with him, convicts the *Miniſter* and above forty of the hearers, without hearing what they had to plead in their own defence.

Many fin'd for being at a meeting.

THE hearers were fined 5 *s.* a piece, and the miniſter 20 *l.* The miniſter's fine was laid upon five of the hearers; ſo that *Walter Brett* and *Thomas Barnard* were fined each 6 *l.* 5 *s.* *Richard White* 3 *l.* 15 *s.* *Thomas Ridge* 1 *l.* 10 *s.* and the reſt in ſmaller fines; the loweſt 5 *s.* Warrants were iſſued out under the hands of the Juſtices for recovery of the ſaid fines by diſtreſs and ſale of goods; and directed to the Conſtable of the hundred, the Church-wardens and Overſeers of the pariſh. And, ſays the Author of the Narrative, 'after one of the warrants, 'and beneath the hands and ſeals of the 'Juſtices, was written as a poſtcript ſome-'what to this purpoſe, *That all other 'officers whatever were required, within 'their liberties, to aſſiſt the ſaid officers in 'making the diſtreſs.*

P. 3.

Warrant granted to make diſtreſs.

'SIR *Thomas Nutt* ſends out theſe 'warrants by his Clerk; who carrying 'them to the Headborough of *Ring-'mire*, told him, that Sir *Thomas* had 'ſent him thoſe warrants, and that if 'he knew any others that had been at 'the meeting, he muſt put in their names, 'and levy 5 *s.* a piece of them. The 'Headborough telling him he was at 'church,

'church, and ſo knew not who was at 'the meeting; the other reply'd, that if he 'heard of any that were there he ſhould 'put them in.

'THE conſtable declared to one of 'the Juſtices, that he would rather for-'feit his 5 *l.* than act. The Juſtice 'told him he was only to go with 'them, and ſee the peace kept; it was 'the others that were to diſtrain: Which 'he did accordingly, but would not med-'dle in the diſtreſs.

ON the firſt of *June* they began to make their diſtreſſes, and took from *John Prior* (who was fined 10 *s.* for himſelf and his wife) four cheeſes: He only told them, *he never ſold any thing for ſo great advantage, for this would bring him in an hundred fold.* Within a few days after, he was by warrant brought before Sir *Thomas*, for bidding *Goring* the informer, repent of being ſuch a *Judas*, and warning him of the judgment to come. But Sir *Thomas* only obliged him to pay 2 *s.* for the warrant. On the ſame day they made diſtreſs upon *Thomas Ridge*, being fined 30 *s.* and took as many goods from his ſhop as amounted to 50 *s.* He peaceably ſubmitted, only aſſuring them, *he parted as willingly with them as with any goods he ever ſold.* They would have depoſited their ſpoil at the ſign of the *Cats* in the *Cliff*,

P. 4.

Diſtreſs made on J Prior.

And on T. Ridge.

Cliff, but the maſter of the houſe, tho' a churchman, ſaid he would let no ſuch goods come within his doors; which made them take up quarters in another place.

On Rich. White*and* ON the ſeventeenth of *June*, at the town of *Lewes*, they diſtrained from *Rich. White* as many braſs kettles, with a ſtill, which were worth 10 *l.* 13 *s.* tho' his fine was but 3 *l.* 15 *s.* From *Richard Thomas*, a butcher, they took his weights for 5 *s.* From *Edward Henly*, a ſhoemaker, they took five pair of ſhoes; his fine was 5 *s.* From *Samuel Cruttenden*, a haberdaſher, they took three hats, worth 15 *s.* for 5 *s.* From *Thomas Elphick*, a ſhoemaker, three pair of ſhoes, worth 9 *s.* for 5 *s.* From *Richard Bennet*, a taylor, fined 10 *s.* they plunder'd his kitchen; taking goods of ſeveral ſorts. From *Edward Whiskets*, a victualler, fined 5 *s.* they took goods to a conſiderable value. From *Nicholas Grisbrooks*, a blackſmith, they took, amongſt other things, part of a flitch of bacon.

Richard Thomas, Edward Henly, Samuel Cruttenden, Thomas Elphick, Richard Bennet, Edward Whiskets, N. Grisbrooks,

J. Tabret, *June* the twentieth, *John Tabret* of the *Cliff*, fined 55 *s.* they took from him a cow. She not liking her new maſters, at night returned home, but they ſoon fetch'd her back again.

William Humphry, *June* the twenty firſt, they viſit *Lewes* again, and took from *William Humphry*, a barber, a looking-glaſs of a conſiderable value, with other things belonging to his

his employment. Entering the houſe of *Benjamin Wood*, a maſon, they took the ſheets from the bed, and four of the good woman's new ſhifts, but ſhe being unwilling to part with them, redeemed them by paying the 5 *s.* for which they diſtrained. They plundered the ſhop of *John Knapp*, a barber, fined 5 *s.* He deſired them, amongſt the reſt, to take Mr. *Dodd*'s ſayings hanging by; but, ſays the *Author*, them they refuſe, knowing, belike, that they propheſied no good to them. From *Henry Owden*'s, a carpenter, fined 5 *s.* they took a good musket and a jack, worth 10 *s.* From *Thomas Tourle*, a butcher, fined 5 *s.* they took his horſe. And from *Richard Mantle* they took another, for the like fine. They took from *Walter Brett*, a grocer, fined 6 *l.* 5 *s.* two barrels of ſugar, which coſt him above 15 *l.*

Benjamin Wood,
J. Knapp,
Henry Owden,
T. Tourle,
R. Mantle,
Walter Brett.

'Two days after this, ſays the *Author*, 'being the twenty third of *June*, theſe 'mauling officers rally their forces, con- 'ſiſting of *Relph* the *informer*, a brother 'of *Goring*'s the *informer*, and another, 'who encouraged by Sir *Thomas Nutt*, 'newly entered on that employment. 'To which the Conſtable and Head- 'borough of that hundred, within which 'Northeaſe farm in the pariſh of *Rad- 'mill* lies, being added, they intend 'to make a diſtreſs there for 11 *l.* 10 *s.*

P. 7, 8, &c.

'being

' being the fines impoſed on *Thomas* and
' *Richard Barnard* of *Lewes*. The diſ-
' treſſors pretended, that theſe brothers
' were with their mother partners in the
' ſtock, and the goods by partnerſhip
' diſtrainable. It was offered to be made
' appear, that *Thomas*, upon whom 6 *l.* 5 *s.*
' of the fine was laid, had no propriety
' in the ſtock for above three years paſt.
' But it ſeems they think it a good rea-
' ſon, that his mother (though not at
' the meeting) ſhould pay for him, as
' that he ſhould pay for others. Beſides,
' when theſe things were queſtioned to
' Sir *Thomas Nutt*, he bid them diſtrain
' however: For, ſaid he, come the
' worſt, they can but appeal to us. The
' diſtreſſors comfort themſelves alſo with
' this, that how illegally ſoever they act,
' perſons can but appeal to the ſeſſions,
' and they have four of the Juſtices
' hands to their warrant already. Sir
' *Thomas* told one whilſt this diſtreſs was
' levying, that if he pleaſed he would
' levy their fines upon him, and how
' would he help himſelf, though the par-
' ty were not at the meeting.

' BEFORE theſe blades could make up
' their full company, the oxen, which
' *Buckland* had eſpecially threatned, were
' by the ſervants belonging to the farm
' locked up. When the Conſtable came,
' *Buckland* commands him to break the
' door.

'door. The Conſtable demanded of him
'a warrant to empower him to do it.
'Many ſore ſtrains *Buckland* himſelf gave
'the door, but finding himſelf prevented
'here, in a fume he ſteers his courſe ano-
'ther way, threatning that he would take
'the whole herd of about twenty cows;
'upon which the dairy-maid is ſaid to tell
'him, *that then ſhe believed they would*
'*have ſtore of ſillibubs, having gotten ſo*
'*much ſugar from Mr.* Brett. The bars
'where the cows were, being lockt, the
'Conſtable durſt not break them open,
'at leaſt not without a warrant. *Buck-*
'*land* took his old warrant out of his
'pocket, and purpoſely miſreading it,
'would have made the Conſtable believe,
'that he was included in the warrant;
'and producing the act (at the rate he
'read it) made as if that clauſe, empow-
'ering the breaking open of a houſe
'in order to the taking of a meeting,
'had empowered him to break open
'upon a diſtreſs. Moreover *Buckland* of-
'fered him his word, if not his bond,
'to bear him harmleſs; but his word and
'bond were both of like value in the Con-
'ſtable's account; who willing to have
'better ſecurity for what he did, imme-
'diately went to the Juſtices concerned
'in the conviction, deſiring a ſpecial war-
'rant to break open if he muſt do it.
'Two of them civilly told him they
'ſhould

'ſhould give out no other warrant. 'Sir *Thomas Nutt* could ſay more than 'both the others; he tells him, that the 'Conſtables at *Lewes* had broke open 'doors, and ſo might he as well: A 'further warrant he denied him, but 'threatned immediately to fine him if he 'did not aſſiſt them in the diſtreſs.

'THEY were from eight in the morn-'ing till nigh two in the afternoon, be-'fore they made their diſtreſs.

'*Buckland* ſent to *Lewes*, being about 'two miles, to inform Sir *Thomas Nutt*, 'that there was ſuch a company there, 'that he dare hardly to do his office. 'Upon which Sir *Thomas* was heard to ſay, 'that he would make a riot of it, and 'that it ſhould coſt the two *Barnards* an '100 *l.* a man. It ſeems there were pre-'ſent moſt of the ſervants, few elſe; and 'theſe only to be witneſſes of what was 'done; the beſt armed amongſt them 'had only an ox-goad, which was he 'that drove the oxen. It ſeems *Buck-'land* eſteemed him a ſecond *Shamgar*, &c.

Diſtreſs on Tho. *and* Richard Barnard.

'THE Conſtable returns in great per-'plexity; if he breaks the door he lays 'himſelf open to an action from the own-'ers; if he do not, Sir *Thomas* threatens 'that he ſhall be fined; who in ſuch caſes 'uſeth not to be worſe then his word. 'The Conſtable choſe rather, though im-'portunately deſired by *Buckland* to break

'open

'open the bars for cows, than the barn 'for oxen. They took ſix cows, three 'of which, indifferently ſold, would more 'than countervail their fines. One of 'the parties diſtrained told them, he won-'dred that men skilled in the worth of 'cattle, ſhould make ſuch an unreaſon-'able diſtreſs. *Buckland* replied, but we 'take one for your peremptorineſs, and 'another for our pains. Some of their 'own gang report, that the diſtrainers 'will get above 10 *l.* apeice by the bar-'gain —— There was ſeverally by both 'the perſons diſtrained demands made of 'a copy of the warrant, which the other 'refuſed to give them. They then de-'manded the ſight of it, which was 'likewiſe denied.

'THE ſix kine aforeſaid, ſays the '*Author*, were driven to *Buckland*'s, who 'had ſome land he hired, that wanted 'ſtock. The next Saturday ſevennight, 'being the ſecond of *July*, theſe with 'the cow taken from *John Tabret*, were 'brought to *Lewes* market, and placed 'juſt before Sir *Thomas Nutt*'s door. It 'being quickly known upon what account 'they were taken, they had many ſpecta-'tors, but few chapmen; probably they 'had lain in their hands, but that there 'being at Sir *Thomas Nutt*'s, an own bro-'ther of his, he becomes the purchaſer, 'buyeth the ſeven cows, for what is not cer-

'tainly

'tainly known, for 14 *l.* 5 *s.* ſay they 'that report the higheſt, though they 'were not ill worth 27 *l.* Having no 'ground of his own, he firſt ſends them, 'and then ſelleth them to one that is 'tenant to Sir *Thomas*.

'IT was ſtranged by ſome, why Sir 'Thomas ſhould, beyond others, beſtir 'himſelf to procure them diſtrained. But 'now that riddle may be eaſily read; 'his brother is to have the firſt purchaſe 'of them, and his tenant the ſecond. 'The ſame day, ſale was cry'd in the 'market, to be held at the *Star* in *Lewes*, 'the *Monday*, *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* fol-'lowing, for the reſt of the goods, where 'they ſold cheap, I cannot ſay good pen-'nyworths.

'THE ſame day with that at *Lewes*, 'there was a meeting at the town of '*Brighthelmſtone*, ſome ſix miles off. To 'take away all occaſion of offence, they 'did leſſen their number, and alter their 'place of meeting; but were beſet by 'Captain *Tetterſol*, Conſtable of the place, 'and his gang: Finding the door ſhut, 'that they could not enter, they ſurroun-'ded the houſe, that none of the meeters 'might come out. Thus they kept them 'priſoners till they ſent to *Lewes*, to Sir '*Thomas Nutt* for a warrant to break open 'the door. When the warrant came, en-'trance was given; they find no miniſter,

'nor

'nor were the people, when they came 'in, about any religious exercise. They 'pretended they had heard the sound of 'a voice, which they please to say is 'preaching. These men going to Sir *Thomas Nutt*, and making some deposition 'upon oath, a warrant is issued out to 'bring the meeters before him and some 'other Justices.

'WHEN they came, the business was 'to pump something by way of confession out of them; in which, if they 'would be ingenuous, a promise is made 'that they should set their own fines; 'but these, keeping their own counsel, 'the Justices not being able to convict 'them by the parties confession, are 'forced to do it, by that notorious evi-'dence before specified. They fine *Wil-* W. Beard
'*liam Beard*, master of the house, where *fined* 20 l. *and di-*
'the meeting was, 20 *l.* *Tetterſol* breaks *stress made*
'open locks to come at malt: Being *for it.*
'gotten to the heap, filleth, without all 'measure, sixty of five bushel sacks, 'which he hath sold to one of his gang 'for 12 *s. per* quarter. One that went 'out of the house where the meeting was, 'just as the disturbers were coming to it, 'is notwithstanding convicted.

'AT *Chillington*, three miles from Nicholas
'*Lewes*, one *Nicholas Martin* was upon Martin
'slight evidence convicted by Sir *Thomas* *fined* 20 l.
'*Nutt*, for having a meeting at his house; *and di-*
stress made
for it.

'fined 20 *l.* for which they drain his 'land, and took from him ſix cows, two 'young bullocks and a horſe, being all 'the ſtock he had. Theſe were return-'ed to him again upon his entring an 'appeal; but being ſtrangely caſt at the 'Seſſions, he was by the court fined 60 *l.* 'which was at laſt remitted to 23 *l.* 'For non-payment whereof, he was com-'mitted to the Jaylor's hands; nor could 'he be releaſed, though one *Salisbury*, 'Vicar of the place, his grand perſecu-'tor, being convinced he had dealt inju-'riouſly with him, offered to give bond 'to pay the whole fine within a quar-'ter of a year.'

Appeals, was caſt, and fin'd 60 l

SUCH was the great rage and malice, with which in thoſe days, the perſecutions were carried on againſt the *Non-conformiſts*, by the *Juſtices* and *Clergy* throughout the kingdom, that more mercy was extended to *criminals*, than to thoſe whom they could charge with no *crimes*, either againſt the church or ſtate.

Manuſcript penes me.

IT is obſerved by one Mr. *Joſiah Diſton*, who had been often committed to priſon, and bound over to ſeveral *Aſſizes* and *Seſſions*, for having private meetings in his houſe; that he found the ſpirit and temper of the *Judges* and *Juſtices* in thoſe times to be ſuch, that when any perſon or accuſation came before them concerning *Diſſenters*, they were zealous in aggravating

vating their crimes; and many who were uſually ſilent in other caſes, were very forward ſpeakers in theſe: Whereas, in other *criminal matters* they were cool, and very willing to ſhew all the favour they could.

An account of ſome perſecutors in Oxfordſhire.

BUT to paſs by ſuch melancholly relations of barbarity, uſed upon people for no other crime but becauſe they feared God, and could not in conſcience conform to the rites and ceremonies, which they would have impoſed upon them, of which I have many inſtances now before me; I ſhall produce ſome teſtimonies of God's diſlike of ſuch proceedings, by his hand of providence ſtretched out againſt ſome of the *chief perſecutors* and *informers* againſt the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* in *Oxfordſhire*; collected by the aforeſaid Mr. *Diſton*, and ſeveral others, who had a perſonal knowledge of what I am about to relate.

Anne Clemens.

ONE *Anne Clemens*, wife of *Matthew Clemens*, a baker, a man that had an houſe and land of his own freehold, in good buſineſs, and lived plentifully: This woman was noted, at *Chipping-Norton*, for her rage and malice againſt the *Diſſenters*. She in a violent manner attacked a *Miniſter* in the pulpit, tore his cloak, and with ſome others aſſiſting her, forced him from the pulpit, and ſet up an *epiſcopal one* in his room; for which action ſhe gained the

Mr Ford.

title of Captain *Clemens*. Soon after this, her family ſunk in their eſtate; and though ſhe had ſeveral children, not one that lived thereabout was in a condition of living comfortably in the world. One of her daughters went beyond ſea; the family grew poor, the land was ſold, the houſe mortgaged for near its worth, the huſband died, and ſhe was left ſo poor, that ſhe was in a little time forced to beg alms of thoſe ſhe had hated and perſecuted; and under a grievous judgment, of having an appetite to eat as much as would ſatisfy two or three people, and ſo ſubject to breed vermin, that her daughter-in-law ſaid, that though ſhe had waſhed and oven'd her cloaths, yet ſhe could not keep her clean. In this deplorable condition ſhe lived ſome years, and then died miſerably as to this world, and it is to be feared, ſays the Relator, as to the life to come.

R. Allein. MR. *Richard Allein* was another who appeared very ſoon in diſquieting his religious neighbours; and though he had formerly been a member of a diſſenting congregation, yet all the time of the Diſſenters troubles, till near his death, he was a very active *informer* againſt them, and took all opportunities of afflicting them, till ſome very afflicting providences befel himſelf, and ſuch as were thought to be the means of ſhortning his life. His eldeſt

eldeſt *Son* was killed at *London*; and near the ſame time, his ſecond *Son* was accuſed and arraigned at *Oxford* Aſſizes, for robbing on the highway, and it was by great friends and fees, that he eſcaped with his life, but was never after heard of in theſe parts. The father never enjoyed himſelf after this, nor acted any more againſt the *Diſſenters*; but ſhortly after died a ſudden death.

MR. *Thomas Lodge*, having in this county a free eſtate of about fifty pounds *per Ann.* and twenty pounds a year left him by his father, and beſides was an officer in the county troops. This man ſet himſelf violently to perſecute the Diſſenters, and reſolved to ſuppreſs them intirely; but before he could accompliſh his deſign, and ruin them in their perſons and eſtates, he ſunk very much in his own eſtate, ſold part of it, and died greatly in debt: The remainder of his eſtate being much incumbred, was ſoon after ſold by his ſon, whoſe children are now ſo poor, that they are common beggars. T. Lodge.

Robert Werg, when he was Conſtable, was a very forward and buſy man, at informing againſt Diſſenters, watching to diſcover their meetings, and in making diſtreſs on their goods: He lived not long after he came out of office. In his ſickneſs he was heard to ſay, that he caught Robert Werg.

his death by watching one cold night, to take the Diſſenters at their meeting.

Thomas Samuel, Thomas Pannier, Thomas Houlton, William Knowlis, Richard Adcock.

Thomas Samuel, *Thomas Pannier*, *Thomas Houlton*, *William Knowlis* and *Richard Adcock*, were all perſons whom thoſe in power employ'd to watch the Diſſenters meetings, and inform againſt them, and received penſions for what they did in this wicked ſervice: But it was obſerved, that they did not proſper in their worldly affairs afterwards, and that ſhortly after every one of them died.

Lord Falkland, *Sir* Tho. Pennyſtone, *Sir* Wm. Moreton, *Sir* Tho. Roe.

THE Lord *Falkland* an *Iriſh* Peer, Lord Lieutenant of the County, Sir *Thomas Pennyſtone*, deputy Lieutenant, Sir *William Moreton*, and Sir *Thomas Roe*, were Juſtices of the Peace, and bitter perſecutors of the Diſſenters, employing their whole power to ruin them; and it is obſerved concerning them, that by ſome blaſt of Providence they came to be utterly ruin'd themſelves, their eſtates ſold, and moſt of their families became extinct, and that ſome of them were cut off by death, before they could accompliſh their threatnings of the further miſchief they deſigned.

Sir Littleton Obaldiſton.

Sir *Littleton Obaldiſton*, another Juſtice of the peace, has been ſometimes heard to rail againſt Diſſenters, it being accounted a mark of loyalty, to reproach and villify them. He did alſo join with other Juſtices in committing Diſſenters to priſon; but,

but, ſays the Relator, there is ground to hope, that he ſaw his evil afterwards; becauſe he was inſtrumental in releaſing ſeveral, and carried himſelf friendly towards them the reſidue of his life. He is dead, and his eſtate is continued to his poſterity.

—— *Howard*, Eſq; being a Juſtice of the peace, and an Officer in the county troops, at the beginning of the Diſſenters troubles, was, like *Saul*, a zealous perſecutor of them; he broke up a meeting, and committed ſeveral to priſon, out of zeal, as he then ſaid, for the church: But ſhortly after, being apprehenſive that there was a deſign to bring in Popery, he releaſed thoſe whom he had committed to priſon, and never acted againſt Diſſenters any more; but, on the contrary, expreſſed great friendſhip towards them, and was not backward to own to them, and others, that he was miſtaken in the perſons and their principles; and for his moderation to them, was by others reproached, and accounted as one of them, tho' ſtill a conſtant adherer to the eſtabliſhed worſhip. This gentleman, ſays the Relator, is the only perſon in this part of the county, that was a diſturber of the Diſſenters that is now living, this 30th of *Dec.* 1707. being now an old man, full of days, wealth and honour. Howard.

Anno. 1671. *The King designs to govern absolutely.*

THE large ſupplies of money which the parliament had given to ſupport his Majeſty's pleaſures, kept up a pretty good agreement between him and them: But now the King having aſſurance of large remittances from *France*, he reſolved to govern by the *prerogative*, and ſtand upon his own legs. And,

HAVING taken up a reſolution to become abſolute, he eaſily ſaw, ſays *Rapin*, *Hiſt.* Engl. *vol.* 2. *p.* 655.

'that the execution of it required an artful and cautious conduct, and ſuch ſecret and imperceptible methods, as would not too plainly diſcover his intentions. For he could not ſuppoſe, that becauſe he deſired to be abſolute, the people of *England* would immediately give up their liberties and privileges: It was therefore neceſſary to lead them to it inſenſibly and by degrees; and to that end he wanted a ſecret council compoſed of few perſons, in whom he might entirely confide, and whoſe intereſt it was to accompliſh this deſign. The ordinary council conſiſting of twenty one perſons, was not proper to conduct this affair. For, beſides that ſome Counſellors had a right to their places, as for inſtance, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, it was very difficult to ingage ſo many perſons of the firſt rank in ſuch a plot. To effect therefore this undertaking

'taking with the more caution, the King 'eſtabliſhed a cabinet council of five per- 'ſons only; namely, *Forms the Cabal.*

'*Clifford*,
'*Arlington*,
'*Buckingham*,
'*Aſhley*,
'*Lauderdale*.

'As the initial letters of theſe five 'names compoſe the word CABAL, 'this ſecret council was from thence 'called the *Cabal*.

'IF to theſe five members of the Ca- *Ib. p. 656.* 'bal, ſays *Rapin*, are joined, as in rea- 'ſon they ought, the King and the Duke 'of *York*, it will be found, that all the 'ſeven were for an abſolute and arbitrary 'government; and that, with regard to 'religion, four were Papiſts, namely, the 'King, the Duke, *Arlington* and *Clif-* 'ford; and three without any religion, 'or at leaſt they conſidered it only as an 'engine of ſtate. Theſe were *Bucking-* 'ham, *Aſhley*, and *Lauderdale*.

'IT would be difficult to know the *Who re-* 'tranſactions of the *Cabal*, if Father *Orleans*, *ſolve upon* 'inſtructed by King *James* II. had not *a war* 'told us, that a war with *Holland* was *with* Hol- 'there reſolved, in order to furniſh the *land.* 'King with a pretence to keep on foot 'both land and ſea-forces. For it is ma- 'nifeſt,

'nifeſt, that ſuch a deſign could be ac-
'compliſhed, but by force or fear. The
'pretence for this war was to be taken
'from the diſpute about the flag, which
'might eaſily be renewed; and from
'the general complaints of the *Engliſh*
'merchants concerning their commerce,
'of which ſo great uſe had been made
'for undertaking the former war: *But*,
'adds Father *Orleans*, *the true reaſon of*
'*making this war upon* Holland, *was the*
'*ſecret correſpondence between the repub-*
'*licans of* England *and the* Dutch; *who*
'*were inceſſantly exciting them to rebel-*
'*lion, and to ſhake off the yoke of monarchy,*
'*being ever ready to ſupport thoſe that ſhould*
'*attack it*. This ſeems, ſays *Rapin*, to
'contradict what the ſame author ad-
'vances a few lines before; namely, that
'the true ground of this war was to fur-
'niſh the King with a pretence for raiſ-
'ing an army. There is, however, no
'contradiction, for it muſt be conſidered,
'that the deſign of the King and the
'Cabal concerned two points, which went
'hand in hand, and formed properly but
'one deſign; namely, to introduce an ar-
'bitrary government, and to extirpate the
'proteſtant religion. As it could not be
'expected, that the *Engliſh* would tamely
'give up their religion and liberty with-
'out any reſiſtance, it was natural to be-
'gin with depriving them of the only aſ-

'ſiſtance

'ſiſtance they could hope for, by attacking the *Dutch*, and diſabling them to ſuccour *England*. Thoſe therefore who are called by Father *Orleans* the Republicans of *England*, were the perſons, who it was ſuppoſed, would oppoſe the King's deſigns, as well Epiſcopalians as Preſbyterians, and the Republicans properly ſo called. It is therefore clear, that the true reaſon of making war upon the *States*, was as much to put it out of their power to aſſiſt the *Engliſh*, as to have a pretence for raiſing forces, and that this was but one and the ſame reaſon.'

And an indulgence to Diſſenters.

To ſhew, that one of the branches of the project formed by the Cabal, was to make the King abſolute, and that under that branch was comprized the extirpation of the Proteſtant, or at leaſt the introduction of the Popiſh Religion; *Rapin* quotes an extract from the hiſtory of Father *Orleans*, who after ſpeaking of what had paſſed concerning the *Papiſts* and other *Nonconformiſts*, adds, 'The King who *Ib. p. 662.* was no good chriſtian in his actions, tho' a Catholick in his heart, did all that could be expected from his indolent temper, to preſerve the common liberty, that the Catholicks might partake of it. But the church of *England* prevailed, and Chancellor *Hide* was ſo warm upon this occaſion, that the King was ob-

'liged

'liged to yield rather to his importuni-
'ties than his reaſons. It was therefore
'the re-eſtabliſhment of this liberty
'of conſcience, that the Lord *Aſhley*
'believed neceſſary to the execution
'of the projected deſign: He commu-
'nicated his thoughts to his colleagues
'of the Cabal, who were of the ſame
'opinion, not only on account of the
'reaſon he alleged, which was, the gain-
'ing of the *Nonconformiſts*, who were
'juſtly feared; but alſo upon another,
'which he readily approved, namely, the
'favouring of the *Catholicks*, whom moſt
'of them loved, and the reſt eſteemed.
'*Arlington* and *Clifford* were ſecretly
'*Catholicks*, and both died in the com-
'munion of the Church. *Buckingham*
'had no occaſion to be converted, could
'he only have prevailed with himſelf as to
'libertiniſm. *Aſhley* was not averſe to the
'catholick religion, till intereſt and ma-
'lice threw him into the contrary party.
'It will eaſily be conceived, that the
'King readily conſented to it, ſince he
'was a *Catholick*, and continued ſo to
'his death, though policy cauſed him to
'pretend the contrary. As for the Duke
'of *York*, he ſupported the deſign with
'all his power. All the difficulty lay in
'the extent of this liberty; and the two
'Kings, of *France* and *England*, acting
'in concert, debated this affair in the ne-
'gotiation

'gotiation of their treaty. Several propo-
'ſals were made, ſome more, ſome leſs
'advantagious to the Catholicks. *France*
'was for the moſt moderate, ſafeſt, and
'moſt ſeaſonable methods. At laſt it was
'agreed, that *Charles* ſhould grant liberty
'of conſcience to all his ſubjects in gene-
'ral.

'IT appears from hence, ſays *Rapin*, *Anno* 1672.
'that religion was concerned in the pro-
'jects of the Cabal. But probably ſome
'were for having the progreſs of the
'popiſh religion ſubſervient to render the
'King abſolute; and others were for
'rendering the King abſolute, to favour
'the progreſs of Popery: Wherefore,
'theſe two articles were never ſeparated,
'nor indeed could be, ſince they entirely
'depended on each other. The King plain- *A declaration for liberty of conſcience.*
'ly ſhewed it, when he publiſhed his de-
'claration for liberty of conſcience; ſince
'he could not grant this liberty, without
'aſſuming a power to abrogate acts of
'parliament, or at leaſt ſuſpend the exe-
'cution thereof ſo long as he pleaſed.
'This declaration, dated the 15th of
'*March*, 1672. conſiſted of various ar-
'ticles,' of which *Rapin* has given the
ſubſtance.

'1. HIS Majeſty publiſhes it, *in vir-*
'*tue of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical*
'*matters*, which is a right inherent in his
'perſon,

'perſon, and declared to be ſo by ſeveral 'acts of parliament.

'2. HE declares his expreſs reſolution 'to be, that the church of *England* be 'preſerved and remain intire in her doc- 'trine, diſcipline and government, as 'now it ſtands eſtabliſhed by law.

'3. THAT no perſon ſhall be capable 'of holding any eccleſiaſtical benefice or 'preferment of any kind, who is not ex- 'actly conformable.

'4. THAT the execution of all penal 'laws in matters eccleſiaſtical, againſt 'whatſoever ſorts of Nonconformiſts or 'recuſants, be immediately ſuſpended.

'5. HE declares, that he will from 'time to time allow a ſufficient number 'of places, as ſhall be deſired, in all parts 'of his kingdom, for the uſe of ſuch as 'do not conform to the church of *Eng-* 'land, to meet and aſſemble in, in order 'to their publick worſhip and devotion.

'6. THAT none of his ſubjects do pre- 'ſume to meet in any place, until ſuch 'place be allowed, and the teacher of that 'congregation be approved by him.

'7. HE declares, that this indulgence, 'as to the allowance of publick places of 'worſhip, and approbation of teachers, 'ſhall extend to all ſorts of Nonconfor- 'miſts and recuſants, except the recuſants 'of the *Roman* Catholick religion, to 'whom he will no ways allow publick

'places

'places of worſhip, but only indulge 'them their ſhare in the common exemp- 'tion from the executing the penal laws, 'and the exerciſe of their worſhip in their 'private houſes only.'

THIS indulgence did not pleaſe the *Preſbyterians* in general; for many of them had far rather have had any tolerable ſtate of unity with the publick miniſtry, than ſuch a *toleration*. However, they went in a body, and were introduced by the Lord *Arlington*; and Dr. *Manton*, in their name, thanked the King for his declaration. Moſt of them, ſays Dr. *Burnet*, had yearly penſions of fifty pounds; and the chief of them of one hundred pounds. *Vol. 2. p. 308.*

THIS deep laid deſign, under the plauſible pretence of *toleration*, to introduce *popery*, plainly appeared: For the Proteſtant Diſſenters, till they could get meeting-houſes built, were more terribly reſtrained from meeting together than before; and it is not to be imagined they would be very forward to erect meeting-houſes, when they had by this *indulgence* no ſecurity to enjoy them, even for a week; when the *Papiſts* were immediately put into poſſeſſion of a ſecurer and fuller liberty, being permitted in their houſes, any where under their own government, without limitation or reſtriction to any number of places or perſons, or any neceſſity of getting approbation.

bation. Thus, tho' this *indulgence* was ſaid to be for avoiding the danger of conventicles in private; yet the *Papiſts* were allow'd ſuch conventicles, in as many houſes as they pleaſed.

Vol. 2. p. 662. MR. *Tindal* obſerves, in his notes on *Rapin*, from *Kennet*'s Hiſtory, 'That 'the LORD *Clifford* told a Perſon of Quality in private diſcourſe, that the King, 'if he would be firm to himſelf, might 'ſettle what religion he pleaſed, and carry 'the government to what height he would; 'for if men were aſſured, in the liberty 'of their conſcienees, and undiſturbed in 'their properties, able and upright Judges 'made in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and if, on 'the other hand, the fort of *Tilbury* was 'finiſhed to bridle the *City*, the fort of '*Plymouth* to ſecure the *Weſt*, and arms 'for twenty thouſand men in each of 'theſe, and in *Hull* for the northern parts, 'with ſome addition (which might be 'eaſily and undiſcernedly made to the 'forces on foot) there were none who 'would have either will, opportunity or 'power to reſiſt.'

The Commons addreſs the King againſt his declaration. THE Houſe of Commons, alarmed with the proceedings of the King and his Cabal, preſented an addreſs to him againſt his *declaration for liberty of conſcience*. In which they told him, ſays *Rapin*, 'That 'having taken into conſideration his declaration for *indulgence* to *Diſſenters*, they 'found

Vol. 2. p. 667.

'found themſelves bound in duty to in-
'form his Majeſty, *That penal laws in*
'*matters eccleſiaſtical cannot be ſuſpended*
'*but by act of parliament.* They therefore
'moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to
'give ſuch directions, *that no apprehenſions*
'*or jealouſies might remain in the hearts*
'*of his faithful ſubjects.* To this addreſs,
'ſays he, the King ſent the following *The King's*
'anſwer: That he is very much troubled, *anſwer.*
'that the declaration which he put out for
'ends ſo neceſſary to the quiet of this king-
'dom, eſpecially in that conjuncture,
'ſhould prove the cauſe of diſquiet, and
'give occaſion to the queſtioning of his
'power in eccleſiaſticks, which he finds
'not done in the reigns of any of his an-
'ceſtors. That he never had thoughts
'of uſing it otherwiſe than as it had been
'intruſted in him to the peace and eſta-
'bliſhment of the church of *England*, and
'the eaſe of all his ſubjects in general.
'Neither doth he pretend to ſuſpend any
'laws wherein the properties, rights or
'liberties of any of his ſubjects are con-
'cerned; nor to alter any thing in the
'eſtabliſhed doctrine or diſcipline of the
'church of *England.* But his only de-
'ſign in this was, to take off the penal-
'ties inflicted by ſtatutes upon the Diſ-
'ſenters, and which he believed, when
'well conſidered of, they themſelves would
'not wiſh executed according to the ri-

'gour of the law. Neither hath he done 'this with any thought of avoiding, or 'precluding the advice of his parliament; 'and if any bill ſhall be offered to him, 'which ſhall appear more proper to at-'tain the aforeſaid ends, and ſecure the 'peace of the church and kingdom, when 'tendered in due manner to him, *He will* '*ſhew how readily he will concur in all* '*ways that ſhall appear for the good of the* '*kingdom.*'

THE King and the *Cabal* found, that this declaration was far from engaging the Diſſenters on their ſide. For tho' liberty of conſcience was ſo greatly deſirable, they did not deſire it to the ruin of the church and kingdom. Alderman *Love*, a *city* member, and an eminent Diſſenter, ſpoke in the houſe with the greateſt warmth againſt the declaration; and ſaid, *he had much rather ſtill go without their deſired liberty, than have it in a way that would prove ſo detrimental to the Nation* *.

THE Commons ſeeing the Diſſenters ſo ready to ſacrifice their own, to the intereſt of religion and the kingdom, order'd a bill to be brought in for their eaſe, by which all the penalties againſt them in the act of *uniformity* were removed, and nothing required but the taking the oaths of *ſupremacy* and *allegiance*. This bill in a

* Kennet, *p.* 318.

few

few days was compleated; but the Lords having made ſome amendments, the King prorogued the parliament before theſe amendments could be agreed to by the Commons.

THE difficulties into which the King by his *Cabal* had involved himſelf were ſo great, that to prevent a rupture between him and his parliament, after ſome heſitation, at the ſolicitation of his Ladies, called for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeal; and in his ſpeech to his parliament, tells them *, 'If 'there be any ſcruple yet remaining with 'you, touching the ſuſpenſion of the pe- 'nal laws, I here faithfully promiſe you, 'that what hath been done in that par- 'ticular, ſhall not for the future be drawn 'into example and conſequence; and as 'I daily expect from you a bill for my 'ſupply, ſo I aſſure you, I ſhall as wil- 'lingly receive and paſs any other you 'ſhall offer me, that may tend to the 'giving you ſatisfaction in all your juſt 'grievances.' *He calls in his declaration.*

THE King having not courage and reſolution enough to withſtand the complaints of the parliament, gave a check to the hopes of the *Cabal*, which were founded on the King's ſteadineſs, and threw them into a great conſternation; *The* Cabal *in confuſion.*

* Rapin, *Vol. 2. p.* 669.

for they looked upon themſelves in danger of being abandoned by the King, and left to the reſentment of the parliament : ſome of them therefore deſerted the King, and hereby the grand deſigns of this *Cabal* were fruſtrated.

THE bill in favour of the Proteſtant Diſſenters met with another diſappointment; for the King adjourned the parliament before the Lords had given their aſſent to it; which ſhews, his Majeſty had no concern for the intereſt of the Diſſenters; for if he had, he might have deferred the adjournment a few days, till the bill paſſed in their favour had been ready, or at leaſt might have preſſed the two houſes to have finiſhed it. Thus the poor Diſſenters, being deprived of the ſhelter of his Majeſty's declaration, were left by the parliament to the ſtorm of the ſevere laws which were in force againſt them, and by ſome Juſtices were rigourouſly put in execution; but the greater part were then more moderate; and ſo the Diſſenters had in many places a liberty of performing their worſhip in their own way. But this hardly laſted three years, and the perſecution of them revived, and continued to the end of this reign; and, ſays Dr. *Welwood* *, 'was one continued in-

* Memoirs, *p.* 119.

'vaſion

'vaſion upon the rights of the people, 'and the nation ſeemed unwilling now 'to contend for them any more.'

OUR worthy Patriots now began to have a ſcent of a plot to bring in popery, and ſtood upon their watch. Something they diſcerned to be in hand, and that the project was deeply laid, but on what perſons to charge it they knew not, and were wholly in the dark, as to the methods and particulars of it, till in the year 1678. Dr. *Oates* entered upon that never-to-be-forgotten ſervice to his country, at once ſaving the life of his ſovereign, the government of the nation, and the proteſtant religion, from a total extirpation, and all good proteſtants from a maſſacre.

THIS conſpiracy, or as it is more generally called the *Popiſh plot*, gave occaſion to many Politicians to exerciſe their talents, ſome in ſupporting the reality, others in expoſing the falſity of it. A full account of the conſpiracy, and of the reaſons and proofs alledged in maintenance of the reality or falſhood, you may ſee in *Rapin*; which is both foreign to my purpoſe, and too large to be inſerted here.

IT was about this time, that the controverſy among the *Baptiſts* about *laying on of hands*, called by the Clergy *confirmation*, created not a little trouble to thoſe who were for the practice of that apoſtolical

The laying on of hands controverted among the Baptiſts.

lical ordinance, occaſioned by the publication of a treatiſe, entitled, *A Search after Schiſm*, by a nameleſs company, in oppoſition to it.

THIS was anſwered by Dr. *John Griffith*, in a piece, entitled, *The Searchers after Schiſm ſearched*; and drew from Mr. *Grantham*, *his Sigh for Peace*, *or*, *the Cauſe of Diviſion diſcovered.* The publication of this book occaſioned a meeting between Mr. *Grantham* and Mr. *Ives*, where a diſpute upon that head was had with much temperance and good humour. Mr. *Ives* finding himſelf much gravelled, broke up the meeting, as I am informed, very peaceably and friendly.

ABOUT three years after Mr. *Danvers* wrote a treatiſe againſt *laying on of hands*, which was anſwered by Mr. *Benjamin Keach*; and alſo by Mr. *Grantham*, who annexed to his anſwer, *A treatiſe of the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles.* In which he pleaded for the *Jus Divinum* of the *Meſſenger's* office; which is continued among ſome of the *Baptiſts* to thepreſent day.

Anno 1673. THAT the perſons and principles of of thoſe termed *Anabaptiſts* might be held in diſgrace, and rendered odious to the people: In the year 1673, was publiſhed a Pamphlet, entitled, *Mr. Baxter baptized in Blood*, which, ſays * Mr. *Hooke*,

* *Apology*, *p.* 6-7.

the

the author of the *Apology for the baptized churches*, ‘ gave an account of a ‘ barbarous murder, committed by four ‘ *Anabaptiſts*, at *Boſton* in *New-England*, ‘ upon the body of a godly Miniſter, ‘ called Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*, for no other ‘ reaſon, but becauſe he had worſted ‘ them in diſputation; which was ſet ‘ forth, with all the circumſtances and ‘ formalities of names, ſpeeches, actions, ‘ time and place, to make it look the ‘ more authentick; orderly and moſt ‘ pathetically deſcribing the moſt execra- ‘ ble murder, that ever was known, *viz.* ‘ of firſt ſtripping, and cruelly whip- ‘ ping, then unbowelling, and fleeing a- ‘ live, a reverend godly Miniſter in his ‘ own houſe, in the midſt of the howl- ‘ ing groans and ſchreechings of his dear ‘ relations, lying bound before him. And ‘ the better to create belief, this ſad ſtory ‘ is pretended to be publiſhed by the ‘ mournful brother of the ſaid murdered ‘ Miniſter, named *Benjamin Baxter*, liv- ‘ ing in *Fenchurch*-ſtreet, *London*. More- ‘ over, the *Authors* had dealt ſo cunning- ‘ ly, that they had prevailed with Dr. ‘ *Samuel Parker* to licenſe it.’

A wicked ſlander againſt the Baptiſts *confuted.*

IT hath been always the malicious practice of that grand ſlanderer *Satan* and his *Inſtruments*, ſince the firſt times of chriſtianity, when they could not reſiſt the power of religion, to defame the perſons and aſ-

ſemblies of all Chriſtians, with foul and hateful crimes laid to their charge; as appears by the apologies of *Juſtine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and others. But the *Authors* of this ſlander have hatched a *forgery* beyond all ſtory; not only under the ſpecious pretence of piety, intitling God himſelf, his holy Word, and all that is ſacred therein, but with the formalities of names, ſpeeches, actions, time and place, orderly and moſt pathetically deſcribing the moſt execrable murder that ever was known, exceeding the cruelties of the moſt ſavage Heathens.

I THINK it may be truly ſaid, that the bounds of chriſtian profeſſion are not wide enough to afford us an example parallel to the prodigious malice of theſe lying *defamers*; pretending this horrid fact as done by *Anabaptiſts*, that they might the better expoſe the whole profeſſion of them in all parts, tho' never ſo innocent, to the hatred and rage of the people in all places againſt them.

FOR it concludes in theſe words, *viz.*

'I HAVE penn'd and publiſhed this 'narrative, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*; 'that the world may ſee the ſpirit and 'temper of theſe men, and that it may 'ſtand as an eternal memorial of their 'cruelty and hatred to all Orthodox Mi-'niſters.'

Now

NOW this was enough to perſuade any body, that the report was true, eſpecially being publiſhed with allowance; and might make men, not only aſham'd to be *Anabaptiſts*, but to abhor the name and *Sect* for ever. Nevertheleſs, by divine providence, this was ſoon diſcovered to be all falſe and forged, not a tittle of truth in it; for a ſhip coming from *Boſton* in *New-England*, about twenty days after this murder was ſaid to be committed, two of the men, the *Maſter* of the veſſel, and a *Merchant* that was with him, atteſted upon oath, before the Lord Mayor of *London*, that they never knew ſuch a man as Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*; that they had heard of no ſuch report, nor knew any occaſion of ſuch a thing; but did believe it was a very great falſhood.

THE *Officers* of the two wards of *Aldgate* and *Langburn*, in which *Fenchurch*-ſtreet is ſituate, gave a certificate under their hands, that within their memories, no ſuch man as *Benjamin Baxter*, the pretended brother that publiſhed the ſtory, had lived in *Fenchurch*-ſtreet. The King's Privy Council examined the caſe, and detected the *forgery*, and accordingly ordered the publiſhing the ſame in the *Gazette*; and Dr. *Parker*, that had been too credulous, and haſty in licenſing this tragical ſtory, confeſſed his error,

error, and gave a teſtimonial under his hand, acknowledging the ſame.

The affidavit of the two *New-England men.*

By two Men's affidavit.

'*Rich. Martin*, maſter of the good ſhip, 'the *Bloſſom* of *Boſton*, of *New-England*, 'Merchant, and *Henry Mountfort* of *Boſ-* 'ton, aforeſaid, Merchant, make oath, 'that on the 26th day of *February* laſt 'paſt, they theſe deponents ſet ſail from '*Boſton* aforeſaid, for the port of *London*; 'and theſe deponents alſo ſay, and affirm, 'that they, the ſaid deponents, for di- 'vers years laſt paſt, have had their con- 'ſtant reſidence and abode in or near *Boſ-* 'ton aforeſaid; but theſe deponents, and 'either of them, for himſelf ſaith, that 'they never heard of, or knew any Mi- 'niſter, called or known by the name of '*Joſiah Baxter*; nor was there to theſe 'deponents knowledge or belief, any diſ- 'pute or controverſy whatſoever, between 'the ſaid *Baxter* and the *Anabaptiſts* in '*New-England*, of or concerning any 'points of religion; neither was there 'any report at *Boſton* aforeſaid, or any 'other place in *New-England*, of or con- 'cerning any murder, pretended to have 'been committed upon the ſaid *Baxter*, 'or any other perſon or perſons what- 'ſoever, by any *Anabaptiſts* in *New-Eng-* 'land. And theſe deponents do verily 'believe

'believe that the late book, intitled, Mr. 'Baxter *baptized in blood*, is an abſolute 'pamphlet, and a very great falſhood; 'for that theſe deponents were reſiding 'at *Boſton* aforeſaid, two and twenty days 'after the ſaid murder, in the ſaid pamph- 'let mention'd, is pretended to have been 'committed.'

May 21, 1673. Ambo jurat. fuer. coram me, *Rob. Hanſon*, Mayor.

Richard Martin.
Henry Mountfort.

HEREUPON the Lord-Mayor was pleaſed by his officers, not only to interdict the vending the ſaid ſcandalous pamphlet, but to ſeize it in the hands of the hawkers and mercuries that ſold the ſame; and to ſuppreſs a ſecond impreſſion thereof in the preſs; committing alſo to *priſon* ſeveral of the publiſhers.

THE certificate of the officers of the Ward. *By the officers of the pariſh.*

'WHEREAS we have lately ſeen a 'pamphlet, entitled, Mr. *Baxter bap- 'tized in blood*, ſaid to be publiſhed by 'his mournful brother, *Benjamin Baxter*, 'living in *Fenchurch-ſtreet*, *London*: We 'the Church-wardens, Overſeers and 'Beadles, do certify, that there is no 'ſuch man, doth or hath, within our 'memory, lived in the two wards of '*Aldgate* and *Langbourne*, in which *Fen- 'church-ſtreet* is ſituate. To the truth of 'which

'which atteſtation, we whoſe names are 'under written, have ſet our hands, this '27th day of *May*, 1673.'

Thomas Baylie,
William Wickins,
Gordard Fletch,
Thomas Fiſher, } Church-wardens.

Samuel Loveday,
Ralph Almond, } Overſeers.

Will. Tiplington,
Thomas Smith, } Beadles.

AN addreſs being made to the *Council-board*, they upon examination of the buſineſs, find it falſe and fictitious, and accordingly ordered the publiſhing the ſame in the Gazette, *viz.*

The order of Council.

By the order of Council.

'WHEREAS there is a pamph-'let lately publiſhed, entitled, 'Mr. *Baxter baptized in blood*, contain-'ing a horrible murder, committed by 'four *Anabaptiſts*, upon the perſon of 'Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*, near *Boſton* in *New-'England*: The whole matter having 'been enquired into, and examined at 'the Council-board, is found altogether 'falſe and fictitious.

'*Edw. Walker.*'

THE

THE licenſer, Dr. *Samuel Parker*, being alſo made acquainted with the whole matter, confeſſeth his miſtake and too ſudden credulity in the licenſing ſo ſtrange a pamphlet, as appears by the teſtimonial under his hand, *viz.*

Dr. *Parker*'s Teſtimonal.

'WHEREAS there was a certain pamphlet, lately publiſhed under the title of, Mr. *Baxter baptized in blood*, containing a Narrative, of a murder committed on the perſon of one *Joſiah Baxter*, a Miniſter, near *Boſton* in *New-England*; which *Narrative* was allowed of, licenſed, and publickly expoſed to ſale: Theſe are to certify, that the allowance and licenſe thereof, was obtained at the deſire and ſuggeſtion of one *Laurence Savil*: Who in order to procure the ſame, did really produce to the licenſer, letters and teſtimonals, under the hands, as he pretended, of ſeveral perſons in *New-England*, containing the particular circumſtances of the ſaid relation, and aſſerting the truth of the ſame, as in the printed copy is expreſſed. All which, upon further enquiry and examination, the ſaid licenſer hath ſince evidently found *By Dr. Parker.*

'found to be fictitious and untrue, contrived and invented here in *England*, 'without any warrant or atteſtation from 'beyond the ſeas. And ſo much he hath 'thought fit to publiſh, to the end that 'no perſon may be abuſed or impoſed 'upon by a report, which, as he is now 'ſufficiently convinced, is both falſe and 'groundleſs.

Read in Council, 30th of *May*, 1673. *Samuel Parker.*

The ſuppoſed publiſher of this notorious forgery was one Seymer, *a pretended Doctor of Phyſick, who upon diligent ſearch was diſcovered and met with.*

Laurence Savil, who obtained the licenſing of this infamous pamphlet, thro' guilt hiding his head, could not be met with; but wrote a letter to one of them who were in ſearch after him, and confeſſeth himſelf drawn in and cheated, by this imaginary and ſuppoſitious *Benjamin Baxter*. The letter was thus:

'*SIR*,

'THE Doctor * has urged and preſſed me by ſeveral letters, to give 'the world a full and ſatisfactory ac- 'count of this buſineſs, of Mr. *Baxter*'s 'pamphlet. Mr. *Benjamin Baxter*, the 'Author of the late pamphlet, about nine 'weeks ſince, inſinuated into my acquaintance: firſt in *Gray's-inn-walks*, and 'afterwards at a Coffee-houſe in *Holbourn*. 'I met him often in the walks, from 'thence

* Seymer.

By a letter from Laurence Savil.

'thence we went to the Coffee-houſes: 'I was well-pleaſed with his company, 'becauſe he ſeemed an ingenious perſon, 'a good ſcholar, and an *orthodox member* 'of the *Church of England.* He uſed 'always to diſpute againſt the *Anabap-* 'tiſts; and in Coffee-houſes, to be ſo 'fierce in his invectives againſt that *party*, 'that ſometimes he became ridiculous 'to the company. He would often much 'comment on the increaſe of that party. 'Afterwards he told me, he was compo- 'ſing a general *Hiſtory* of the firſt ori- 'ginal and progreſs of the *Anabaptiſts*, 'with a full confutation of their tenets, 'which he was confident would be a 'work very acceptable to the ſober part 'of the nation.

'THEN he told me, he had a parti- 'cular kindneſs for me, and that I ſhould 'have the publiſhing of it; by which he 'was ſure I might gain no leſs than '100 *l.* I returned him thanks for his 'kindneſs, and told him, I was not ac- 'quainted in things of that nature; but 'that it was more fit for ſome Bookſel- 'ler to deal in, and that it would re- 'quire a diſburſement of a conſiderable 'ſum of money, which I was loath to 'venture. He inſtantly replied, that tho' 'I was ignorant in the buſineſs of print- 'ing, yet he underſtood it well, and had 'printed ſeveral things, but now his bu-

'ſineſs

'ſineſs coming on ſo faſt, he had no time 'to follow it himſelf; but if I pleaſed, 'would wholly employ me in it, and 'would diſburſe the money for printing 'and paper, but leave the profit entirely 'to me. I muſt confeſs theſe offers 'ſeemed very fair; I could not hand-'ſomely refuſe ſuch kindneſs. So the 'buſineſs was concluded, and I every 'day expected this elaborate work for the 'preſs. I ſaw him no more for eight 'days together, at which I much won-'dered: but one evening at *Gray*'s-*inn*, I 'met him in a moſt heavy and diſcon-'ſolate condition. After I had preſt 'him to diſcourſe the cauſes of his grief, 'he told me his ſorrows were unexpreſ-'ſible; that his dear brother, that was 'formerly gone to *Virginia*, he heard 'was killed by the *Anabaptiſts*. And 'then in a great paſſion, he flung me 'three letters, and bad me read them. 'He ſaid he was reſolved to *immortalize* '*the fact*, and let it ſtand for ever as an '*eternal memorial againſt that party*. I 'was much troubled at the ſad fate of his 'brother, and ſo we parted. Some three 'days after we met again; and then he 'ſhewed me the copy of this *pamphlet*, 'and told me he came juſt then from *Lam-'beth*, and that Dr. *Parker* had licenſed 'it; for, ſaid he, I ſhewed Dr. *Parker* 'the three letters, and could not forbear

weeping.

'weeping. Could you yourſelf have 'doubted of the reality of the buſineſs, 'if you had ſeen the licenſe to it, his 'tears and paſſionate expreſſions, and al-'ſo the three letters? So at laſt I conde-'ſcended to do it. The next day I went 'to Mr. *Darby*, and deſired him to print 'it. He took a view of the copy, and 'ſaid he was not ſatisfied of the truth of 'it; but he would recommend me to a '*Cavalier* printer, as he expreſſed it, in '*Jewin-ſtreet*, who would readily per-'form the buſineſs. I deferred the pub-'liſhing for ſeven or eight days, expect-'ing to hear ſome objection againſt it, 'but meeting not with any, I publiſhed 'it. Mr. *Baxter* conſtantly met me eve-'ry day, and always urged the expedite, 'and ſudden publication of the *Narra-'tive*. I told him it was coming forth. 'He told me, I ſhould command what 'money I deſired, for this and ſeveral 'other books he had to come forth. I 'replied, that none was wanting yet; 'but when it was printed, the printer 'was to be paid. Upon *May* 15, I 'ſhewed him a proof ſheet; he ſaid, he 'was glad the buſineſs was ſo forward, 'he would go to the goldſmith to-mor-'row; for, ſaid he, that will ſoon be enough 'for the printer. But in the mean time, 'ſays he, pray let me have four or five 'Guineas till to-morrow. I told him I

'had not ſo much about me, but what I 'had he ſhould have: ſo I let him have 'forty ſhillings, and we parted. The 'next day I expected him, but he came 'no more, neither have I ever ſeen or 'heard from him ſince.

'FORMERLY, when I aſked him con-'cerning his lodging, he ſaid he lived in '*Fenchurch-ſtreet*, but he was ſeldom at 'home, and it was impoſſible for me to 'meet with him. He ſaid he was an 'Attorney, and had good employment 'that way. Thus has this fellow put 'upon me a buſineſs, and now unwor-'thily deſerted me. And now I begin 'too late, to perceive him either to be a 'cheat, or to be groſly cheated, and 'gulled with falſe letters; for he ſeveral 'times ſaid, he had not heard of his 'brother, ſince his departure out of *Eng-'land* till now. If I can do any further 'ſervice in the matter, I ſhall be very 'ready and willing; for unleſs *Baxter* 'appears in his own defence, and pay 'me the money I lent him, I ſhall cer-'tainly conclude him a cheat.

'AS for my friend the *Doctor*, he 'was altogether unconcerned in the mat-'ter, and did only recommend me to a 'printer, at my requeſt. All this that 'I have writ, I will avouch to be moſt 'true, and if you pleaſe to print it, I

'will

'will ſtand to it, and juſtify it to be the 'naked truth of the buſineſs.'

Your real friend,

May 20, 1673.

Laurence Savill.

THUS this dark cloud was diſſipated, that threatened a perillous ſtorm to the *Anabaptiſts*, ſo called, in *Old England*; the ſun ſhone bright in our horizon again; and the *Anabaptiſts* looked as fair as their neighbours. And altho' to be falſely accuſed, directly or indirectly, is a great exerciſe; yet to be cleared, and timely acquitted, is God's good providence, and an encouragement patiently to bear ſuch ſlanderous reports; eſpecially remembering, it was the common caſe of all chriſtians, even from the beginning, to be defamed and evil ſpoken of without cauſe. We may from hence ſee, how injuriouſly and cruelly the malice of ſome men hath vented itſelf againſt the *Baptiſts* and their profeſſion; and how ſpeedily and opportunely the goodneſs and favour of God, have appeared in their timely and ſucceſsful vindication.

DR. *Parker* was ſuſpected to be the Author of this *ſcandalous libel.* And no wonder, ſince from a *Nonconformiſt*, when the times changed, he changed too, and

became not only a *Conformiſt*, but wrote bitterly againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, calumniating all the foreign *Proteſtants*, and ſtirring up of perſecution againſt thoſe at home, creating a miſunderſtanding betwixt the King and his people; ſo that the whole deſign of his books tended to the diſturbance of all government. Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, a zealous *Conformiſt*, in his *Rehearſal tranſproſed*, takes notice of this *Libel*, and ſays, 'It was indeed a 'piece of *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which he '[Dr. *Parker*] thought, it ſeems, very fit, 'to reconcile to the preſent juncture of 'affairs, and recommend to the preſent '*genius* of the age. And yet from be-'ginning to end, there never was a com-'pleater falſhood invented —— and in 'good earneſt, ſays he, I dare not ſwear 'but it was the Author of the *Eccleſiaſ-'tical Polities* own handy-work. — And, 'indeed, what reaſon could there be, 'what likelihood, that any other man 'ſhould go ſo far out of the way with 'ſuch a book to him, who was the moſt 'improper licenſer of ſuch things of that 'nature? Unleſs he may have therefore 'been the moſt proper licenſer, becauſe he 'had given ſo many teſtimonies, as books, 'of his good inclination to ſuch matters; 'and that (not only in *Hiſtory*, but even 'in *Doctrine* too) he did not ſo nearly 'conſider the *truth*, as the *intereſt*. And 'there-

Part II. p. 100.

'therefore, if, perhaps, he was not the 'Author, yet I dare undertake, that 'when he came to the licenſing of that '*pamphlet*, he felt ſuch an expanſion of 'heart, ſuch an adlubeſence of mind, 'and ſuch an exaltation of ſpirit, that 'betwixt joy and love, he could ſcarce 'refrain from kiſſing it. And this, 'ſays he, no man living can deny, 'that either, if he thought there were 'any fault in it, he took care to correct 'and fit it for the preſs, with that ad-'vantage, that it came out; or elſe, 'he found it ſo ſatisfactory, that it paſ-'ſed his approbation without any amend-'ment and ſo tranſporting, that he forgot 'to keep a copy for his own juſtification. 'And truly, had it not chanced that 'there was preſent and immediate proof 'upon the place to convict the *forgery*, 'as ſoon as publiſhed, it might probably 'have had the effect for which it was de-'ſigned; however, adds Mr. *Marvel*, no 'thanks to the licenſer, who either was 'alſo the Author, or the more criminal 'of the two; by how much the licenſer 'is always preſumed to have the ſtricter 'inſpection, the better judgment, and 'more honeſty; and is therefore intruſt-'ed by my Lord Archbiſhop to give 'the ſtamp of publick authority —— I 'know he will, ſays he, take it un-'kindly, that this ſhould be revived, after,

'he will ſay, he hath given ſo ample ſatisfaction ſince for it, in his *teſtimonial* 'to the contrary; but he may pleaſe to 'conſider, that this was ſince the late act 'of general pardon, that it all happened 'ſince the writing of the *reproof*; that he 'hath only given a maſterly certificate, 'as it were, from a juſtice of peace, 'inſtead of making an humble recantation as an offender. Had he but, as 'they ſay indeed, he complimented the '*Anabaptiſts* on this occaſion, ſo printed 'it too, *that he eſteemed them to be the nearer eſt to truth of all the Diſſenters from the* 'Church from England, it had been ſome 'ſign of penitence and integrity, and amounted to ſome degree of reſtitution.'

Anno 1674. *The* Baptiſts *contend with the* Quakers.

IN this year were ſeveral books publiſhed by the *Baptiſts* againſt the *Quakers*, and by the *Quakers* in their own defence. Much more noiſe was made thereupon than was deſigned; and the matter having been carried to a great height, requires more notice to be taken thereof than otherwiſe it would have merited.

G. Whitehead, Dippers *plea*, *p.* 1.

Thomas Hicks, a Baptiſt preacher, publiſhed ſeveral pamphlets in ſucceſſion, under the title of *A Dialogue between a Chriſtain and a Quaker*; at which the *Quakers* were much offended, ſtiling them malicious forgeries and fictions, ſtuft with manifeſt ſlanders againſt their perſons and princi-

principles. To the firſt and ſecond Dialogues *William Penn* replied, in a book entitled, *Reaſons againſt railing, and Truth againſt fiction.* Unto which Mr. *Hicks* made a reply in a third dialogue, intitled, *The Quaker condemned out of his own mouth.* To this Mr. *Penn* replied, in a book, entitled, *The counterfeit Chriſtian detected*; wherein he charges Mr. *Hicks*, with manifold perverſions, downright lies and ſlanders, *&c.* In this book he appealed to the *Baptiſts* in and about *London*, for juſtice againſt *Thomas Hicks*; threatning in caſe of a refuſal, to purſue him, not only as *Thomas Hicks*, but as the *Baptiſts* great Champion, peculiar agent or repreſentative: and that it might be the more taken notice of, they employ'd perſons to give the book away at the doors of ſeveral meeting-houſes.

UPON this, the *Baptiſts* appointed a day; and to prevent the *Quakers* from pleading any ſurprize, they ſent a letter to *Will. Penn*, and another to *George Whitehead*, to be preſent at the appointed day, for the examination of *Thomas Hicks*; but receiving notice that they were out of the way, they ſent to *John Oſgoods*, to tell him, that he, or any of their friends, might be preſent at the time appointed; for the matter, ſay they, being only matter of fact, and not of diſpute, we conceive we may proceed to hear *Thomas*

Hicks's defence. So that the *Quakers* had no need to complain of the *Baptiſts* taking the advantage of the abſence of *William Penn* and *George Whitehead*, who were moſt concerned, and who ſhould make good the charge, ſince they having the charge before them, had nothing more to do but to hear the defence of *Thomas Hicks*.

ON the day appointed, neither *William Penn*, *George Whitehead*, nor any other *Quaker* appeared. Several did affirm, ſays my Author, that *William Penn* was not far from *London*, ſeveral days before the day of meeting, after the Letter (of advice) was ſent to him: And others reported that he was at his own houſe, at no great diſtance from town, the very day preceding. If theſe things be true, *William Penn* could not be abſent for want of information.

Manuſcript penes me.

ON the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, the appointed day, Mr. *William Kiffin* opened the aſſembly, and gave an account of the occaſion of it; then read the *Quakers* appeal, and told them, that the buſineſs of the day was not to diſpute, but to hear, examine and judge, whether *Thomas Hicks* was guilty of charging the *Quakers* falſely.

THEN *Thomas Hicks*, endeavoured to prove that he had not accuſed the *Quakers* falſely, either in doctrine or practice.

Firſt,

Firſt, as to doctrine; he proved, that they held all the corrupt opinions he charged them with.

1. *That the light in every man is God.*

THIS *William Penn* owns, when he ſays, where we never charged him with forgery, he, *viz. Thomas Hicks*, hath taken opportunity, and that with confidence of innocence to cry out, Is that candid to call me forger, when you own the thing? Examine, ſays he, *Dial.* 3. *p.* 4, 5, 6, 9. your pages referred to, relate to the point in hand. Counterfeit Chriſtian, *p.* 9.

HE (meaning *GeorgeWhitehead*) owns it, the life which is the light of men, is God himſelf. Again, we aſſert the true light, with which every man is enlightened, to be in itſelf the Chriſt of God. This light is divine, becauſe it is the life of the world, which is God. *Ib. p.* 56. *Reaſons againſt railing.* *Quakeriſm a nick name.*

HE quotes other paſſages, where they call the light divine and uncreated.

THAT light which was before conſcience or creature, before ſun, moon, and ſtars, and that by which all things were made that were made. Chriſt by whom the world was made, which was before any thing was made, or conſcience named, the eternal ever-living God, the King of Saints, which he gave to me his Servant, to declare to the inhabitants of the Earth, the Lord whoſe name is the light G. Fox's *Great myſtery*, *p.* 18, 23, 185, 331. Whitehead, Dippers plea, *p.* 13. G. Fox, *junr. p.* 47, 49, &c.

light. That light is alſo repreſented as thus ſpeaking of himſelf; I the light created all things, I the light gave unto every one of you life and breath, you ſcorn me, the light in you, *&c.*

Dial. 1. *p.* 16. 2. *That the Soul is part of God, of God's being, without beginning, and alſo infinite.*

Reaſon againſt railing, p. 65. G. Fox. Gr. Myſt. *p.* 90, 29, 100, 68. THIS charge, *William Penn* ſays, is falſe. To prove it, Mr. *Hicks* quotes this paſſage out of the Quakers writings. Is not the ſoul without beginning? And produces plain places where they ſay expreſly, 'tis without beginning or ending, infinite, not a creature, but part of God, of God's being.

Dial. 3. *p.* 2. 3. I DO accuſe the *Quakers, that they deny Jeſus Chriſt to be a diſtinct perſon without us.*

William Penn ſays, this is an unſound inference, from their aſſerting the true light with which every man is enlightened to be the Chriſt of God and Saviour of the world.

IN anſwer to this, Mr. *Hicks* cites ſome paſſages, which ſhew he was not miſtaken, from their own books.

G. Fox. Dip. *plea, p.* 13. App. to Reaſons againſt railing, *p.* 21, 27. *Jeſus Chriſt*, a perſon without us, is not ſcripture language; but to ſuppoſe him to be ſo, is anthropomorphiſm, mugletonianiſm and ſocinianiſm; and the thoughts of a human and perſonal Chriſt, are carnal imaginations and dark thoughts.

GIVE

GIVE me one place that mentions Christ to be a distinct person without us. God's Christ, and Christ is not distinct from his Saints. If there be any other Christ but he that is crucified within us, he is the false Christ. Counterfeit Christian. G. Fox's GreatMystery, *p.* 207, 16, 206.

4. *That Christ redeems himself.* *William Penn* says, that this is a gross perversion. Dial. 4. *p.* 47. Reasons against railing.

FOR the proof of this, Mr. *Hicks* refers to several passages, such as these:

FEW are come to know what it is wants redemption, and that the promise is to; for there is a seed to which the promise is. Christ is the election and the seed. James Naylor's Love to the lost, *p.* 47, 32.

THE promise of God is to the seed, that hath been laden as a cart with sheaves by the sinner, which seed is the hope Christ. We assert the redemption of the seed. 'Tis not absured to affirm, that the end of God's manifesting himself in the flesh, was for the redemption and deliverance of his holy life, that was in man, as a small seed, that had been long vex'd, grieved and pressed down by sin and iniquity. This seed was and is pure for ever, *&c.* G. Fox GreatMystery, *p.* 324. Reason against railing, *p.* 62, 63, 64, &c.

5. THAT the *Quakers* deny *the Scriptures to be the rule of life and practice to Christians.*

WE deny the scripture to be the rule of

Reaſ. againſt railing. Ed. Burroughs, *p.* 62. G. Whitehead. Chriſt aſcend. Dial. 1. *p.* 28.

of faith and practice, in honour of the Divine light their author. He that perſuades people the ſcriptures are ſo, is darkneſs; 'tis a ſetting the ſcriptures in the place of Chriſt.

6. *That the ſpeaking of the ſpirit in any one is of greater authority than the Scriptures.*

G. Whitehead, Serious Apol. *p.* 49.

THIS is proved expreſsly by the anſwer of a *Quaker* to one who put the queſtion to him.

Ed. Burroughs, *p.* 47, 105.

7. *That is no command of God to me, which God hath given to another; neither did any of the ſaints act by that command which was given to another; every one obeyed their own command.*

W. Penn's Serious apol. *p.* 346.

8. *That juſtification by that righteouſneſs which Chriſt fulfilled for us, wholly without us, is a doctrine of devils.*

9. *That the Quakers hold juſtification by works, in the ſtricteſt notion.*

Ed. Burroughs. *p.* 33.

GOD accepts not any when there is any failing, or who do not fulfil the whole law, and anſwer all the demands of juſtice. We muſt not conceive *Abraham*'s perſonal offering was not a juſtifying righteouſneſs, but that God was pleaſed to count it ſo; nor was there any imputation of another righteouſneſs to *Abraham*; but on the contrary, his perſonal righteouſneſs

W. Penn Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 80.

ouſneſs was the ground of that juſt imputation: Therefore that any ſhould be juſtified by another righteouſneſs imputed, and not inherent in him, is both ridiculous and dangerous.

10. *That Chriſt fulfilled the law only as our pattern.* Dial. 2. p. 52.

William Penn ſays, the word *only* is not there, nor is the fulfilling of the law, the ſubject there treated of. Sandy Found. p. 26.

THE citation at large, *Rom.* ii. 13. from whence I obſerve, unleſs we become doers of that law, which Chriſt came not to deſtroy, but as our example to fulfil, we can never be juſtified before God; wherefore obedience is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that ſhort of it there can be no acceptance; nor let any fancy, that Chriſt hath ſo fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their obedience from being requiſite to their acceptance, but *only* as their pattern.

11. *That the doctrine of Chriſt's ſatisfaction is irreligious and irrational.*

O the infamous portraicture, this doctrine draws of the infinite goodneſs! Is this your retribution, O injurious ſatisfactioniſts? Sandy Found. p. 22.

12. *That this body which dies ſhall not riſe again.*

George Whitehead ſaid theſe words before ſeveral witneſſes.

William

Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 133, 134.

William Penn ſays, This doctrine *is* inconſiſtent with ſcripture and reaſon; it out-does tranſubſtantiation in abſurdity.

As to the *ſecond* head or matter of practice.

1. *That it concerns them to render their adverſaries as ridiculous as they can, and to make their friends believe, they do nothing but contradict themſelves; and if this fail, to inſinuate ſomething by way of queſtion, that may ſlander them.*

Spirit of truth vindicated, p. 6.

THAT that is their practiſe, Mr. *Hicks* proves from *William Penn*'s complaint, that he had not an opportunity to do thus by the Author of *the ſpirit of the Quakers tried*, becauſe he had not ſet down his name.

Divinity of Chriſt, P. 49.

George Whitehead, in anſwer to Mr. *Dunſon*, who ſtiles himſelf miniſter of the Goſpel at *Sandwich*, aſks, But is not rather that report true, that he was given to gaming, *&c* ?

Spirit of truth vindicated, *p.* 137.

To excuſe him *William Penn* ſays, who knows not, that prieſts don't ſcruple theſe things? and if *George Whitehead*, to detect the prieſt, did make this query, muſt it be preſumed, he took him for ſuch? It is not juſt therefore for *William Penn* to charge me with forgery in that particular.

2. *I charged the Quakers, that they called ſuch as askea them queſtions, reprobates; and ſaying, they are in the ſorcery and the witchcraft.*

William

William Penn says, it is a great lie. See *Edward Burrough's Works*, p. 29, 34.

3. *That* William Penn, *by the sense of the eternal spirit doth declare, that these cursing, railing, and lying answers of* Edward Burroughs, *were the only fit answers to the Priest's trepanning questions. William Penn* calls that an ungodly slander; but see the very words.

4. *They prefer their own pamphlets to the bible; for they call the one the voice of wisdom, breathings of true love, shield of faith, a spiritual glass, light risen out of darkness: But the scriptures are called letter, dead letter, paper, ink, and writing, carnal letter, &c.* Reas. against railing, p. 164.

5. *They bid people follow the light within, and if they don't, they revile them.*

William Penn calls it a great lie; but it is plain from their railings at such as oppose them and their error.

6. *They say God himself is the immediate teacher of his people, and yet they appoint their ministers to speak in such a place.* Dial. 2. p. 66.

SEE this urged against them by the Author of *the Spirit of the hat*, one no stranger to their practices.

7. *They entitle God to sleeveless errands.* Dial. 1. p. 27.

8. *They refuse publick meetings to debate the chief things in difference between them and*

and others, under pretence of their being cautious of running theirs into jeopardy.

William Penn ſays, this is a notorious falſehood. Mr. *Hicks* anſwers, I can prove it by ſeveral witneſſes. Mr. *Prior's* letters to Mr. *Haworth*, has thoſe very words in it.

9. *That they own the Scripture as far as it agrees with the light within.*

William Penn ſays, this is a forgery. Mr. *Hicks* ſays, this is proved before, in that they aſſert the ſcripture to be given forth from the light within.

10. *That the light within created heaven and earth, and is the immediate object of divine worſhip.* This is proved under the firſt doctrinal charge, tho' *William Penn* ſays, it is a forgery.

Reaſ. againſt railing.

11. *That if theſe things objected in the two firſt dialogues be true,* William Penn *hath confeſſed* a Quaker *is no Chriſtian.*

William Penn charges this alſo as a forgery, tho' he has writ theſe words. He, Mr. *Hicks*, to vindicate himſelf from injuſtice, has given us a ſecond part, wherein he hopes to make good what he has charged on us by quotations out of our own books; which if faithfully done, I ſhall freely acknowledge, that a *Quaker* is quite another thing from a *Chriſtian.*

Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 4.

12. *William Penn* accuſes me of *forgery*, in ſaying he has theſe words, viz. *That were*

were we what he repreſents us, the worſt plagues, and judgments of God would be our portion. Which are his own words, with this little alteration, that he ſays, *we might juſtly expect them to be our portion for ever.*

13. *William Penn* charges me with a downright lie, in giving this anſwer to *George Whitehead*'s name, viz. *That the plagues and judgments of God will follow thee*; tho' it is atteſted too under Mr. *John Gladman*'s own hand. Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 163. Dial. 3. *p.* 85.

14. *That their owning Chriſt is no other than a meer myſtical romance; and that the light within them ſees no neceſſity of a mediator*: And tho' *William Penn* calls theſe lies and ſlanders, yet they are true, *ſince they deny Chriſt to be a diſtinct perſon, and maintain, that God accepts not of any who do not fulfil the law, and every demand of juſtice.* Reaſ. againſt railing, *p.* 154.

15. ANOTHER lie, *William Penn* charges me with, is this; *That the* Quakers *deny Chriſt's viſible coming, and appearance in the World*: Whereas *Edward Burroughs* having returned anſwer to a certain gentleman, that Chriſt never was viſible to him or his generation; I only noted, that the *Quaker* denied Chriſt was ever viſible to ſuch wicked men as he eſteemed the Queriſt. *Ibid.*

16. *That they account the blood of Chriſt but as the blood of a common thief*; which

Ibid. tho' *William Penn* ſays is an ungodly aſperſion, is fully made out.

Dial. 2 *p.* 3-4. 17. *That one of their friends bid her husband take another woman.*

Dial. 2. *p.* 63. 18. *That a revelation hath been pretended to excuſe the payment of a juſt debt.*

Dial. 1. *p.* 16. 19. *That ſome of their friends have excuſed ſome of their villanies, by pretence to an innocent life.*

Dial. 3. Epiſt. CONCERNING theſe three laſt I propoſe this unto the *Quakers*, That if they will chuſe ſix ſober and diſintereſted perſons, I alſo will do the like, and if I cannot give ſufficient reaſons for what I have objected againſt them, I will contentedly ſubmit unto what theſe men will determine.

WE whoſe names are under-written do certify, that the aforeſaid quotations are truly recited out of the books to which they refer.

Witneſs our hands,

Dan. Dyke
Thomas Paul
Tho. Wilcocks
Jona. Jennings
Owen Davis
Wm. Dix
Robert Maton
Hanſerd Knollys
Hen. Forty
Rob. Snelling
Tho. Plant
John Hunter
John Vernon
John Goſnold
John Norcott
Maur. King
Joſeph Morton
John Snelling
Edw. Noble.

THERE

THERE were many more Miniſters and others, who were ready to atteſt the ſame.

N.B. WE have abbreviated the account by much. There was an advertiſement giving notice, that Mr. *William Kiffin* was not preſent by reaſon of buſineſs; but that he had ſince examined and found the quotations juſt.

William Kiffin.

Thomas Hicks having thus met at the time and place appointed, made it appear out of the *Quakers* own books, that he had not wronged them in the leaſt. The Church therefore to which he belonged, in publick print cleared him from the *Quakers* charge; and declared to the world, that they as yet ſee no juſt cauſe of blame to be laid unto *Thomas Hicks*; but that if any one ſhall object any new matter againſt him, if they ſignify the particulars in writing, they will return ſuch anſwers thereunto, as to them may ſeem juſt, and that may alſo be to the ſatisfaction of all indifferent and unprejudiced minds, hoping that nothing ſhall lie upon them in point of duty towards him, but that by the grace of God, they ſhall be ready to do it. *Epiſtle to the* Quakers *appeal anſwered.*

William Kiffin *Daniel Dyke*
Thomas Paul *Hanſerd Knollys.*
Henry Forty

MR. *Wills*, in his appeal to the *Baptiſts* againſt Eſqr; *Danvers*, obſerves, that tho' the *Quakers* were diſappointed as to the iſſue of their Appeal, 'yet it doth ap-'pear, ſays he, to all impartial and unpre-'judiced perſons, that the *Baptiſts* have 'carried the whole buſineſs with a great 'deal of fairneſs and impartiality to both 'ſides, as became juſt judges and good 'Chriſtians, and vindicated the honeſty 'of their brother from the unjuſt aſper-'ſions of his adverſaries.'

THE *Quakers* exhibited a new complaint, in which they deſired a rehearing of the whole matter, which at laſt was granted them. Wherein they behaved themſelves ſo diſorderly, as diſpleaſed the whole auditory; and finding themſelves not able to get the better of the *Baptiſts*, being diſappointed of the ſucceſs they hoped for, appointed a meeting at their own houſe in *Wheeler-ſtreet*: Thither Mr. *Hicks* would not go, becauſe they who had appealed were no fit judges to condemn in that caſe, upon which they had appealed; but ſent Mr. *Ives* thither with ſome others, who ſo managed the *Quakers*, that they were obliged to break up, without any further proceedings in the matter.

Life, p. 310. *Thomas Ellwood* tells us, that he let fly a broad-ſide at the *Baptiſts*, in a ſingle ſheet of paper, under the title of *A freſh Purſuit*. 'In which, ſays he, having re-ſtated

'ſtated the controverſy between them and 'us, and reinforced our charge of forge-'ry, &c. againſt *Thomas Hicks* and his 'abettors; I offered a fair challenge to 'them, not only to *Thomas Hicks* him-'ſelf, but to all thoſe his *compurgators*, 'who had before undertaken to acquit 'him from our charge, together with 'their companion *Jer. Ives*, to give me 'a fair and publick meeting, in which 'I would make good our charge againſt 'him as *principal*, and all the reſt of 'them as *acceſſaries*; but nothing could 'provoke them to come fairly forth.'

THOUGH Mr. *Ives* lived ſome years after this, yet Mr. *Ellwood* would never forgive him, for ſo ſmartly handling them in the controverſy then between them. For he tells us himſelf, that when he heard of his death, the impreſſion made upon his mind as well at this time, as before, drew from him ſomething like an *Epitaph*, which is publiſhed in the *hiſtory of his Life*, page 313, &c. But it is ſuch a barefaced piece of *defamation*, and a confirmation of one of the articles reſpecting their practice, which Mr. *Hicks* charged them with, that I believe the *Quakers* of the preſent day, who are a more ſober and inoffenſive people, would rather have it buried in oblivion; and therefore I omit it.

THE *Baptiſts* did publiſh an account of the two laſt meetings between them and the *Quakers*, together with the occaſion of theſe meetings, as alſo what letters paſſed in order thereunto; it was entitled, *A conteſt for Chriſtianity*, with ſome reflections upon ſeveral paſſages that were publiſhed in the account which the *Quakers* gave of the ſaid meetings. The ſame is ſubmitted to the judgment of all judicious and impartial men, and too long to be inſerted in this hiſtory, I muſt therefore refer the reader thereunto; and ſhall only obſerve in this place, that the *Quakers* being ſo chaf'd in their diſputes with the *Baptiſts*, that they did not only brand them with infamy, but denounced curſes and judgments upon them, becauſe they ſo ſtrongly withſtood that ſpirit of deluſion which they ſeemed to them to be under at this time; as appears in the following inſtance.

MR. *Ralph James*, Paſtor of the *Baptiſt* church at *North-Willingham* in the county of *Lincoln*, having either diſputed or otherwiſe declared his teſtimony, and bore witneſs againſt the errors of the *Quakers*, one *Richard Anderſon*, a *Quaker*, who lived at *Panton* in the ſame county, impiouſly aſſumed to himſelf the character of a prophet ſent of God, and in the name of God denounced this heavy judgment upon Mr. *James* in his preſence, *viz.* That he

he ſhould become a leper from head to foot for his oppoſing the ſpirit of the *Quakers*, or their light within; adding at the ſame time, that if he was deceived, the ſelf-ſame plague ſhould befal both him and his family: which accordingly came to paſs, for in a little time they were all leprous, and then the *Quaker* in extremity of pain, came ſorrowing and making his complaint to Mr. *James*, begging and intreating his prayers to God on his behalf, that he might be releaſed from that ſevere judgment; and accordingly Mr. *James* and his congregation kept days of faſting and prayer for him, and God was graciouſly pleaſed to give them eaſe and to heal them, which Mr. *Anderſon* freely confeſſed, and then addreſſed himſelf to their meetings.

THIS ſurpriſing inſtance with two others of the like nature, were ſoon after printed under the title of *A true and impartial Narrative of the eminent hand of God, that befel a* Quaker *and his family.* This ſtarting piece ſoon alarmed the *Quakers*, and leſt it ſhould farther expoſe their deluſion, and injure their cauſe, *Thomas Rudyard*, a lawyer, publiſhed in anſwer to it, a book entitled, *The Anabaptiſts lying Wonder*, to which a reply ſoon followed, intitled, *The Quakers ſubterfuge or evaſion overturned*, wherein the truth of the foregoing Narrative was farther confirmed

and eſtabliſhed, and the *Quakers* thereupon became ſilenced upon this head, tho' they fell to diſputation in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; in which Mr. *Thomas Grantham*, and others of the *Baptiſts* were very much engaged.

Anno 1677. IN the year 1677, was publiſhed by the *Baptiſts*, *a Confeſſion of their Faith, put forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Chriſtians, baptized upon profeſſion of their faith, in* London *and the country*. It is introduced with an Advertiſement *to the judicious and impartial Reader*. Wherein they obſerve, that it was many years ſince divers of them, with others, did conceive themſelves under a neceſſity of publiſhing a confeſſion of their faith; and that many others have ſince embraced the ſame truth which was owned therein. They judged it neceſſary to join together in giving a teſtimony to the world of their firm adhering to thoſe wholeſome principles, by the publication of this. And as their method and manner of expreſſing their ſentiments, doth vary from the former, altho' the matter of the ſubſtance is the ſame; ſo they give the reaſons thereof in the following words.

'ONE thing, ſay they, that greatly 'prevailed with us to undertake this 'work, was (not only to give a full ac-

'count

'count of ourſelves, to thoſe Chriſtians 'that differ from us about the ſubject of 'baptiſm, but alſo) the profit that might 'from thence ariſe, unto thoſe that have 'any account of our labours, in their in-'ſtruction, and eſtabliſhment in the great 'truths of the Goſpel; in the clear un-'derſtanding and ſteady belief of which, 'our comfortable walking with God, 'and fruitfulneſs before him, in all our 'ways, is moſt nearly concerned. And, 'therefore, we did conclude it neceſſary 'to expreſs ourſelves the more fully, and 'diſtinctly; and alſo to fix on ſuch a me-'thod as might be moſt comprehenſive 'of thoſe things which we deſigned to 'explain our ſenſe and belief of. And 'finding no defect, in this regard, in that 'fixed on by the Aſſembly, and after 'them by thoſe of the congregational 'way, we did readily conclude it beſt to 'retain the ſame *order* in our preſent con-'feſſion. And alſo, when we obſerved 'that thoſe laſt mentioned did in their 'confeſſion, (for reaſons which ſeemed 'of weight both to themſelves and o-'thers) chuſe not only to expreſs their 'minds in words concurrent with the for-'mer in ſenſe, concerning all thoſe arti-'cles wherein they were agreed, but al-'ſo for the moſt part without any varia-'tion of the terms; we did in like man-'ner conclude it beſt to follow their ex-

'ample,

'ample, in making uſe of the very ſame 'words with them both, in theſe arti-'cles, (which are very many) wherein 'our faith and doctrine is the ſame with 'theirs. And this we did, the more a-'bundantly to manifeſt our conſent with 'both, in all the fundamental articles of 'the Chriſtian Religion; as alſo with 'many others, whoſe orthodox confeſ-'ſions have been publiſhed to the world, 'on the behalf of the Proteſtants in di-'vers nations and cities: And alſo to 'convince all, that we have no itch to 'clog religion with new words, but do 'readily acquieſce in that form of ſound 'words, which hath been, in conſent 'with the Holy Scriptures, uſed by o-'thers before us; hereby declaring before 'God, angels, and men, our hearty a-'greement with them, in that wholeſome 'Proteſtant Doctrine, which with ſo 'clear evidence of ſcriptures they have 'aſſerted. Some things indeed, are in 'ſome places added, ſome terms omitted, 'and ſome few changed; but theſe alte-'rations are of that nature, as that we 'need not doubt any charge or ſuſpicion 'of unſoundneſs in the faith, from any 'of our brethren upon the account of 'them.

'IN thoſe things wherein we differ 'from others, we have expreſſed our-'ſelves with all candour and plainneſs,

'that

'that none might entertain jealouſy of 'ought ſecretly lodged in our breaſts, that 'we would not the world ſhould be ac- 'quainted with; yet we hope we have 'alſo obſerved thoſe rules of modeſty, 'and humility, as will render our free- 'dom in this reſpect inoffenſive, even to 'thoſe whoſe ſentiments are different 'from ours. We have alſo taken care to 'affix texts of ſcripture in the margin, 'for the confirmation of each article in 'our confeſſion. In which work we 'have ſtudiouſly endeavoured to ſelect 'ſuch as are moſt clear and pertinent, 'for the proof of what is aſſerted by us. 'And our earneſt deſire is, that all, into 'whoſe hands this may come, would 'follow that never enough commended 'example of the noble *Bereans*, who 'ſearched the ſcriptures daily, that they 'might find out whether the things 'preached to them, were ſo or not.

'THERE is one thing more which 'we ſincerely profeſs, and earneſtly de- 'ſire credence in, *viz.* that contention is 'moſt remote from our deſign in all that 'we have done in this matter. And we 'hope the liberty of an ingenuous un- 'folding our principles, and opening our 'hearts unto our brethren, with the 'ſcripture grounds on which our faith 'and practice leans, will by none of 'them be either denied to us, or taken ill

'from

'from us. Our whole deſign is accom-
'pliſhed, if we may obtain that juſtice,
'as to be meaſured in our principles and
'practice, and the judgment of both by
'others, according to what we have now
'publiſhed; which the Lord, whoſe eyes
'are as a flame of fire, knoweth to be
'the doctrine, which with our hearts we
'moſt firmly believe, and ſincerely en-
'deavour to conform our lives to. And
'oh! that other contentions being laid a-
'ſleep, the only care and contention of
'all upon whom the name of our Bleſſed
'Redeemer is called, might for the fu-
'ture be, *to walk humbly with their God*,
'and in the exerciſe of all love and meek-
'neſs towards each other; *to perfect holi-*
'*neſs in the fear of the Lord*; each one
'endeavouring *to have his converſation*
'*ſuch as becometh the Goſpel*; and alſo
'ſuitable to his place and capacity, vi-
'gorouſly to promote in others the prac-
'tice of true religion, and undefiled in the
'ſight of God and our Father: And that
'in this backſliding day, we might not
'ſpend our breath in fruitleſs complaints
'of the evils of others, but may every
'one begin at home, to reform in the
'firſt place our own hearts and ways,
'and then to quicken all that we may
'have influence upon, to the ſame work;
'that if the will of God were ſo, none
'might deceive themſelves, by reſting in,

'and

'and truſting to a form of godlineſs, 'without the power of it, and inward 'experience of the efficacy of thoſe truths 'that are profeſſed by them.'

THIS Confeſſion of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689, and was approved of, and recommended by the miniſters and meſſengers of above an hundred congregations met in *London*; and is ſtill generally received by all thoſe congregations, that hold the doctrine of perſonal election, and the certainty of the ſaints final perſeverance: And therefore, I ſhall reſerve the exhibition thereof till I come to treat of that time; and only add the Appendix they annexed to the Confeſſion, publiſhed at this time.

THEY ſay, 'Whoſoever reads, and 'impartially conſiders, what we have in 'our foregoing Confeſſion declared, may 'readily perceive, that we do not only 'concenter with all other true Chriſtians 'on the word of God, revealed in the 'ſcriptures of truth, as the foundation and 'rule of our faith and worſhip; but that 'we have alſo induſtriouſly endeavoured 'to manifeſt, that in the fundamental 'articles of Chriſtianity we *mind the ſame 'things*, and have therefore expreſſed our 'belief in the ſame words, that have on 'the like occaſion been ſpoken by other 'ſocieties of Chriſtians before us.

'THIS

'THIS we have done, that thoſe who 'are deſirous to know the principles of 'religion which we hold and practiſe, 'may take an eſtimate from ourſelves, 'who jointly concur in this work; and 'may not be miſguided, either by undue 'reports, or by the ignorance or errors of 'particular perſons; who going under 'the ſame name with ourſelves, may give 'an occaſion of ſcandalizing the truth 'we profeſs.

'AND altho' we do differ from our 'brethren who are *Pædobaptiſts*, in the 'ſubject and adminiſtration of baptiſm, 'and ſuch other circumſtances as have a 'neceſſary dependance on our obſervance 'of that ordinance, and do frequent our 'own Aſſemblies for our mutual edifica-'tion, and diſcharge of thoſe duties and 'ſervices which we owe unto God, and 'in his fear to each other: Yet we would 'not be from hence miſconſtrued, as if 'the diſcharge of our own conſciences 'herein, did any ways diſoblige or alie-'nate our affections or converſation from 'any others that fear the Lord; but that 'we may and do, as we have opportuni-'ty, participate of the labours of thoſe, 'whom God hath indued with abilities 'above ourſelves, and qualified, and called 'to the miniſtry of the *word*; earneſtly 'deſiring to approve ourſelves to be ſuch, 'as follow after peace with holineſs. And

'therefore

'therefore we always keep that bleſſed 'Irenicum, or healing *word* of the Apo- 'ſtle before our eyes: *If in any thing* Phil. iii. 'ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reveal 15. 'even this unto you: Nevertheleſs whereto 'we have already attained, let us walk 'by the ſame rule, let us mind the ſame 'thing.

'LET it not therefore be judged of 'us (becauſe much hath been written on 'this ſubject, and yet we continue this 'our practice different from others) that 'it is out of obſtinacy; but rather, as the 'truth is, that we do herein according to 'the beſt of our underſtandings, worſhip 'God out of a pure mind, yielding obe- 'dience to his precept, in that method 'which we take to be moſt agreeable to 'the ſcriptures of truth, and primitive 'practice.

'IT would not become us to give any 'ſuch intimation, as ſhould carry a ſem- 'blance that what we do in the ſervice 'of God is with a doubting conſcience; 'or with any ſuch temper of mind that 'we do thus for the preſent, with a re- 'ſervation that we will do otherwiſe here- 'after upon more mature deliberation. 'Nor have we any cauſe ſo to do; be- 'ing fully perſuaded, that what we do 'is agreeable to the will of God. Yet 'we do heartily propoſe this; that if any 'of the ſervants of our Lord *Jeſus* ſhall

'in

'in the ſpirit of meekneſs, attempt to convince us of any miſtake either in judgment or practice, we ſhall diligently ponder his arguments; and account him our chiefeſt friend that ſhall be an inſtrument to convert us from any error that is in our ways: For we cannot wittingly do any thing againſt the truth, but all things for the truth.

'AND therefore we have endeavoured ſeriouſly to conſider what hath been already offered for our ſatisfaction in this point: And are loth to ſay any more, leſt we ſhould be eſteemed deſirous of renewed conteſts thereabout. Yet foraſmuch as it may juſtly be expected, that we ſhew ſome reaſon, why we cannot acquieſce in what hath been urged againſt us, we ſhall with as much brevity, as may conſiſt with plainneſs, endeavour to ſatisfy the expectation of thoſe, that ſhall peruſe what we now publiſh in this matter alſo.

'1. As to thoſe Chriſtians who conſent with us, *That repentance from dead works, and faith towards God, and our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *is required in perſons to be baptized*; and do therefore ſupply the defect, of the infant being uncapable of making confeſſion of either, by others, who do undertake theſe things for it: Altho' we do find by Church-Hiſtory, that this hath been a very an-

'cient

'cient practice; yet conſidering, that the 'ſame ſcripture which does caution us 'againſt cenſuring our brother, with 'whom we ſhall all ſtand before the 'judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, does alſo in-'ſtruct us, *That every one of us ſhall give* Rom. xiv. 'an account of himſelf to God, and *what-* 4, 10, 12, 'ſoever is not of faith is ſin*;* therefore 23. 'we cannot for our parts be perſuaded 'in our minds, to build ſuch a practice 'as this, upon an unwritten tradition: But 'do rather chooſe in all points of faith 'and worſhip, to have recourſe to the 'holy Scriptures, for the information of 'our judgment, and regulation of our 'practice; being well aſſured that a con-'ſcientious attending thereto, is the beſt 'way to prevent and rectify our defects 'and errors. And if any ſuch caſe happen 2 Tim. 'to be debated between Chriſtians, which iii. 16. 'is not plainly determinable by the Scrip-'tures, we think it ſafeſt to leave ſuch 'things undecided until the ſecond com-'ing of our Lord *Jeſus*; as they did in 'the church of old, until there ſhould 'ariſe a prieſt with *Urim* and *Thummim*, Ezra ii. 'that might certainly inform them of 62. 'the mind of God thereabout.

'2. As for thoſe our chriſtian bre-'thren, who do ground their arguments 'for infants baptiſm, upon a preſumed 'fœderal holineſs, or church-member-'ſhip; we conceive they are deficient in

'this, that albeit this covenant-holiness 'and membership should be as is supposed, in reference unto the infants of believers; yet no command for infant-baptism does immediately and directly result from such a quality, or relation. 'All instituted worship receives its sanction from the precept, and is thereby governed in all the necessary circumstances thereof. So it was in the covenant that God made with *Abraham* and his seed. The sign whereof was appropriated only to the male, notwithstanding that the female seed, as well as the male, were comprehended in the covenant, and part of the Church of God. 'Neither was this sign to be affixed to any male-infant till he was eight days old, albeit he was within the covenant from the first moment of his life. Nor could the danger of death, or any other supposed necessity, warrant the circumcising of him before the set time. 'Nor was there any cause for it; the commination of *being cut off from his people* being only upon the neglect, or contempt of the precept.

'RIGHTEOUS *Lot* was nearly related to *Abraham* in the flesh, and contemporary with him, when this covenant was made: Yet inasmuch as he did not descend from his loins, nor was of his household-family, altho' he was of the

'same

'ſame houſhold of faith with *Abraham*; 'yet neither *Lot* himſelf, nor any of his 'poſterity, becauſe of their deſcent from 'him, were ſigned with the ſignature 'of this covenant, that was made with '*Abraham* and his ſeed.

'THIS may ſuffice to ſhew, that 'where there was both an expreſs cove-'nant, and a ſign thereof, ſuch a cove-'nant as did ſeparate the perſons with 'whom it was made, and all their off-'ſpring, from all the reſt of the world, 'as a people holy unto the Lord, and 'did conſtitute them the viſible Church 'of God, tho' not comprehenſive of all 'the faithful in the world; yet the ſign 'of this covenant was not affixed to all 'the perſons that were within this cove-'nant, nor to any of them till the pre-'fixed ſeaſon; nor to other faithful ſer-'vants of God, that were not of de-'ſcent from *Abraham*. And conſequent-'ly that it depends purely upon the will 'of the Law-giver, to determine what 'ſhall be the ſign of his covenant; unto 'whom, at what ſeaſon, and upon what 'terms, it ſhall be affixed.

'IF our brethren do ſuppoſe baptiſm to 'be the ſeal of the covenant, which God 'makes with every believer, of which the 'Scriptures are altogether ſilent; it is not 'our concern to contend with them here-'in. Yet we conceive, the ſeal of that co-

'venant is the indwelling of the Spirit of 'Chriſt, in the particular and individual 'perſons in whom he reſides, and no- 'thing elſe. Neither do they or we ſup- 'poſe, that baptiſm is in any ſuch manner 'ſubſtituted in the place of circumciſion, 'as to have the ſame, and no other la- 'titude, extent, or terms, than circum- 'ciſion had. For that was ſuited only 'for the male-children; baptiſm is an or- 'dinance ſuited for every believer, whe- 'ther male or female: That extended to 'all the males that were born in *Abra-* 'ham's houſe, or bought with his money, 'equally with the males that proceeded 'from his own loins; but baptiſm is not 'ſo far extended in any true Chriſtian 'Church that we know of, as to be ad- 'miniſtred to all the poor infidel ſer- 'vants, that the members thereof pur- 'chaſe for their ſervice, and introduce in- 'to their families; nor to the children 'born of them in their houſe.

'BUT we conceive the ſame parity of 'reaſoning may hold for the ordinance 'of baptiſm, as for that of circumciſion:
Exod. xii. 49. 'viz. *One law for the ſtranger, as for the* 'home-born. If any deſire to be admit- 'ted to all the ordinances and privileges 'of God's houſe, the door is open, up- 'on the very ſame terms that any one 'perſon was ever admitted to all, or 'any of thoſe privileges, that belong to 'the

'the Chriſtian Church, may all perſons
'of right challenge the like admiſſion.
'As for that text of Scripture, *He re-* Rom. vi.
'*ceived circumciſion, a ſeal of the righte-* 11.
'*ouſneſs of the faith which he had, yet be-*
'*ing uncircumciſed*; we conceive if the
'Apoſtle's ſcope in that place be duely
'attended to, it will appear that no ar-
'gument can be taken from thence to
'inforce Infant-baptiſm. And foraſ-
'much as we find a full and fair ac-
'count of thoſe words given by the
'learned Dr. *Lightfoot*, a man not to be
'ſuſpected of partiality in this contro-
'verſy, in his *Hor. Hebraic.* on the
'1 *Cor.* vii. 19. p. 42, 43. we ſhall
'tranſcribe his words at large, without
'any comment of our own upon them.

Circumciſio nihil eſt, ratione habita temporis, jam enim evanuerat, ad impleto præcipue ejus fine ob quem fuerat inſtituta: Iſtum finem exhibet apoſtolus in verbis iſtis, Rom. iv. 11. σφραγιδα τῆς δικριοσύνης τῆς πιςεως τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυσίᾳ. *At vereor ne a pleriſque verſionibus non ſatis aptentur*

'CIRCUMCISION is nothing, if
'we reſpect the
'time, for now it
'was without uſe;
'that end of it be-
'ing eſpecially ful-
'filled, for which
'it had been inſti-
'tuted; this end the
'Apoſtle declares
'in theſe words,
'*Rom.* iv. 11. σφρα-
'γιδα, &c. But I

aptentur ad finem circumcisionis & scopum Apostoli, dum ab iis interseritur aliquid de suo.

'fear that by most 'translations they 'are not sufficient-'ly suited to the 'end of circumci-'sion, and the scope 'of the Apostle, 'whilst something 'of their own is 'by them inserted.

'AND after the Doctor hath repre-'sented diverse versions of the words, a-'greeing for the most part in sense with 'that which we have in our Bibles, he 'thus proceeds.

Aliæ in eundem sensum, ac si circumcisio daretur Abrahamo *in sigillum justitiæ istius, quam ille habuit, dum adhuc foret præputiatus; quod non negabimus aliqualiter verum esse; at credimus circumcisionem longe alio præcipue respexisse.*

'OTHER versi-'ons are to the 'same purpose, as 'if circumcision 'was given to *A-'braham* for a seal 'of that righteous-'ness which he had, 'being yet uncir-'cumcised: which 'we will not deny 'to be in some sense 'true; but we 'believe that cir-'cumcision had

Liccat

'chiefly

chiefly a far different reſpect.

Liccat mihi verba ſic reddere. Et ſignum accepit circumciſionis, ſigillum juſtitiæ fidei, quæ futura in præputio; quæ futura dico; non quæ fuerat Abrahamo *adhuc præputiato, ſed quæ futura ſemini ejus præputiato, id eſt, gentilibus, fidem olim* Abrahami *imitaturis.*

'GIVE me leave thus to render the words. *And he received the ſign of circumciſion, a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith, which was to be in the uncircumciſion: which was to be,* I ſay; not *which had been*, nor that which *Abraham* had whilſt he was yetuncircumciſed; but that which his uncircumciſed ſeed ſhould have, that is, the *Gentiles*, who in time to come ſhould imitate the faith of *Abraham.*

Nunc adverte bene, qua occaſione inſtituta Abrahamo *circumciſio, ponens tibi ante oculos hiſtoriam ejus,* Gen. xvii.

'NOW conſider well, on what occaſion circumciſion was inſtituted unto *Abraham*, ſetting before thine eyes the hiſtory thereof, *Gen.* xvii.

Fit primo ei hæc promiſſio, multarum gentium eris tu pater (quonam ſenſu explicat Apoſtolus, iſto capite.) Et ſubinde ſubjungitur duplex ſigillum rei corroborandæ: immutatio ſcilicet nominis Abrami *in* Abrahamum, *& inſtitutio circumciſionis*, v. 4. *Ecce mihi tecum eſt fœdus, eris tu pater multarum gentium. Quare vocatum eſt nomen ejus* Abrahamus? *In ſigillationem hujus promiſſionis: Tu pater eris multarum gentium. Et quare inſtituta ei circumciſio? In ſigillationem ejuſdem promiſſionis; Tu pater eris multarum gentium. Ita ut hic ſit ſenſus Apoſtoli, inſtitutioni circumciſionis congruentiſſimus: accepit ſignum circumciſionis,*

'THIS promiſe 'is firſt made unto 'him, *Thou ſhalt be* 'the father of many 'nations (in what 'ſenſe the Apoſtle 'explaineth in that 'Chapter.) And 'then there is ſub-'joined a double ſeal 'for the confirma-'tion of the thing: 'to wit, the change 'of the name *Abram* into *Abraham*, and the in-'ſtitution of cir-'cumciſion, *v.* 4. '*Behold as for me, my covenant is with thee, and thou ſhalt be the father of many nations.* Wherefore 'was his name cal-'led *Abraham?* For 'the ſealing of this 'promiſe; *Thou ſhalt be the father of many nations.* 'And wherefore 'was circumciſion 'inſtituted to him? 'For

nis, ſigillum juſtitiæ fidei, quam olim erat in circumciſio (vel Gentiles) habitura & adeptura.

'For the ſealing of 'the ſame promiſe, 'Thou ſhalt be the 'father of many 'nations. So that 'this is the ſenſe 'of the Apoſtle, 'moſt agreeable to 'the inſtitution of 'circumciſion: He 'received the ſign 'of circumciſion, a 'ſeal of the righte-'ouſneſs of faith, 'which in time to 'come the uncir-'cumciſion, or the 'Gentiles ſhould 'have and obtain.

Duplex ſemen erat Abrahamo: *naturale, Judæorum; & fidele, gentilium credentium. Signatur naturale ſigno circumciſionis: primo quidem in ſui diſtinctionem ab omnibus aliis gentibus, dum eæ nondum hucforent ſemen* Abrahami: *at præcipue in memoriam juſtificationis gentium*

'*Abraham* had 'a twofold ſeed: '*natural*, of the '*Jews*; and *faith-'ful*, of the believ-'ing *Gentiles*. His 'natural ſeed was 'ſigned with the 'ſign of circumciſi-'on: Firſt, indeed, 'for the diſtin-'guiſhing of them 'from all other na-'tions, whilſt they

'as

um per fidem, cum tandem forent ejus ſemen. Ceſſatura ergo merito erat circumciſio, cum introducerentur Gentiles ad fidem; quippe quod tunc finem ſuum ultimum ac præcipuum obtinuerat; & perinde ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδέν.

'as yet were not 'the ſeed of *Abra-* 'ham; but eſpeci- 'ally, for the me- 'morial of the 'juſtification of the 'Gentiles by faith, 'when at length 'they ſhould be- 'come his ſeed. 'Therefore circum- 'ciſion was of right 'to ceaſe when the 'Gentiles were 'brought into the 'faith; foraſmuch 'as then it had ob- 'tained its laſt and 'chief end; and 'thenceforth *cir-* 'cumciſion is no- 'thing.

'THUS far he: Which we earneſtly 'deſire may be ſeriouſly weighed; for 'we plead not his authority, but the e- 'vidence of truth in his words.

'3. OF whatſoever nature the *holi-* 'neſs of the children, mentioned 1 *Cor.* 'vii. 12. be; yet they who do conclude, 'that all ſuch children (whether infants 'or of riper years) have from hence an 'immediate right to baptiſm, do as we

'can

'conceive put more into the concluſion,
'than will be found in the premiſes.

'FOR altho' we do not determine po-
'ſitively concerning the Apoſtle's ſcope in
'the *holineſs* here mentioned, ſo as to
'ſay, it is this or that, and no other
'thing; yet it is evident, that the Apo-
'ſtle does by it determine not only the
'lawfulneſs, but the expedience alſo of a
'believer's co-habitation with an unbeliev-
'er, in the ſtate of marriage.

'AND we do think that although the
'Apoſtle's aſſerting of the unbelieving
'yoke-fellow to be *ſanctified by the be-*
'*liever*, ſhould carry in it ſomewhat more
'than is in the bare marriage of two in-
'fidels, becauſe altho' the marriage-cove-
'nant have a divine ſanction, ſo as to
'make the wedlock of two unbelievers a
'lawful action, and their conjunction and
'co-habitation in that reſpect undefiled;
'yet there might be no ground to ſup-
'poſe from thence, that both or either of
'their perſons are thereby *ſanctified*; and
'the Apoſtle urges the co-habitation of
'a believer with an infidel in the ſtate of
'wedlock from this ground, that the un-
'believing huſband is *ſanctified* by the be-
'lieving wife. Nevertheleſs here you
'have the influence of a believer's faith,
'*aſcending from an inferior to a ſuperior*
'*relation*; from the wife to the huſband
'who is her head, *before it can deſcend to*
'*their*

'*their offspring*. And therefore we ſay, 'whatever be the nature or extent of the '*holineſs* here intended, we conceive it 'cannot convey to the children an im-'mediate right to baptiſm; becauſe it 'would then be of another nature, and 'of a larger extent, than the root and 'original from whence it is derived. For 'it is clear, by the Apoſtle's argument, 'that *holineſs* cannot be derived to the 'child from the ſanctity of one parent 'only, if either father or mother be (in 'the ſenſe intended by the Apoſtle) *un-'holy* or unclean. So will the child be 'alſo; therefore, for the production of an 'holy ſeed, it is neceſſary that both the pa-'rents be ſanctified. And this the Apoſtle 'poſitively aſſerts in the firſt place to be 'done by the believing parent, although 'the other be an unbeliever: And then 'conſequentially from thence argues the 'holineſs of their children. Hence it 'follows, that as the children have no 'other *holineſs* than what they derive from 'both their parents; ſo neither can they 'have any right by this *holineſs* to any 'ſpiritual privileges but ſuch as both their 'parents did alſo partake of. And there-'fore, if the unbelieving parent, tho' '*ſanctified* by the believing parent, have 'not thereby a right to baptiſm; nei-'ther can we conceive, that there is any

'ſuch

'ſuch privilege derived to their children 'by their *birth-holineſs*.

'BESIDES, if it had been the uſual 'practice in the Apoſtle's days, for the 'father or mother that did believe to 'bring all their children with them to be 'baptized: Then the holineſs of the be-'lieving *Corinthians* children would not 'at all have been in queſtion, when this 'epiſtle was written; but might have 'been argued from their paſſing under 'that ordinance, which repreſented their 'new birth, altho' they had derived no 'holineſs from their parents, by their 'firſt birth; and would have lain as an 'exception againſt the Apoſtle's infe-'rence, *elſe were your children unclean*, '&c. But of the *ſanctification* of all the 'children of every believer by this or-'dinance, or any other way, than what 'is before-mentioned, the Scripture is al-'together ſilent.

'THIS may be alſo added, that if 'this *birth-holineſs* do qualify all the 'children of every believer, for the ordi-'nance of baptiſm; why not for all o-'ther ordinances? For the Lord's-ſup-'per, as was practiſed for a long time 'together? For if recourſe be had to 'what the Scriptures ſpeak generally of 'this ſubject, it will be found that the 'ſame qualities, which do intitle any 'perſon to baptiſm, do ſo alſo for the 'partici-

'participation of all the ordinances and 'privileges of the houſe of God, that are 'common to all believers.

'WHOSOEVER can and does interro-'gate his good conſcience towards God, 'when he is baptized (as every one muſt 'do that makes it to himſelf a ſign of 'ſalvation) is capable of doing the ſame 'thing, in every other act of worſhip 'that he performs.

'4. THE arguments and inferences 'that are uſually brought for, or againſt 'infant-baptiſm, from thoſe few inſtances 'which the Scriptures afford us, of whole 'families being baptized, are only con-'jectural; and therefore cannot of them-'ſelves be concluſive on either hand: Yet 'in regard moſt that treat on this ſub-'ject for infant-baptiſm, do, as they con-'ceive, improve theſe inſtances to the 'advantage of their argument, we think 'it meet (in like manner as in the caſes 'before-mentioned, ſo in this) to ſhew 'the invalidity of ſuch inferences.

'*Cornelius worſhipped God with all his* '*houſe.* The *Jaylor*, and *Criſpus*, the 'chief ruler of the ſynagogue, *believed* '*God with each of their houſes. The houſ-*'*hold of* Stephanas *addicted themſelves to* '*the miniſtry of the ſaints.* So that thus 'far *worſhipping* and *believing* runs paral-'lel with *baptiſm.* And if *Lydia* had 'been a married perſon when ſhe be-

'lieved,

'lieved, it is probable her husband would 'also have been named by the Apostle, 'as in like cases, inasmuch as he would 'have been not only a part, but the head 'of that baptized household.

'WHO can assign any probable rea- 'son, why the Apostle should make men- 'tion of four or five households being 'baptized, and no more? Or why he 'does so often vary in the method of his 'salutations: Sometimes only mentioning Rom. i. 6. 'particular persons of great note; other 'times such, *and the church in their 'house*; *the saints that were with them*; 'and *them belonging to* Narcissus, *who 'were in the Lord*: Thus saluting either 'whole families, or parts of families, or only 'particular persons in families, considered 'as *they were in the Lord?* For if it had 'been an usual practice to baptize all 'children, with their parents; there were 'then many thousands of the *Jews* which 'believed, and a great number of the '*Gentiles*, in most of the principal cities 'in the world; and among so many thou- 'sands, it is more than probable there 'would have been some thousands of 'households baptized: Why then should 'the Apostle in this respect signalize one 'family of the *Jews*, and three or four 'of the *Gentiles*, as particular instances 'in a case that was common? Whoever 'supposes that we do wilfully debar our

'children

'children from the benefit of any pro-
'miſe, or privilege, that of right be-
'longs to the children of believing pa-
'rents; they do entertain over ſevere
'thoughts of us. To be *without natural*
'*affections* is one of the characters of the
'worſt of perſons in the worſt of times.
'We do freely confeſs ourſelves guilty
'before the Lord, in that we have not
'with more circumſpection and diligence
'trained up thoſe that relate to us in the
'fear of the Lord; and do humbly and
'earneſtly pray, that our omiſſions here-
'in may be remitted, and that they may
'not redound to the prejudice of our-
'ſelves, or any of ours. But with re-
'ſpect to that duty that is incumbent on
'us, we acknowledge ourſelves obliged by
'the precepts of God, *to bring up our*
'*children in the nurture and admonition*
'*of the Lord*, to teach them his fear,
'both by inſtruction and example; and
'ſhould we ſet light by this precept, it
'would demonſtrate, that we are more
'vile than the unnatural *Heathen*, that
'*like not to retain God in their knowledge*;
'our baptiſm might then be juſtly ac-
'counted as no baptiſm to us. There
'are many ſpecial promiſes that do en-
'courage us, as well as precepts that do
'oblige us, to the cloſe purſuit of our
'duty herein. That God, whom we
'ſerve, being jealous of his worſhip,

'threatens

'threatens the *visiting of the fathers* 'transgressions upon the children, to the 'third and fourth generation of them that 'hate him: Yet does he more abundant-'ly extend his *mercy, even to thousands,* 'respecting the offspring and succeeding 'generations, of them *that love him, and* 'keep his commands.

'WHEN our Lord rebuked his disci-'ples, for prohibiting the access of little 'children that were brought to him, that 'he might pray over them, lay his hands 'upon them, and bless them, does de-'clare, *that of such is the kingdom of* 'God: And the Apostle *Peter*, in an-'swer to their enquiry, that desired to 'know *what they must do to be saved*, does 'not only instruct them in the necessary 'duty of repentance and baptism; but 'does also thereto encourage them, by 'that *promise* which had reference both 'to them and their children. If our Lord '*Jesus* in the fore-mentioned place, do 'not respect the qualities of children, as 'elsewhere, as to their meekness, humi-'lity and sincerity, and the like, but in-'tend also that those very persons and 'such like, appertain to the kingdom of 'God: And if the Apostle *Peter*, in 'mentioning the aforesaid *promise*, do re-'spect not only the present and succeed-'ing generations of those *Jews*, that 'heard him, in which sense the same

'phraſe doth occur in ſcripture, but alſo 'the immediate offſpring of his audi-'tors; whether the promiſe relate to the 'gift of the Holy Spirit, or of eternal life, 'or any grace or privilege tending to the 'obtaining thereof: It is neither our con-'cern, nor our intereſt to confine the 'mercies, and promiſes of God, to a 'more narrow or leſs compaſs than he 'is pleaſed graciouſly to offer and intend 'them; nor to have a light eſteem of 'them; but are obliged in duty to God, 'and affection to our children, to plead 'earneſtly with God, and uſe our utmoſt 'endeavours, that both ourſelves and our 'offſpring may be partakers of his mer-'cies and gracious promiſes. Yet we 'cannot from either of theſe texts, col-'lect a ſufficient warrant for us to bap-'tize our children, before they are in-'ſtructed in the principles of the Chriſ-'tian Religion.

'FOR as to the inſtance in *little chil-'dren*; it ſeems by the diſciples *forbid-'ding* them, that they were brought up-'on ſome other account, not ſo frequent 'as baptiſm muſt be ſuppoſed to have 'been, if from the beginning believers 'children had been admitted thereto: 'and no account is given, whether their 'parents were baptized believers or not. 'And as to the inſtance of the Apoſtle; if 'the following words and practice may

'be

'be taken as an interpretation of the 'ſcope of that *promiſe*, we cannot con- 'ceive it does refer to infant-baptiſm; 'becauſe the text does preſently ſubjoin; '*then they that gladly received the word* '*were baptized.*

'THAT there were ſome believing 'children of believing parents in the A- 'poſtle's days, is evident from the Scrip- 'tures, even ſuch as were then in their 'father's family, and under their parents 'tuition, and education; to whom the 'Apoſtle in ſeveral of his epiſtles to the 'churches, giveth commands *to obey their* '*parents in the Lord*; and does allure 'their tender years to hearken to this 'precept, by reminding them, that it is '*the firſt command with promiſe.*

'AND it is recorded by him for the 'praiſe of *Timothy*, and encouragement 'of parents betimes to inſtruct, and chil- 'dren early to attend godly inſtruction, 'that ἀπὸ βρέφους, *from a child, he had* '*known the Holy Scriptures.* The Apoſtle '*John* rejoyced greatly, when he found 'of *the children of the elect lady* walking 'in the truth; and *the children of her e-* '*lect ſiſter* join with the Apoſtle in his 'ſalutation.

'BUT that this was not generally ſo, 'that all the children of believers were 'accounted for believers, as they would 'have been, if they had been all bap-

'tized, may be collected from the cha-
'racter which the Apoſtle gives of per-
'ſons fit to be choſen to elderſhip in the
'church, which was not common to all
'believers. Among others, this is ex-
'preſly one; *viz. if there be any having*
'*believing, or faithful children*, not ac-
'cuſed of riot or unruly. And we may
'from the Apoſtle's writings on the ſame
'ſubject, collect the reaſon of this quali-
'fication; *viz.* that in caſe the perſon
'deſigned for this office to teach and
'rule in the houſe of God, had children
'capable of it, there might be firſt a
'proof of his ability, induſtry and ſuc-
'ceſs in this work in his own family, and
'private capacity, before he was ordain-
'ed to the exerciſe of this authority in
'the church, in a publick capacity, as a
'biſhop in the houſe of God.

'THESE things we have mentioned
'as having a direct reference unto the
'controverſy between our brethren and us.
'Other things, that are more abſtruſe and
'prolix, which are frequently introduced
'into this controverſy, but do not neceſ-
'ſarily concern it, we have purpoſely a-
'voided; that the diſtance between us
'and our brethren may not be by us
'made more wide: For it is our duty,
'and concern, ſo far as is poſſible for
'us, retaining a good conſcience towards
'God,

'God, to ſeek a more entire agreement 'and reconciliation with them.

'WE are not inſenſible, that as to 'the order of God's houſe, and entire 'communion therein, there are ſome 'things wherein we, as well as others, 'are not at a full accord among our-'ſelves. As for inſtance, the known 'principle and ſtate of the conſciences 'of divers of us, that have agreed in 'this confeſſion is ſuch, that we cannot 'hold church-communion with any other 'than baptized believers, and churches 'conſtituted of ſuch. Yet ſome others 'of us have a greater liberty and freedom 'in our ſpirits that way; and therefore 'we have purpoſely omitted the mention 'of things of that nature, that we might 'concur in giving this evidence of our 'agreement, both among ourſelves, and 'with other good Chriſtians, in thoſe im-'portant articles of the Chriſtian Reli-'gion mainly inſiſted on by us. And 'this notwithſtanding we all eſteem it 'our chief concern, both among ourſelves 'and all others, that in every place call 'upon the name of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* 'our Lord, both theirs and ours, and 'love him in ſincerity, *to endeavour to* 'keep the unity of the Spirit, *in the bond* 'of peace; and in order thereto, to exer-'ciſe *all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-*'ſuffering, *forbearing one another in love.*

'And we are perſuaded, if the ſame me-
'thod were introduced into frequent prac-
'tice between us and our chriſtian friends,
'who agree with us in all the fundamen-
'tal articles of the Chriſtian Faith, tho'
'they do not ſo in the ſubject and adminiſ-
'tration of baptiſm; it would ſoon beget
'a better underſtanding, and brotherly
'affection between us.

'IN the beginning of the Chriſtian
'Church, when the doctrine of the bap-
'tiſm of *Chriſt* was not univerſally un-
'derſtood, yet thoſe that knew only the
'baptiſm of *John*, were *the diſciples of*
'*the Lord Jeſus*; and *Apollos* an emin-
'ent miniſter of the goſpel of *Jeſus*.

'IN the beginning of the reformation
'of the Chriſtian Church, and recovery
'from that *Egyptian* darkneſs, wherein
'our forefathers for many generations
'were held in bondage; upon recourſe
'had to the Scriptures of truth, different
'apprehenſions were conceived, which
'are to this time continued, concerning
'the practice of this ordinance.

'LET not our zeal herein be miſin-
'terpreted. That God whom we ſerve is
'jealous of his worſhip. By his gracious
'providence the law thereof is continued
'amongſt us; and we are forwarned by
'what happened in the church of the
'*Jews*, that it is neceſſary for every ge-
'ration, and that frequently in every ge-
'neration,

'neration, to conſult the divine oracle, 'compare our worſhip with the rule, 'and take heed to what doctrines we re-'ceive and practiſe.

'IF the ten commands, exhibited in 'the *popiſh* idolatrous ſervice-book, had 'been received as the entire law of God, 'becauſe they agree in number with his 'ten commands, and alſo in the ſubſtance 'of nine of them; the ſecond command-'ment, forbidding idolatry, had been ut-'terly loſt. If *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had 'not made a diligent ſearch into the par-'ticular parts of God's law, and his wor-'ſhip; the feaſt of tabernacles, which 'for many centuries of years had not been 'duely obſerved, according to the inſti-'tution, though it was retained in the 'general notion, would not have been 'kept in due order.

'SO may it be now, as to many 'things relating to the ſervice of God, 'which do retain the names proper to 'them in their firſt inſtitution; but yet 'through inadvertency, where there is no 'ſiniſter deſign, may vary in their cir-'cumſtances from their firſt inſtitution. 'And if by means of any ancient de-'fection, or of that general corruption 'of the ſervice of God, and interruption 'of his true worſhip, and perſecution of 'his ſervants by the antichriſtian biſhop 'of *Rome*, for many generations; thoſe

'who do conſult the word of God, cannot yet arrive at a full and mutual ſatisfaction among themſelves, what was the practice of the primitive Chriſtian Church, in ſome points relating to the *worſhip* of God: Yet inaſmuch as theſe things are not of the eſſence of chriſtianity, but that we agree in the fundamental doctrines thereof; we do apprehend, there is ſufficient ground to lay aſide all bitterneſs and prejudice, and in the ſpirit of love and meekneſs, to embrace and own each other therein; leaving each other at liberty to perform ſuch other ſervices, wherein we cannot concur, apart unto God, according to the beſt of our underſtanding.'

THE great increaſe of the *Baptiſts*, and the many converts gained by the force of their arguments and the exemplarineſs of their lives, brought upon them many clamours and defamations; the chiefs were repreſented as Jeſuits, Hereticks, and what not; many books were publiſhed, miſrepreſenting them.

THIS neceſſitated them to publiſh many Confeſſions of Faith; ſome in vindication of particular churches, others of particular perſons, too numerous to be taken notice of in this hiſtory. I ſhall confine myſelf only to ſuch as were put forth by congregated bodies. And as I have before ob-

obſerved, the *Baptiſts* in general conſiſt of two parties, diſtinguiſhed by the title of *general* and *particular*; ſo I find when the one have publiſhed a general Confeſſion of their Faith, the other have ſoon after likewiſe done the ſame; both which I ſhall place in order of time, that ſo a juſt eſtimation of their principles, and their near coherence with the other Proteſtant parties in this kingdom may appear. This ſeems to me the beſt and only method to anſwer the many miſrepreſentations which have been publiſhed by their ill-natured opponents, both of their principles and practices.

IN the year 1678, a Confeſſion of Faith was agreed to, and ſigned, by fifty-four miniſters and meſſengers of the churches, in the ſeveral counties of *Bucks*, *Hertford*, *Bedford* and *Oxford*, in behalf of themſelves and many others; containing fifty articles, which they did moſt heartily and unfeignedly own, believe and profeſs, and deſired through the grace of God to perſevere in. It was ſoon after publiſhed under the title of, *An Orthodox Creed*; *or*, *a Proteſtant Confeſſion of Faith*; *being an Eſſay to unite and confirm all true Proteſtants in the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Religion*, *againſt the Errors and Hereſies of the Church of* Rome. But the ſame being too long to be contained in the Appendix of

of this Volume, I ſhall place it in the Appendix of Vol. III. N°. I.

THE *Popiſh* plot * having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of the *Roman Catholicks*; the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by ſetting on foot a *Sham Proteſtant Plot*, and fathering it upon the *Preſbyterians*. For this purpoſe mercenary ſpies were employed to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a ſubtle and dangerous *Papiſt*, but a very villain. Who when he had informed the King and Duke of *York*, *That he had been invited to accept of a commiſſion*; *that a new form of government was to be ſet up*; *and that the King and Royal Family were to be baniſhed*; the ſtory was received with ſuch pleaſure, that he had a preſent, and a penſion of three pounds a week, to carry on his correſpondence. But in the end finding himſelf undone, if he perſiſted in what he could not ſupport, made an ample confeſſion of the whole matter: And publiſhed a Narrative, wherein he teſtified; *That he was employed by the* Popiſh *party*, *and chiefly by the* Popiſh *Lords in the* Tower, *with the Counteſs of* Powis, *to invent the* Meal-tub-plot, *which was to have*

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. *p.* 488.

thrown

thrown the Popiſh Plot *wholly upon the* Preſbyterians.

THE laſt Parliament being diſſolved abruptly, a new one was called this year: In which the elections went pretty much as before; the cry of the people, being, *no popery*, *no penſioners*, *no arbitrary government*. But the King prorogued them from time to time, for above a year, without permitting them to do buſineſs. The confuſion of the times brought the Parliament to an inclination to relieve the *Nonconformiſts*: And they appointed a committee, who agreed upon a *comprehenſion* with the *Diſſenters*; and thoſe that could not be comprehended within their terms, were to have a *toleration* and freedom from the penal Statutes, upon condition of ſubſcribing a declaration of allegiance, *&c.* and of aſſembling with open doors. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays *, there was a bill of comprehenſion offered by the Epiſcopal Party in the Houſe of Commons, by which the *Preſbyterians* would have been taken into the church; but that to the amazement of all people, their party in the houſe did not ſeem concerned to promote it, but on the contrary neglected it. Mr. *Neal* ſays †, the reaſon was, becauſe they found the bill would not Anno 1680.

* Vol. I. *p.* 495.
† Vol. IV. *p.* 496.

go;

go; or that if it had paſſed the Commons, it would have been thrown out by the Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords; the Clergy, as *Kennet* ſays, *being no farther in earneſt, than as they apprehended, the knife of the* Papiſts *at their throats.*

BUT while the Parliament, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, was endeavouring to relieve the *Diſſenters*, and charging the miſeries of the kingdom upon the *Papiſts*; many of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, were pleaſed to ſee the *Court* enclined to proſecute the *Nonconformiſts.*

Rapin † repreſents the clergy in general, at this time, as attached to the Court and the intereſt of the Duke of *York*; and conſiders this as the occaſion of the *Diſſenters* charging the Church of *England* with being *popiſhly* inclined. He adds, that in the diſpoſition of the Court in favour of the *Papiſts*, ever ſince the beginning of this reign, or at leaſt ever ſince the Earl of *Clarendon*'s diſgrace, it may eaſily be imagined, that care had been taken, to introduce among the clergy, men of a doubtful religion, and from whom the Court had nothing to fear. And it is certain that even ſome of the better ſort who wrote againſt *Popery*, went ſo far into the court meaſures, as to charge the calamities of the times upon

* Vol. IV. *p.* 490.
† Vol. II. *p.* 718.

the

the *Nonconformiſts*, and to raiſe the cry of the populace againſt them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had wrote an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and againſt *impoſitions*, now turned about; and in his ſermon before the Lord-Mayor, *May* 2. intitled, *The Miſchief of Separation*, condemned all the *Diſſenters* as *Schiſmaticks*, and very gravely adviſed them not to complain of perſecution. When the ſermon was publiſhed, it brought upon the Doctor, ſays Mr. *Neal*, ſeveral learned adverſaries; as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alſop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barrett*, and Dr. *Owen*. From which laſt Divine, who wrote with great temper and ſerioufneſs, I will venture, ſays he, to tranſcribe the following paſſage, without entering into the argument *.

'After ſo many of the *Nonconformiſts* 'have died in common goals; ſo many 'have endured long impriſonments, not a 'few being at this day in the ſame du'rance; ſo many driven from their ha'bitations into a wandering condition, 'to preſerve for a while the liberty 'of their perſons; ſo many have been 'reduced to want and penury by the 'taking away their goods, and from ſome 'the very inſtruments of their livelihood; 'after the proſecution that has been a'gainſt them in all Courts of Juſtice in

* Vol. IV. *p.* 500.

'this

'this nation, on informations, indict-
'ments and ſuits, to the great charge of
'all who have been ſo perſecuted, and
'the ruin of ſome; after ſo many mini-
'ſters and their families have been brought
'into the utmoſt outward ſtraits, which
'nature can ſubſiſt under; after all their
'perpetual fears and dangers, wherewith
'they have been exerciſed and diſquiet-
'ed: They think it hard to be cenſured
'for *complaining*, by them who are at
'eaſe.'

Anno 1681. THE King having parted with his laſt Parliament in diſpleaſure *, without being able to obtain any money, reſolved once more to try a new one: And apprehending that the malcontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of *London*, he ſummoned them to meet at *Oxford*. The members for *London* being the ſame as before, had a paper put into their hands, by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then aſſembled in common-hall; containing a return of their moſt hearty thanks, for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two laſt Parliaments, to ſearch into the depth of the *Popiſh* Plot, to preſerve the *Proteſtant* Religion, to promote an Union among his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* ſubjects, to repeal

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. *p.* 501.

the

the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the *Corporation Act*, and to promote the *Bill of Exclusion*; and requesting their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to *Oxford* with a numerous body of horse, having ribbons in their hats, with these words, *No popery, no slavery*; the citizens having promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes. The Parliament revived the *Bill of Exclusion*. Upon which the King went suddenly, and not very decently, says *Burnet* *, to the House of Lords in a *sedan*, with the crown between his feet; and having put on his robes in haste, called up the Commons, and dissolved his fifth and last Parliament, after they had sat but seven days. As soon as his Majesty got out of the house, he rid away in all haste to *Windsor*, as one that was glad he had got rid of his Parliament, which was the last he called, tho' he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of *England* for the present; all that followed, to the King's death, was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man.

THE abject and servile flattery of the University of *Cambridge*, and others, in their addresses to the King, being not

* Vol. II. *p.* 499.

joined

joined by the *Nonconformiſts*, did neceſſarily bring down vengeance upon them, who were now doomed to ſuffer under a double character, as *Whigs* and as *Diſſenters*. Witneſſes were brought over from *Ireland* *, and employed to ſwear away men's lives. Spies were planted in all Coffee-houſes to furniſh out evidence for the witneſſes. Mercenary Juſtices were put into commiſſion all over the kingdom; juries were packed. And with regard to the *Nonconformiſts*, informers of the vileſt of the people, were countenanced to a ſhameful degree; inſomuch that the goals were quickly filled with priſoners; and large ſums of money extorted from the induſtry and labour of honeſt men, and put into the hands of the moſt profligate wretches in the nation.

THE Juſtices of *Middleſex* ſhewed great forwardeſs, and repreſented to his Majeſty, that an intimation of his pleaſure was neceſſary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution againſt *Conventicles* †; becauſe when a charge was lately given at the Council-board, to put the laws in execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, no mention was made of ſuppreſſing *Conventicles*. Upon this, his Majeſty commanded the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Juſtices, to uſe their utmoſt en-

* *Burnet*, p. 501, 505, 506.
† *Neal*, Vol. IV. *p.* 507.

deavour

deavour to ſuppreſs all *Conventicles* and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worſhip; for it was his expreſs pleaſure, that the laws be effectually put in execution againſt them, both in city and country.

IT was not in the power of the moderate Churchmen to relieve the *Nonconformiſts*, nor deliver them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done, ſays Mr. *Neal* *, was to encourage their conſtancy, and to write ſome compaſſionate treatiſes, to move the people in their favour, by ſhewing them, that while they were plundering and deſtroying their Proteſtant diſſenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the whole reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of *Popery* upon its ruins. Among other writings of this ſort, the moſt famous was, *The Conformiſts Plea for the Nonconformiſts*, in four parts; *by a beneficed Miniſter, and a regular ſon of the Church of* England. In which the Author undertakes to ſhew. 1. The greatneſs of their ſufferings. 2. The hardneſs of their caſe. 3. The reaſonableneſs and equity of their propoſals for union. 4. The qualification and worth of their miniſters. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their

* Vol. IV. *p.* 508.

agreement with the Church of *England* in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the Church by their exclusion. And then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives and lamentable deaths, of several of the *informers*. It was, says Mr. *Neal* * [and, indeed, really so it is] a rational and moving performance, but had no influence on the *Tory Justices* and tribe of *informers*.

MOST of the Clergy were with the Court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits every where resounded with the doctrines of *Passive-obedience* and *Non-resistance*: A *Mahometan* principle, says Dr. *Welwood* †, which since the times of that *Impostor*, who first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world. No *Eastern* monarch, according to them, was more absolute than the King of *England*. They expressed such a zeal, says *Burnet* ‡, for the Duke's succession, as if a *Popish* King over a *Protestant* Country, had been a special blessing from heaven.

THERE was a great change made in the *Commissions* all over *England*. None were left, either on the bench, or in the militia, that did not go with zeal into the humour of the court. And such of the

* Vol. IV. *p.* 509.
† Memoirs, *p.* 112.
‡ Vol. II. *p.* 501.

clergy

clergy as would not engage in that fury, were declaimed againſt as *betrayers of the Church*, and ſecret favourers of the *Diſſenters*. But the truth is, ſays the Biſhop, *the number of ſober honeſt clergymen was not great*; for where the carcaſe is, the eagles will be gathered together: The ſcent of preferment, will draw aſpiring men after it.

UPON the whole, the times were very black at preſent, and the proſpect under a *Popiſh* ſucceſſor more threatning.

IT would fill ſome volumes to go into all the particulars of the unchriſtian proceedings that did attend the *Nonconformiſts*; and even too much, to attend thoſe that have particularly concerned the *Baptiſts*. But I muſt not paſs by the ſufferings of ſome of them, who at this time bore a teſtimony for liberty, and ſealed the ſame with their blood. And to do juſtice to the Reverend Mr. *Neal*, I muſt obſerve here, that he has treated the *Baptiſts*, where he has had occaſion to mention them in this volume, much more like a friend, than in his former volumes.

MR. *Francis Bampfield*, was a famous *Baptiſt*. He was in this reign firſt committed to *Dorcheſter* goal; and a conſiderable fine laid upon him, for preaching, praying, and refuſing to conform to the Church of *England*; in which place he was kept a *priſoner* above eight years.

Mr. Francis Bampfield *impriſoned at* Dorcheſter, *and fined.*

HE bore his long impriſonment with great courage and patience, being filled with the joys and comforts of the Holy Spirit. Nor did he ceaſe to preach Chriſt, and promote his intereſt, by prayers and exhortations. And ſo ſucceſsful was he in his labours, that he gathered a *Church* even in this place of confinement.

After eight years impriſonment is diſcharged Anno 1675.

UPON his being diſcharged from hence, in the year 1675. he went up and down in ſeveral *counties*, preaching the word as he had opportunity. But it was not long before he was taken up again, for preaching to a congregation in *Wiltſhire*. He was apprehended and impriſoned at *Saliſbury*. A certain fine or mulct being laid upon him, he continued in *priſon* about eighteen weeks. From hence he writ *a Letter to the Saints*, which was quickly printed; wherein he gave a brief account of the occaſion of his impriſonment, and declared what ſatisfaction and joy he had in his preſent ſufferings for the ſake of Chriſt. After his releaſe from hence, he came to *London:* And the heat of perſecution being ſomewhat abated, he here enjoyed liberty for ſeveral years to preach the Goſpel, tho' privately; but with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a little time he gathered a people unto Chriſt, who ſubmitted to *Believers Baptiſm*, and ſoon after entered into a *Church-State*, and hired *Pinners-hall* in *Broad-ſtreet*, for the meeting-place.

Is impriſoned again at Saliſbury, *and fined.*

Is releaſed and comes to London.

Hires Pinners hall.

Which

Which being ſo publick, ſoon expoſed them to the rage of their perſecutors.

ON the 17th of *Feb.* 1682. when they were met together in the forenoon at their uſual hour, Mr. *Bampfield* being in the pulpit, a Conſtable with his ſtaff, and ſeveral men with halberts, ruſhed into the aſſembly. The Conſtable commanded him in the King's name to give over and to come down: To which he anſwered, that he was in the diſcharge of his office, in the name of the King of Kings. I have, ſaid the Conſtable, a warrant from the *Lord-Mayor* to diſturb your meeting. I have, ſays Mr. *Bampfield*, a warrant from Chriſt, who is *Lord Maximus*, to go on; and ſo did proceed in his diſcourſe. Then the Conſtable commanded one of the officers to pull him down. Upon which Mr. *Bampfield* repeated his text; the latter part of which was, *The day of vengeance is in his heart, and the year of the redeemed ones is come, and he would pull down his enemies.* After they had ſeized Mr. *Bampfield*, they carried him and ſix more before the *Lord-Mayor*. When the Conſtable had given an account to his Lordſhip, of the occaſion of his bringing theſe men before him; the *Lord-Mayor* examined him firſt, and afterwards the other ſix; after ſeveral of them were fined ten pounds a man, were bid to de-

Anno 1682.

Iſa. lxii.

Is taken from thence with ſix more, and had before the Lord-Mayor.

Some fined 10l.

part. And Mr. *Bampfield*, who was detained laſt, was ſoon after told he might be gone alſo.

IN the afternoon of the ſame day, they went to their meeting-place again, at the uſual time of aſſembling. As ſoon as Mr. *Bampfield*, and a few with him were gotten into the place, the officer immediately came, ſhut the door againſt thoſe that were without, and required thoſe within to depart. But they kept their places for ſome time; and took this opportunity to tell the officers, of the ſin and baſeneſs of perſecuting men thus for religion. This ſeemed to touch their conſciences; for they all declared their unwillingneſs to meddle in ſuch a work, but that they were by their places obliged to it.

HEREUPON *one* demanded of the Conſtable to produce his warrant for what he did, but it ſeems he had none; only he told them, he would ſend to the *Lord-Mayor* for one. At length no freſh warrant being produced, the Conſtable commanded one of the officers to pull Mr. *Bampfield* down from his pulpit: Who, after ſome time tremblingly, and with a pale face, took hold of him, and ſo led him out into the ſtreet, where there was a great number of people got together. The Conſtable not caring to proceed any farther, Mr. *Bampfield* with a great

great company went to his own houſe, and there performed thoſe duties of worſhip, which they deſigned to have done in their meeting-place.

ON the 24th of the ſame month, they mettogether again at *Pinners-hall*; but they had not long been aſſembled, and Mr. *Bampfield* in prayer, before another Conſtable with ſeveral officers ruſhed in upon them. Mr. *Bampfield* continued his prayer, till one of the officers came and pulled him away. Then they carried him under a guard of officers to the *Lord-Mayor*: As he went along the ſtreet, he carried his bible in his hand, expoſing it to the view of the people, who flocked after him in great numbers. He endeavoured briefly to declare, practically as well as verbally, that it was for the ſake of Chriſt and his word, that his liberty was taken away. When they came to the *Lord-Mayor*, he was gone to the Seſſions; and thither now they were reſolv'd to drag him The ſpectators as he paſſed along, paſſed different verdicts upon him; ſome condemning him, others ſpeaking in his favour. One called him a *Chriſtian Jew*; another ſaid, ſee how he walks with his bible in his hand, like one of the old Martyrs.

He is taken again, and had before the Lord-Mayor.

BEING brought to the Seſſions, after examination, he and three more were ſent to priſon. Next day in the afternoon, he

He with three more impriſoned.

was brought to the bar with three or four more, who were examined on the like caſe, and remitted to *Newgate*.

Anno 1683. ON the 17th of *March* 1683. he with ſome more who were committed for not taking the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*, were brought before the Seſſions-Court in the *Old-Bailey*; indicted, tryed, and by the Jury, directed by the Judge ſo to do, brought in guilty.

March 28. they were again brought to the Seſſions to receive their ſentence: And when at the bar, the *Recorder*, without aſking whether they would take the oaths, or whether they had any thing to offer, why ſentence ſhould not be given againſt them; after odiouſly aggravating their not taking of the oaths, and caſting reflections on ſcrupulous conſciences, read the ſentence; which was: *That they were out of the protection of the King's Majeſty; that all their goods and chattels were forfeited during life; that they were to remain in goal during their lives, or during the King's pleaſure.*

UPON this Mr. *Bampfield* would have ſpoken ſomething. But there was a great uproar, crying, *Away with them, put them away from the bar, we will not hear them.* While they were thruſting them away, Mr. *Bampfield* ſaid, *The righteous Lord loveth righteouſneſs, the Lord be judge in this*

this case. And then they were returned to *Newgate*, from whence they came.

MR. *Bampfield* being of a tender constitution, could not long bear the hardship to which they exposed him. He was kept at his last trial, ten hours in the *Bail-dock*, a cold and loathsome place, where he received great hurt: And soon after died in *Newgate*, very much lamented by his fellow-prisoners, as well as friends and acquaintance. *Dies in Newgate.*

ONE of whom was Dr. *John Griffith*; who published his case under his own hand: Which is as followeth, *viz.* *Dr. John Griffith's case.*

'The case of Mr. *John Griffith*, minister of the Gospel, and now prisoner in *Newgate*. Being a true and impartial account of what he spake at the *Sessions-house* in the *Old-Bailey*, on the 18th day of this instant *April* 1683. before the Lord Chief-Justice *Saunders*, and three Judges more, the Lord-Mayor, Recorder, and several Aldermen of the City of *London*.

'ON the day and year aforesaid, about four in the afternoon, Mr. *Bampfield* and myself were sent for by the Court; and soon after we came were both brought to the inward bar. Mr. *Bampfield* was first required to take the *oath of allegiance*; it being again tendered him, according to the statute in the third of King *James*. After some

'discourse

'diſcourſe between the Judges and the 'Recorder, had with Mr. *Bampfield*, he 'refuſing to ſwear, they made an end for 'that time with him.

'THE Clerk of the Peace, I took 'him to be, ſaid unto me, Take off your 'glove. I aſked him *what to do?* He an-'ſwered, *to lay your hand on the book*; 'which book he had in his hand, and 'held it out unto me. I then ſpake with 'a loud voice, *and ſaid*, My Lord, I 'hope you will give me the liberty to ſpeak 'for myſelf in my own defence. One 'of the Judges replied, that, my friend, 'meaning Mr. *Bampfield*, had ſpoke for 'me, or to that effect. I ſaid again; 'that I deſired to ſpeak for myſelf, for I 'had other things to offer, as my reaſons 'why I could not take that oath. Hav-'ing liberty granted, as I took it from 'their ſilence, I with an audible voice 'ſaid unto them; I am in the Scripture 'commanded, when I take an oath, *to* '*ſwear in truth and judgment, and in* '*righteouſneſs*; unto which the Church
Art. 39, *of the Church of* England. 'of *England* doth agree. It is one Article 'of their Faith, that he that taketh an 'oath, being required of the magiſtrate, 'ought to ſwear, ſo he do it *in truth, in* '*righteouſneſs, and in judgment.* Now 'for me to ſwear, as my duty is accord-'ing to the Scripture, and as the Church 'of *England* directs, I cannot, ſhould I

'take

'take this oath; becauſe I cannot know, 'but muſt be ignorant of, what I bind 'my ſoul to perform; and then it is im- 'poſſible I ſhould ſwear *in truth, in judg- 'ment, and in righteouſneſs.*

'I CANNOT know, but muſt be ig- 'norant, both of what hereafter by law 'I may be required to do, and alſo to 'whom I ſwear to be obedient; for it is 'not poſſible I ſhould foreſee what laws 'may hereafter be made: And I do not 'only bind my ſoul to obey the King, 'that now is, but his heirs and ſucceſ- 'ſors alſo: And I know not what his ſuc- 'ceſſor may be; for ought I know he 'may be a *Popiſh* ſucceſſor, a *Papiſt*; 'and I cannot ſwear to obey laws not 'yet in being, nor to be obedient to a *Po- 'piſh* ſucceſſor. Therefore I cannot take 'the oath of allegiance,

'UPON theſe words there was a hum 'in the court. Which being ceaſed, af- 'ter a little pauſe, one of the Judges 'made this ſhort reply. I, ſaith he, '*doth he ſtick in there?* I then went on, 'and ſaid, I cannot conform to the 'Church of *England.* Should I take this 'oath, I ſwear to conform; for I am 'bound by any oath to obey all the 'King's laws, as much thoſe laws which 'reſpect the worſhip of God, as thoſe 'relating to civil government: And then I 'am ſworn to hear Common-prayer once

'a

'a month. Here one of the Judges ſaid, '*ſo you are*; and to receive the Sacra-'ment with the Church of *England*, as oft 'as the law requires; yea, and to conform 'to all the rites and ceremonies of the 'ſaid Church. To this it was anſwered, '*ſo you are*; and not to frequent private 'meetings any more, for there are laws 'that forbid it. It was again anſwered, '*ſo you are.*

'THEREFORE I cannot take this 'oath.

'I THEN prayed the Judges to give 'me all their opinions, whether it were 'as I had ſaid or not. They anſwered 'with one conſent, as one man, that it 'was as I had ſaid, *viz.* that I did, in 'taking the oath, ſwear to obey all the 'King's laws without exception. Then 'I returned them thanks, that they were 'pleaſed to give me their opinion and judg-'ment in the caſe. And withal added 'theſe words: I am well ſatisfied and 'ſettled in my religion; and the more 'confirmed by what you ſaid: And if it be 'ſo, do with me what you pleaſe: Come 'life, come death, the Lord aſſiſting me, 'I will never take the oath of allegiance.

'THEN I deſired to ſpeak a few 'words more. Which being not denied, 'I ſaid; Be it known unto you, that I 'do not refuſe to take the oath of alle-'giance in any diſlike I have of any thing

'con-

'contained therein againſt the authority
'of the Pope, or the ſee of *Rome*; but
'do in all points therein with you agree.
'And further I do declare, that I do be-
'lieve the Pope hath no power, nor au-
'thority over the King's perſon, nor his
'government; no, nor over the meaneſt
'ſubject in his kingdom. And do yet
'further declare; that I believe in my
'conſcience, popery to be idolatrous,
'damnable and deviliſh. I was then had
'back again to the *Preſs-yard*, where
'I remain the Lord's priſoner; and am
'ready further to bear my teſtimony for
'him, againſt Antichriſt, the Pope, and
'See of *Rome*; and for his Holy Word,
'the purity of the Goſpel, and the or-
'dinances thereof, againſt *Popiſh* darkneſs,
'filthy idolatries, fornications, blaſphe-
'mies, and abominations, and all tradi-
'tions of men; as one made willing,
'through the free mercy and rich grace
'of God, my heavenly father, to forſake
'all for Chriſt, who hath loved me, and
'given himſelf for me; not counting
'my life dear to myſelf, ſo I may finiſh
'my courſe with joy, and the miniſtry
'I have received of the Lord *Jeſus*, to
'teſtify the Goſpel of the grace of God.
'Thus have I given an account of what
'I ſpake, and was ſaid to me, to the
'very beſt of my memory, though it
'may be not word for word. Yet for

'the

'the ſubſtance of what was ſpoke, it is 'true.'

John Griffith.

Mr. Thomas Delaune.

NOT long after this, the famous and learned Mr. *Thomas Delaune*, fell a ſacrifice to the rage and malice of the perſecuting clergy of thoſe times; and by impriſonment loſt his life.

HE was born at *Brini* in *Ireland*, about three miles from *Riggſdale*. His parents were *Papiſts* and very poor; they rented a part of the eſtate of——*Riggs*, Eſq; who obſerving the early and forward parts of young *Delaune*, placed him in a Friary at *Kilcraſh*, about ſeven miles diſtant from *Cork*, where he received his education. When Mr. *Delaune* was about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, he left the Friary and went to *Kingſale*, where he met with Mr. *Bampfield*, who then had a pilchard fiſhery in that place. He finding Mr. *Delaune* to be a young man of good parts and learning, took him into his ſervice, and made him clerk of the fiſhery, and became the happy inſtrument of his converſion. He continued ſome years in great eſteem and intimacy with Major *Riggs* and Mr. *Bampfield*; till thro' perſecution and troubles he left *Ireland*, and went over to *England*. Meeting there with Mr. *Edward Hutchinſon*, who was paſtor of a congregation at *Ormond*, but

but removed from thence on account of the troubles of the times, at length married his daughter *Hannah*, and went with her to *London*, where he fell into an intimacy and ſtrict friendſhip with Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and tranſlated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his elaborate book in Folio, intitled, ΤΡΟΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ, *A Key to open Scripture Metaphors*, much eſteemed by the learned.

THE occaſion of Mr. *Delaune*'s laſt ſufferings was this; Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, one of the King's Chaplains, having publiſhed the *London Caſes*, Mr. *Delaune* wrote an anſwer to one of them. For which he was apprehended, and committed to *priſon*; where the ſtraitneſs of his confinement caſt him into a diſtemper of which he ſoon died. And tho' the *Doctor* in his caſes pretended himſelf very deſirous of an anſwer, he never made the leaſt attempt to get him releaſed; but ſuffered him to be perſecuted with all imaginable violence, tho' he anſwered him ſo modeſtly, ſo like a Gentleman, and ſo like a ſcholar!

THUS, ſays Mr. *Pierce*, 'the champions of the church ſecured themſelves 'from being attacked by the *Nonconformiſts*; and wrote, when they could not 'be anſwered, with either conveniency or 'ſafety. For the perſecuted condition of 'the *Nonconformiſts* deprived them of lei- *Vindication of the* Diſſenters, p. 259.

'ſure

'ſure for writing; and if they wrote, 'they brought upon themſelves freſh 'troubles and perſecutions.' I would not be thought by any means, to reflect upon the Church of *England*, nor its *profeſſors* in the preſent day, for actions committed by their *predeceſſors*. Facts are like the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, not to be obliterated; but according as they are good or bad, to ſtand upon *record*, for our imitation, or avoiding. I ever had a great value for the Church of *England*, tho' in conſcience I could not conform to all her requirements; and have always eſteemed it as the beſt conſtituted reformed national church in the world.

'TIS known and profeſſed, ſays the *Author* of the preface to the *Plea* of the learned Gentleman now before me; 'That P. 5. 'perſecution merely for conſcience is con- 'trary to the principles of the Chriſtian 'Religion, and the doctrine of the Church 'of *England*. Who they were that per- 'ſecuted in thoſe days, we all know, 'and with what real deſign: To deſtroy 'the church of *England* itſelf, is plain. 'How they acted all againſt the very 'principles of the church is plain. But 'that they acted under the church's au- 'thority, in her name, debauched her 'Clergy, to fall in with the helliſh pro- 'ject; made uſe of her eccleſiaſtical 'Courts to put their wicked deſigns in 'execu-

'execution, till the world could hardly 'discover whether it was the Church's 'act and deed, or no, to the indelible 'scandal of the Clergy of those times; 'is a truth too plain to be debated.'

MR. *Delaune* was apprehended *Nov.* 29. 1683. and by Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Recorder of *London*, committed to *Wood-street-Compter*, and put in amongst the common-side prisoners, where he had a hard bench for his bed, and two bricks for his pillows. He was removed from thence by the *Recorder*'s warrant, committed to *Newgate*, and lodged amongst *felons*. Whose horrid company, says he, in his letter to Dr. *Calamy*, made a perfect representation of that horrible place, which you describe when you mention hell.

Sent to Wood-street-Compter, *and removed to* Newgate.

IN another letter to Dr. *Calamy*, he expresses himself thus:

'I HAVE no malignity against any 'person whatsoever; much less a- 'gainst your church, or any of its mem- 'bers. All I desire is, that scrupulous 'consciences, who trouble not the peace 'of the nation, should be dealt withal, 'at least, as weak brethren, according to '*Rom.* xiv. 1. and not ruined by penal- 'ties, for not swallowing what is impos- 'ed, under the notion of *decency* and *or-* 'der, tho' excentrick to the scheme, we 'have of it, in our only rule of faith.

Narrative of Mr. Delaune's *sufferings*, p. 119. *His letter to Dr.* Calamy.

'Sir, I entreat you to excuſe this 'trouble from a ſtranger, who would 'fain be convinced by ſomething more 'like *Divinity* than *Newgate*; where any 'meſſage from you, ſhall be welcome to

'*Your Humble Servant*,

'Thomas Delaune.

To this letter, in which are many things worthy of notice, but too long to be tranſcribed here, he received an anſwer to this effect: That if he had been impriſon'd upon the account of anſwering his book, he would do him any kindneſs that became him.

BUT how well the *Doctor* performed his promiſe, will appear in the ſequel.

SOME days paſſing, and Mr. *Delaune* hearing nothing from the *Doctor*, ſent him the following letter, written in *Latin*, but tranſlated thus:

Ibidem, p. 121.

Jan. 9. 1683.

'*Reverend Sir*,

Another letter to Dr. Calamy.

'WHAT you once and again preached, and then printed, 'reſpecting a doubtful conſcience, has 'loudly enough called all ſuch as were 'diſſatisfied about ſome rites and cere'monies, to examine the reaſons on both 'ſides.

'OTHERS

'OTHERS being ſilent, I obeyed you 'in that particular; not merely to wrangle, 'for the encounter is unequal, betwixt a 'man ſo eminent as you are, and ſo mean 'a perſon as I am; but that an occaſion 'may be given, in compliance to what 'you deſired, to conclude controverſies of 'this nature.

'IF merely for ſuch obedience I muſt 'be puniſhed, I know not how, nor in 'what manner; is there not a new way 'of conquering [ſcrupulous conſciences] 'unheard of in the Holy Scriptures, ſtart-'ed by ſome certain ring-leaders?

'I PURPOSED, from Holy Writ and 'approved writers, to examine what we 'ought to judge of theſe things. From 'that *light of our paths*, and from that '*lanthorn*, *Pſal.* cxix. 105. I gathered 'ſome reaſons againſt thoſe various and 'multiplied errors, which have crept into 'the church. For that only thing am I 'brought to a *priſon*, where there is no-'thing amiable.

'WHETHER arguments of that kind 'will prevail to prove the ſuppoſitions in 'your ſermon, let the Supreme Judge 'determine.

'OR whether any of the doubting per-'ſons can that way be compelled into the 'ſpiritual ſheepfold, judge you: There is 'nothing againſt the King's Majeſty, no-'thing about the Civil Government, no-

'thing againſt the peace of this monar-
'chy there aſſerted.

'THE only diſpute is about the ori-
'ginal of rites and ceremonies, and ſome
'things, which under a ſhew of truths,
'though not righteouſly, are charged on
'doubting perſons. What the court will do
'with me, I know not: The will of the
'Supreme Father be done. Inward and
'outward peace in this, and everlaſting
'peace in the world [to come] to all
'ſuch as worſhip the Saviour of mankind,
'according to his word, is prayed for by

'*Thomas Delaune.*

'I DESIRE you to return me ſome
'anſwer, becoming a Divine, by
'my beloved wife, as you have
'promiſed.'

To this letter he anſwered by word of mouth to his wife, for he gave none in writing: That he looked on himſelf unconcerned, as not being mentioned in the ſheet he ſaw with the *Recorder*. To ſatisfy which doubt, Mr. *Delaune* ſent him another letter, with the firſt ſheet of the book he was impriſoned for. Which was a plain demonſtration, that it was an anſwer to his call. The letter was thus:

Jan.

Jan. 14. 1683.

'*SIR*,

'WHEREAS in anſwer to my two letters, you ſaid to my wife, that my papers no way concerned you, *viz.* ſuch as I am indicted for: To ſatisfy you with reſpect to that matter, I here ſend you the firſt ſheet; and leave you to conſider, whether in pure generoſity, you are not obliged to procure a *priſoner* (whoſe obedience to you made him ſo) his liberty. *Another letter to Dr.* Calamy.

'*I am, Sir,*

'*Your Humble Servant,*

'Thomas Delaune.

'I APPEAL to your conſcience, ſays 'Mr. *Delaune*, whether I had not 'ſome reaſon to expect ſome return to 'theſe applications?

'BUT I had none to any purpoſe: And 'that too but in few words by my wife. 'I had ſome thoughts, that you would 'have performed the office of a *Di-* 'vine, in *viſiting* me in my place of 'confinement; either to argue me out 'of my doubts, which your promiſed '*Scripture* and *Reaſon*, not a *Mitti-* 'mus or *Newgate*, could eaſily do. To 'the *former* I can yield.—— To the

'*latter* it ſeems I muſt. —— This is a 'ſevere kind of *logick*; and will pro- 'bably diſpute me out of this world, 'as it did Mr. *Bampfield* and Mr. '*Ralphſon* lately; who were my dear 'and excellent companions in trouble.'

ON the 10th of *Dec.* a Bill was found againſt him by the *Grand Jury* of *London:* And on the 13th day, he was called to the *Seſſions-Houſe* in the *Old-Bailey*; and his indictment was read, to which he pleaded, not guilty.

IN *January*, he was with Mr. *Bampfield*, and Mr. *Ralphſon*, called again to the *Seſſions-Houſe*. But there being ſome trials that proved very tedious, theirs were not brought on at that time; but on the next day they were called to the outer bar; 'after the attendance, ſays Mr. *Delaune*, 'of divers hours, in a place not very 'lovely, and in the ſharpeſt winter that 'you have known; which it is likely 'proved the original of that indiſpoſition, 'which carried my two friends beyond 'the juriſdiction of *Seſſions*, *Bail-docks*, or '*Preſs-yards*, to a glorious manſion of 'reſt.'

MR. *Ralphſon* was tried firſt, Mr. *Delaune* next. He deſired his indictment might be read in *Latin*; which was done. The Gentlemen of the Law aggravated things in their uſual rhetorick. One of them

them was pleaſed to ſay, that the priſoner that ſtood there before, did labour to undermine the *State*; and this man would undermine the *Church*. So that, to incenſe the Jury, he ſaid, here's *Church* and *State* ſtruck at. A thing very improbable. For as Mr. *Delaune* himſelf obſerved, 'Tis 'wonderful, that any *Church* and *State* ſo 'potent as this, ſhould fear two ſuch un-'derminers, as that extravagant harangue 'termed us.' In the end, he was found *guilty:* And the next day received his ſentence. Which he has recorded as follows:

Whom Mr. Delaune thought to be the Attorney-General.

His ſentence.

'*Thomas Delaune* fined 100 marks, 'and to be kept priſoner, *&c.* [which, '*&c.* they interpret till he pay his fine] 'and to find good ſecurity for his good 'behaviour for one whole year afterwards; 'and that the ſaid books and ſeditious li-'bels, by him publiſhed, ſhall be burnt 'with * fire, before the *Royal-Exchange* 'in *London*; and if he be diſcharged, to 'pay † ſix ſhillings.

'Signed, *Wagſtaff.*'

THE book which this learned Gentleman wrote, and for which he ſo ſeverely ſuffered, is entitled, *A Plea for the Nonconformiſts.* The Gentleman who prefixed a preface thereto; ſays,

* 'Not with water you muſt note.

† 'To the Hangman, for the faggots, I ſuppoſe.

Remarks on Mr. Delaune's *ſufferings.*

'THIS book has been printed at leaſt 'ſeventeen times. And without doubt, 'if the adverſaries of the *Diſſenters* were 'for coming to the teſt, either of Scrip-'ture, reaſon or antiquity, it would be-'fore now have received ſome anſwer.

'TIS one of there own challenges ac-'cepted. The reaſons for our diſſenting 'are fairly, modeſtly, and cloſely appli-'ed. If ſaying nothing be taken *pro 'Confeſſo*, the Gentlemen of the Church 'of *England* would do well to conſider 'of ſome *mediums*, to defend Dr. *Calamy*, 'or ingenuouſly own he was fairly con-'futed.

'THERE remains nothing to be add-'ed to the argument, till ſome attempts 'to confute them ſhall make a rejoinder 'neceſſary: Nor, indeed, can the *Diſ-'ſenters* deſire to have their caſe more 'fairly ſtated, or the conduct of their 'adverſaries be more concurring to their 'juſtification.

'WHEN arguments drive the oppo-'nents into paſſions and exceſſes, like 'ſtrong purges; 'tis a proof of their ope-'ration, that they cauſe griping pains, in 'the very bowels of the patient.

'TO anſwer ſober arguments, with 'four coercives, to diſpute by the *goal* 'and the *hangman*, to debate by the pri-'ſon and not by the pen; theſe have been 'the peculiar of the party: And the

'power

'power of perſecution, not of perſuaſion, 'has been the way of their uſage to the 'Diſſenters.

'THE treatment the reverend and 'learned *Author* of this book met with, 'will for ever ſtand as a monument of 'the cruelty of thoſe times. And they 'that affirm the *Diſſenters* were never 'perſecuted in *England* for their religi- 'on, will do well to tell us, what name 'we ſhall give to the uſage of this man 'of merit; than whom few greater ſcho- 'lars, clearer heads, or greater maſters 'of arguments, ever graced the *Engliſh* 'nation.

'I AM ſorry to ſay, he is *one* of near 'eight thouſand *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, that 'periſhed in priſon, in the days of that 'merciful Prince, King *Charles* II. and 'that merely for diſſenting from the 'church, in points, which they could 'give ſuch reaſons for, as this Plea aſ- 'ſigns; and for no other cauſe were 'ſtifled, I had almoſt ſaid murdered, in 'goals, for their Religion, in the days of 'theſe Gentlemen's power, who pretend 'to abhor perſecution.'

THE ſame Author declares, that he cannot conclude his preface, without giving the world the reſt of the hiſtory of this Gentleman, which it was impoſſible for him to give of himſelf.

'HIS

P. 11. ‘ HIS ſentence, ſays he, as the Reader ‘ will find in his book, was a hundred ‘ marks; the expenſive proſecution, depriv- ‘ ing him of his livelihood, which was a ‘ Grammar-School, and long impriſon- ‘ ment, had made him not only unable ‘ to pay his fine, but unable to ſubſiſt ‘ himſelf and his family.

‘ HE continued in cloſe confinement, ‘ in the *priſon* of *Newgate*, about *fifteen* ‘ months; and ſuffered there great hard- ‘ ſhips by extreme poverty; being ſo en- ‘ tirely reduced by this diſaſter, that he ‘ had no ſubſiſtence, but what was con- ‘ tributed by ſuch friends as came to viſit ‘ him.

‘ HIS behaviour in this diſtreſs was ‘ like the greatneſs of mind, he diſcover- ‘ ed at his trial. And the ſame ſpirit ‘ which appears in his writings, appeared ‘ in his converſation, and ſupported him ‘ with invincible patience under the great- ‘ eſt extremities. But long confinement ‘ and diſtreſſes of various kinds, at laſt ‘ conquered him. He had a wife and ‘ two ſmall children, all with him in the ‘ priſon; for they had no ſubſiſtence elſe- ‘ where. The cloſeneſs and inconvenien- ‘ cies of the place firſt affected them; and ‘ all *three* by lingring ſorrows and ſick- ‘ neſs, *dyed* in the *priſon*. At laſt worn ‘ out with trouble, and hopeleſs of relief, ‘ and too much abandoned by thoſe,

‘ who

'who ſhould have taken ſome other care 'of him, this excellent perſon, ſunk un- 'der the burden, and died there alſo. 'I cannot refrain ſaying, ſuch a *Cham- 'pion* of ſuch a *cauſe*, deſerved better u- 'ſage. And it was very hard, ſuch a 'Man, ſuch a Chriſtian, ſuch a Scholar, 'and on ſuch an occaſion, ſhould ſtarve in 'a *dungeon*; and the whole body of *Diſ- 'ſenters* in *England*, whoſe cauſe he died 'for defending, ſhould not raiſe him 66 *l.* '13 *s.* 4 *d.* to ſave his life.'

THE opinion this *Author* had of this book, is ſummed up in a few words. 'The book, ſays he, is perfect of itſelf. 'Never *Author* left behind him a more 'finiſhed piece; and I believe the diſ- 'pute is entirely ended. If any man aſk 'what we can ſay, why the *Diſſenters* 'differ from the Church of *England*, 'and what they can plead for it? I can 'recommend no better reply than this. 'Let them anſwer, in ſhort, *Thomas 'Delaune*; and deſire the Queriſt to read 'the book.'

IT was about this time, it pleaſed God to ſhew his diſpleaſure againſt Apoſtacy, by pouring forth the vials of his wrath upon one Mr. *John Child*, a preacher of long ſtanding among the *Baptiſts*. The Authors of the Narrative, intitled, *The Miſchief of Perſecution exemplified, by a true Narrative of the life and deplorable end of* John Child's *Apoſtacy.*

Mr.

Mr. John Child, *who miſerably deſtroyed himſelf, Oct.* 13. 1684. which was publiſhed in the year 1688. in the Poſtſcript annexed thereunto, declare: 'That 'it is a true and dreadful inſtance of a 'man ſcared into conformity, by the ſe-'verity he ſaw on others, and in part felt 'himſelf; that the temptation met with 'his corruptions, which if his own 'charge on himſelf be not too ſevere, 'you ſee verified by his own papers. 'Yet this, ſay they, excuſeth not the 'doctrine and practice of perſecution: If 'ſo, Satan might waſh his hands alſo of 'the ſins of men. And tho' ſome men 'may know the beginnings of ſin, yet 'none knows the bounds of it. So af-'ter his conformity, he drew his pen, 'and dipt it in gall againſt his brethren; 'going on to do violence to his conſci-'ence, till God in a dreadful manner a-'wakened it againſt himſelf, ſo as prov-'ed terrible to all the beholders, as well 'as to himſelf.——We account it a loud 'voice againſt perſecution; and durſt not 'ſilence it, leſt we ſhould betray this 'witneſs of God againſt it. We know 'authorities of ſcripture and reaſon are 'beſt to work upon the judgment, to 'convince the world of the error of do-'ing that to others, that would not they 'ſhould do to them. But a fact of this 'nature may move the affections, and

'cor-

'corroborate that light, that men receive 'from thence: And for this end it was 'at firſt intended to be publiſhed. It's 'a dreadful thing, not only to break in 'upon the civil rights of men, on account 'of religion; but far more to be inſtru- 'ments, to put any upon ſuch ways, 'which not only endanger their peace of 'conſcience here, but their eternal wel- 'fare hereafter. And this evil we are 'bold to charge perſecution with, and 'have evidence enough for it in this 'very inſtance.

'WE hope, ſay they, we may with- 'out vanity ſay, that it's written with a 'temper ſuitable to the profeſſion we 'have always made, of love and charity 'to thoſe that differ from us. And tho' 'the face of affairs in this nation be ſince 'changed, thro' the goodneſs of God, and 'the gracious favour of his Majeſty towards 'us; we purpoſe in all our actings to ſhew 'the ſame ſpirit and temper towards all 'Chriſtians, of what perſuaſion ſoever. 'And we would by no means have this 'conſtruction paſs upon the publication 'of this *Narrative* at this time, as if we 'deſigned to make the Church of *Eng-* 'land odious, by refreſhing the memory 'of ſo dreadful an accident, which was 'the natural effect of ſome of their per- 'ſecutions. God is our witneſs, ſay they, 'our naked deſign being only to arraign

'the

'the practice of perſecution itſelf, without reflecting on any, who have been 'the inſtruments; hoping time, and this 'glorious deſign of his Majeſty, will 'have ſuch an happy iſſue, as to put all 'that profeſs to be the followers of 'Chriſt, into ſuch a condition, as to ſee 'it is their intereſt, as well as their duty, not to contend for perſecution.'

THIS Mr. *John Child* was a man of ſome conſiderable ſubſtance, good natural parts and ability, being much followed wherever he preached, both in the city and country; and ſo conceited of his abilities, that he feared not to diſpute with any man. 'In his judgment, ſays Mr. 'Benjamin Keach, he was a *Baptiſt*, be- 'ing againſt infant's baptiſm, and for the 'baptiſm of believers. For many years 'he lived in *Buckinghamſhire*, near me, I 'being intimately acquainted with him 'for near thirty years. But a little before 'the laſt perſecution of *Diſſenters*, he re- 'moved his dwelling and came to *Lon- 'don*, and lived near to my habitation in '*Paul's Shadwell*. Now the firſt time 'I came to fear him, was thro' ſome 'words he uttered to me, which was to 'this effect. *I have*, ſaid he, *ſeriouſly 'conſidered, whether there be any thing in 'religion worth ſuffering for.* Which 'words I wondred at from ſuch-a-one as 'he. But ſoon after he conformed, '(trou-

Golden Mine, p. 48.

'(troubles rising high) and then wrote a 'curſed book, rendring the *Diſſenters*, e- 'ſpecially the *Baptiſts*, very odious; caſt- 'ing reproaches upon their faithful mini- 'ſters, becauſe ſome of them were not 'learned men, I mean with the knowledge 'of the tongues. And quickly after this, 'he fell under fearful deſperation. I 'was one of the firſt men that he ſent 'for; and I found him in a diſmal ſtate 'and condition; being filled with horror, 'ſaying, *he was damned*; and crying out 'againſt himſelf, for writing that book; 'ſaying, *he had touched the apple of God's 'eye*. I ſaid all I was well capable to 'ſpeak, to comfort him; but all in vain. '---- His poor wife, as I remember, 'intimated to me, that the very ends of 'the hair of his head, in the night-ſea- 'ſon, did ſtand in drops, thro' the an- 'guiſh of his ſoul.

'THUS he continued, ſays Mr. *Keach*, 'for ſeveral months, under moſt dreadful 'horror and fearful deſparation, until '*October* 13. 1684. when to put an end 'to his miſerable life, he hanged himſelf, 'in his own hired houſe in *Brick-lane*, 'near *Spittlefields*, *London*, leaving a ſor- 'rowful widow and ſeveral children.' And farther adds: 'I am of opinion, that 'if any *Atheiſt* in the world, who had 'formerly known this man, had conver- 'ſed with him in his bitter agonies, he

'would

'would have ſeen ſufficient demonſtra-
'tions to have convinced him, that there
'is a dreadful God, or a power beſides
'and above nature, who can touch,
'ſhake and diſorder, and turn into con-
'fuſion, the ſtrongeſt conſtitution of bo-
'dy, by miniſtring and faſtning terrible
'things upon the ſoul. And, as he ſaith,
'let this *Pillar of Salt*, tend to warn and
'ſeaſon the people of this preſent and
'future ages, of the danger of ſinning
'againſt the light of their underſtanding.'

THE book Mr. *Child* publiſhed after his conformity to the Church of *England*, which did afterwards fill him with ſo great horror of ſoul, bore the title of as charitable an argument, as could be undertaken by the beſt of Chriſtians: *viz. A ſecond Argument, for a more full and firm union amongſt all good Proteſtants.*

'BUT though in this title, ſays Mr. *Plant* and Mr. *Dennis*, the Authors of the *Narrative*, 'his words were as the
Pſal. lv. 21. 'Pſalmiſt ſpeaks, *Softer than oil; yet*
'*were they drawn ſwords.* He put forth
'his hand againſt ſuch as were at peace
'with him, his equals, his acquaintance,
'who had walked with him to the houſe
'of God in company. The ſenſe where-
'of, when he was awakened to ſee, and
'feel in his own conſcience the heinouſ-
'neſs of his crime, in ſlandering his bre-
'thren, did ſo terrify him, that it could

'not

'not be diſcerned, (either by his relations 'or any of thoſe many of his brethren 'whom he had offended, who came to 'viſit him, and endeavoured to pour 'balm into, bind up, and heal his deep 'wounds) that at any time afterwards he 'enjoyed any peace in his ſoul.'

THE many conferences that were had with this man, and the papers on this ſubject that were left behind him, are publiſhed at large in the ſaid *Narrative*: To which I muſt refer the reader, being too much to be inſerted in this place.

THIS is not the only inſtance of the hand of God on *Apoſtates*: Some *Pædobaptiſts* have alſo been made publick examples. *Francis Spira*, having received the light of the Goſpel, became a teacher of the bleſſed truths thereof, amongſt his friends and familiar acquaintance. And (ſays the *Narrative*) in compariſon ſeemed to neglect all other affairs, much preſſing this main point of doctrine, *viz. That we muſt wholly and only depend on the free and unchangeable love of God in the death of Chriſt, as the only way of ſalvation.*

THE Pope's Legate, reſident at *Venice*, was ſtirred by the malice of the *Papiſts* to accuſe *Spira*. And by the craft and policy of the Legate, and thro' ſlaviſh fear, *Spira* firſt fled, and afterwards renounced his teſtimony to the truth. The Legate commanded him to return to his own town, and

there to confeſs and acknowledge the whole doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, to be holy and true, and to abjure the opinions of *Luther*, &c.

AFTER this, he ſigned an *Inſtrument of Abjuration*, and then fell under horrid deſparation.

MELANCTHON that famous divine, makes mention of a certain man that was a ſervant, one that he knew, who for a while was a zealous profeſſor of the Proteſtant Religion, but by the temptation of Satan fell from it; and ſome time after, having received the ſacrament in the *Popiſh* manner, he fell under fearful deſpair, roaring out moſt horribly. *I have*, ſaid he, *denied the Goſpel, and am become the Devil's perpetual vaſſal.* And whilſt the words were yet in his mouth, he ſuddenly flung himſelf headlong out of the window, and with the force of the fall, all his bowels guſhed out.

MR. *John Fox*, in his acts and monuments, relates a ſad ſtory of one Judge *Hale*, who in Queen *Mary*'s time was a Proteſtant, but by the ſubtilty of the enemy, it was ſuppoſed he was overcome; and thereby fell under ſuch horror of mind, that once or twice he did attempt to deſtroy himſelf with a knife, yet was prevented; but afterwards, which was in the year 1555, he caſt himſelf into the river, and was drowned.

To

To conclude this reign, I ſhall only obſerve from the character given of the King by Dr. *Welwood* *: 'That his religion was Deiſm, or rather that which 'is called ſo. And if in his exile, or at 'his death, he went into that of *Rome*: 'the firſt was to be imputed to a complaiſance for the company he was then 'obliged to keep; and the laſt to a lazy 'diffidence in all other religions, upon 'the review of his paſt life, and the near 'approach of an uncertain ſtate. *The character of King Char. II.*

'He was for the moſt part, ſays the 'Doctor †, not very nice in the choice 'of his miſtreſſes, and ſeldom poſſeſs'd 'of their firſt favours: yet would ſacrifice all to pleaſe them, and upon every 'caprice of theirs, denied himſelf the 'uſe of his reaſon, and acted contrary 'to his intereſt.

'No age, ſays he ‡, produced a greater maſter in the art of diſſimulation; 'and yet no man was leſs upon his guard, 'or ſooner deceived in the ſincerity of o'thers. If he had any one fixed maxim 'of government, it was to play one party againſt another, to be thereby the 'more maſter of both: and no Prince un'derſtood better, how to ſhift hands up'on every change of the ſcene.

* Memoirs, *p.* 128.
† Ib. *p.* 129.
‡ Ib. *p.* 131.

'To ſum up his character: he was 'dextrous in all the arts of inſinuation, 'and had acquired ſo great an aſcendant 'over the affections of his people, in ſpite 'of all the unhappy meaſures he had tak-'en, that it may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid, 'that he died opportunely for *England*; 'ſince if he had lived, its probable, we 'might in compliance with him, have 'complimented ourſelves out of all the 'remains of liberty, if he had but a 'mind to be maſter of them; which its 'but charity to believe he had not, at 'leaſt immediately before his death.'

The End of the Second VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

A Declaration of FAITH *of* Engliſh *People, remaining at* Amſterdam *in* Holland: *Printed* 1611.

Wee BELIEVE *and* CONFESSE,

I.

THAT there are THREE which bear record in heaven, the FATHER, the WORD, and the SPIRIT; and theſe THREE are ONE GOD, in all equality: By whom all things are created and preſerved, in heaven and in earth. 1 John v. 7. Phil. ii. 5, 6. Gen. i.

II.

THAT this GOD in the beginning created all things of nothing, and made man of the duſt of the earth, in his own image, in righteouſneſs and true holineſs; yet being tempted, fell by diſobedience. Through whoſe diſobedience all men ſinned: His ſin being imputed unto all, and ſo death went over all men. Gen. i. 1. —— ii. 7. —— i. 27. Eph. iv. 24. —— iii. 1, 7. Rom. v. 12, 19.

III.

THAT by the promiſed ſeed of the woman, JESUS CHRIST his obedience, all are made righteous, all are made alive: His righteouſneſs being imputed unto all.

Rom. v. 19.
1 Cor. xv. 22.

IV.

THAT notwithſtanding this, men are by nature the children of wrath, born in iniquitie, and in ſin conceived: Wiſe to all evil, but to good they have no knowledge. *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* And therefore man is not reſtored unto his former eſtate: But that as man, in his eſtate of innocency, having in himſelf all diſpoſition unto good, and no diſpoſition unto evil, yet being tempted might yield, or might reſiſt; even ſo now being fallen, and having all diſpoſition unto evil, and no diſpoſition or will unto any good, yet GOD giving grace, *man* may receive grace, or may reject grace, according to that ſaying, *I call heaven and earth to record this day againſt you, that I have ſet before you life and death, bleſſing and curſing: Therefore chooſe life, that both thou and thy ſeed may live.*

Eph. ii. 3.
Pſal. li. 5.
Jer. iv. 22.
1 Cor. ii. 14.
Deut. xxx. 19.

V.

THAT GOD before the foundation of the world hath predeſtinated that all that believe in him ſhall be ſaved, and all that believe not ſhall be damned; all which he knew before. And this is the *election* and *reprobation* ſpoken of in the ſcriptures, concerning ſalvation, and condemnation; and not that GOD hath predeſtinated men to be wicked, and ſo to be damned,

Eph. i. 4, 12.
Mark xvi. 16.
Rom. viii. 29.

damned, but that men being wicked, ſhall be damned; for GOD would have all men ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and would have no man to periſh, but would have all men come to repentance, and willeth not the death of him that dieth. And therefore GOD is the author of no mens condemnation, according to the ſaying of the prophet, Thy deſtruction, *O Iſrael*, is of thy ſelf, but thy help is of me.

1 Tim. ii. 4. 2 Pet. iii. 9. Ezek. xviii. 32. Hoſ. xiii. 9.

VI.

THAT man is juſtified only by the righteouſneſs of CHRIST, apprehended by faith; yet *faith without works is dead.*

Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. James ii. 17.

VII.

THAT men may fall away from the grace of GOD, and from the truth, which they have received and acknowledged, after they have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the HOLY GHOST, and have taſted of the good word of GOD, and of the powers of the world to come; and after they have eſcaped from the filthineſs of the world, may be entangled again therein, and overcome. That a righteous man may forſake his righteouſneſs, and periſh. And therefore let no man preſume to think, that becauſe he hath, or had once grace, therefore he ſhall always have grace. But let all men have aſſurance, that if they continue unto the end, they ſhall be ſaved. Let no man then preſume; but let all work out their ſalvation with fear and trembling.

Heb. xii. 15. —— x. 26. —— vi. 4, 5. 2 Pet. ii. 20. Ezek. xviii. 24, 26.

VIII.

THAT JESUS CHRIST, the Son of
Rom. i. 3. GOD, the ſecond perſon or ſubſiſtance in
—— ix. 5. the Trinity, in the fulneſs of time was mani-
Gal. iv. 4. feſted in the fleſh, being the ſeed of *David*, and of the *Iſraelites*, according to the fleſh,
Luke i. 35. the ſon of *Mary* the Virgin, made of her
Heb. iv. 15. ſubſtance, by the power of the HOLY GHOST overſhadowing her; and being thus *true man*, was like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted, being *one perſon* in two diſtinct natures, TRUE GOD, and TRUE MAN.

IX.

THAT JESUS CHRIST is mediator
1 Tim. ii. 5. of the New Teſtament between GOD and
Matt. xxviii. 18. man, having all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, being the only KING,
Luke i. 33. PRIEST, and PROPHET of his Church:
Heb. vii. 24. He alſo being the only Law-giver, hath in
Acts iii. 22. his teſtament ſet down an abſolute and perfect rule of direction, for all perſons, at all times, to be obſerved; which no prince, nor any whoſoever, may add to, or diminiſh from,
Rev. xxii. 18, 19. as they will avoid the fearful judgments denounced againſt them that ſhall ſo do.

X.

1 Cor. i. 2. THAT the *Church* of CHRIST is a com-
Eph. i. 1. pany of faithful people, ſeparated from the
2 Cor. vi. 17. world by the word and Spirit of GOD, being
1 Cor. xii. 13. knit unto the LORD, and one unto another,
Acts viii. 37. by *baptiſm*, upon their own confeſſion of the
Matt. iii. 6. faith, and ſins.

XI.

XI.

THAT though in respect of CHRIST the *Church* be one, yet it consisteth of divers particular congregations, even so many as there shall be in the world; every of which congregation, though they be but two or three, have CHRIST given them, with all the means of their salvation; are the body of CHRIST, and a *whole church*; and therefore may, and ought, when they are come together, to pray, prophesy, break bread, and administer in all the holy ordinances, although as yet they have no *officers*, or that their *officers* should be in prison, sick, or by any other means hindred from the church.

Eph. iv. 4.
Matt. xviii. 20.
Rom. viii. 32.
1 Cor. iii. 22.
—— xii. 27.
—— xiv. 23.
1 Pet. iv. 10.
—— ii. 5.

XII.

THAT as one congregation hath CHRIST, so hath all. And that the word of GOD cometh not out from any one, neither to any one congregation in particular, but unto every particular *church*, as it doth unto all the world: And therefore no *church* ought to challenge any prerogative over any other.

2 Cor. x. 7.
1 Cor. xiv. 36.
Col. i. 5, 6.

XIII.

THAT every *church* is to receive in all their members by *Baptism*, upon the confession of their faith and sins, wrought by the preaching of the gospel, according to the primitive institution and practice: And therefore *churches* constituted after any other manner, or of any other persons, are not according to CHRIST's testament.

Matt. xxviii. 19.
Acts ii. 41.

XIV.

THAT *baptiſm*, or waſhing with water, is
Rom. vi. 2, 3, 4. the outward manifeſtation of dying unto ſin, and walking in newneſs of life; and therefore in no wiſe appertaineth to *infants*.

XV.

THAT the LORD's Supper is the outward
1 Cor. x. 16, 17. manifeſtation of the ſpiritual communion between CHRIST and the faithful, mutually to
—— xi. 26. declare his death until he come.

XVI.

THAT the members of every *church* or
Matt. xviii. 15. congregation ought to know one another, that
1 Theſſ. v. 14. ſo they may perform all the duties of love
1 Cor. xii. 25. one towards another, both to ſoul and body.
Acts xx. 28. And eſpecially the *elders* ought to know the
1 Pet. v. 2, 3. whole flock, whereof the HOLY GHOST hath made them overſeers. And therefore a *church* ought not to conſiſt of ſuch a multitude, as cannot have particular knowledge one of another.

XVII.

THAT brethren impenitent in any one ſin,
Matt. xviii. 17. after the admonition of the *church*, are to be
1 Cor. v. 4, 13. excluded the communion of the ſaints. And therefore not the committing of ſin doth cut off any from the church, but refuſing to hear the church to reformation.

XVIII.

2 Theſſ. iii. 15. THAT excommunicants, in reſpect of civil
Matt. xviii. 17. ſociety, are not to be avoided.

XIX.

XIX.

THAT every *church* ought, according to the example of CHRIST's disciples and primitive churches, upon every first day of the week, being the LORD's Day, to assemble together, to pray, prophesy, praise GOD, and break bread, and perform all other parts of spiritual communion for the worship of GOD, their own mutual edification, and the preservation of true religion and piety in the *church:* And they ought not to labour in their callings, according to the equity of the moral law; which CHRIST came not to abolish, but to fulfil. John xx. 19. Acts ii. 42. — xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Exod. xx. 8, &c.

XX.

THAT the *officers* of every *church* or congregation are either *elders*, who by their office do especially feed the flock concerning their souls; or *deacons*, men and women, who by their office relieve the necessities of the poor and impotent brethren, concerning their bodies. Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. Acts vi. 1, 4.

XXI.

THAT these *officers* are to be chosen when there are persons qualified according to the rules in CHRIST's testament, by election and approbation of that *church* or congregation whereof they are members, with fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands: And there being but one rule for *elders*, therefore but one sort of *elders*. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 7. Tit. i. 6, 9. Acts vi. 3, 4. — xiv. 23. — xiii. 3. — xiv. 23.

XXII.

THAT the *officers* of every *church* or congregation are tied by office only to that par-

Acts xiv. 23. —— xx. 17. Tit. i. 5. ticular congregation whereof they are chosen: And therefore they cannot challenge by office any *authority* in any other congregation whatsoever, except they would have an *apostleship*.

XXIII.

THAT the scriptures of the Old and New 2 Tim. iii. 16. Testament are written for our instruction; John v. 39. and that we ought to search them, for they testify of CHRIST; and therefore to be used with all reverence, as containing the holy word of GOD, which only is our direction in all things whatsoever.

XXIV.

THAT *magistracy* is a holy ordinance of GOD; that every soul ought to be subject to it, not for fear only, but for conscience sake. *Magistrates* are the ministers of GOD for our wealth, they bear not the sword for nought. Rom. xiii. They are the ministers of GOD, to take vengeance on them that do evil. That it is a 2 Pet. ii. 10. fearful sin to speak evil of them that are in dignity, and to despise government. We ought to pay tribute, custom, and all other 1 Tim. ii. 1, 4. duties. That we are to pray for them; for GOD would have them saved, and come to the knowledge of his truth. And therefore they may be members of the *church* of CHRIST, retaining their magistracy; for no ordinance of GOD debarreth any from being a member of CHRIST's church. They bear the sword of GOD; which sword, in all lawful administrations, is to be defended and supported by the servants of GOD that are under their government, with their lives, and all that they have, according as in the first institution of

of that holy ordinance. And whoſoever holds otherwiſe, muſt hold, if they underſtand themſelves, that they are the miniſters of the devil, and therefore not to be prayed for, nor approved, in any of their adminiſtrations; ſeeing all things they do, as puniſhing offenders, and defending their countries, ſtate, and perſons by the ſword, is unlawful. That it is lawful in a juſt cauſe, for the deciding of ſtrife, to take an *oath* by the Name of the LORD. Heb. vi. 16, 2. Cor. i. 23. Phil. i. 8.

XXVI.

THAT the dead ſhall riſe again, and the living be changed in a moment; having the ſame bodies in ſubſtance, though diverſe in qualities. 1 Cor. xv. 52. Job xxxviii. 19. —— xv. 28. Luke xxiv. 30.

XXVII.

THAT after the reſurrection, all men ſhall appear before the judgment-ſeat of CHRIST, to be judged according to their works. That the godly ſhall enjoy life eternal: The wicked, being condemned, ſhall be tormented everlaſtingly in hell. Matt. xxv. 46.

NUMB. II.

A moſt Humble SUPPLICATION *of many of the King's Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, ready to teſtify all Civil Obedience, by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwiſe, and that of Conſcience; who are perſecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Teſtimonies: As followeth.* Printed 1620.

To the High and Mighty KING JAMES, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Our Sovereign Lord on Earth.*

To the Right Excellent and Noble PRINCE CHARLES, *Prince of* Wales, *&c.*

To all the Right Honourable NOBILITY, *Grave and Honourable* JUDGES, *and to all other the Right Worſhipful* GENTRY, *of all Eſtates and Degrees, aſſembled in this preſent* Parliament.

Right High and Mighty,
Right Excellent and Noble,
} { *Right Honourable,* AND *Right Worſhipful.*

AS the conſideration of that divine commandment of the King of kings (*Let ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks, be made for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty*) doth cauſe in us a daily practice thereof in our ſecret

ſecret chambers for you all, as in duty we are bound, of which the ſearcher of all hearts beareth us witneſs; ſo let it be pleaſing unto your Majeſty, and the reſt in authority, that we make humble ſupplications and prayers to you, for ſuch our bodily miſeries and wants as are upon us, in that it is in your power to redreſs them; and eſpecially at this preſent, in this high meeting, aſſembled for the publick weal of all your loyal ſubjects. Our miſeries are long and lingring impriſonments for many years, in divers counties of *England*, in which many have died and left behind them widows, and many ſmall children; taking away our goods, and others the like, of which we can make good probation; not for any diſloyalty to your Majeſty, nor hurt to any mortal man, (our adverſaries themſelves being judges) but only becauſe we dare not aſſent unto, and practiſe in the worſhip of God ſuch things as we have not *faith* in, Heb. xi. 6. becauſe *it is ſin againſt the Moſt High*, Rom. xiv. 23. as your Majeſty well obſerveth in theſe words: *It is a good and ſafe rule in theology, that in matters of the worſhip of God, Quod dubitas, ne feceris*, according to *Paul*'s rule: *Let every man be fully perſuaded in his own mind.* Rom. xiv. 5. If we were in error herein, theſe courſes of afflicting our bodies for conſcience-cauſe, are not of *Chriſt*, but of *Antichriſt*, as hereafter is moſt plainly ſhewed; and if no *church* be the rule of faith, *but only the Holy Scriptures*, as the learned *Proteſtants* do truly confeſs, and that therefore the doctrine of the church of *Rome* (that all muſt believe as the church believes, and ſo practiſe, or elſe be cruelly perſecuted) be moſt ungodly, as it is; *Med. on Lord's Prayer.*

then how can they avoid the like cenſure, that practiſe the ſame thing, contrary to their own judgment? For the learned *Proteſtants* do ſay, it is high cruelty for the *Papiſts* to conſtrain them to practiſe thoſe things in God's worſhip, which we have not *faith* in, nay, which they know to be evil, with impriſonment, fire, and faggot. And therefore why may not we ſay, it is great cruelty for the learned *Proteſtants* to conſtrain us to practiſe thoſe things in God's worſhip, which we have not faith in? Nay, which we certainly know to be evil, with lingring impriſonment, loſs of goods, and what other cruelties they can procure againſt us, of your Majeſty, and the civil ſtate. If your learned ſay, they have the truth, and we are in error; that reſteth to be tried by the true touchſtone, the holy ſcriptures. *If they* [the learned] *be our judges, the verdict muſt needs go againſt us.* If their ſayings be a ſafe rule for us to be ſaved by, we will reſt upon them: And then, why may not the ſayings of the *Papiſts* be ſure alſo, and they be the *Proteſtants* judges, and ſo bring us all to believe as the church believes? The iniquity of which we have diſcover'd as briefly as we could; beſeeching your Majeſty, and all that are in authority, to hear us. *It concerneth our eternal ſalvation, or condemnation, and is therefore of great importance: For what can a man give for the ranſom of his ſoul?* Oh be pleaſed to remember the ſaying of that great and good man *Job: I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him. The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon me: And I cauſed the widows heart to rejoice.*

Job xxix. 12, 13.

I was a father to the poor, and when I knew not the cauſe, I ſought it out diligently. I brake alſo the jaws of the unrighteous man, and plucked the prey out of his teeth. Job xxix. 16, 17.

OUR prayers are, and ſhall be for you day and night, to that *God of glory*, by whom you reign and are advanced, that *he* will put it into your heart, to let theſe things enter into your thoughts; and then we doubt not (the evidence of them being ſuch) that you will be moved to repeal and make void all thoſe cruel laws (which we moſt humbly beſeech) that perſecute poor men, only for matters of conſcience: Not that we any way deſire for our ſelves, or others, any the leaſt liberty from the ſtrict obſervation of any civil, temporal or human law, made or to be made, for the preſervation of your Majeſty's perſon, crown, ſtate, or dignity; for, *all that give not to* Cæſar *that which is his*, let them bear their burthen; but we only deſire, *that God might have that which is his*, which is the *heart* and *ſoul*, in that worſhip that he requireth, over which *there is but one Lord*, and *one Law-giver, who is able to ſave it, or to deſtroy it*, which no mortal man can do. It is not in your power to compel the heart; you may compel men to be hypocrites, as a great many are, who are falſe-hearted both towards God and the ſtate; which is ſin both in you and them. The vileneſs of perſecuting the body of any man, only for cauſe of conſcience, is againſt *the word of God*, and *law of Chriſt*. It is againſt the profeſſion of *your Majeſty*; againſt the profeſſion and practice of *famous princes*; the *ancient and later approved writers witneſs againſt it*; ſo do the *Puritans*, yea, Eph. iv. 5. James iv. 12.

yea, the eſtabliſhers of it, the *Papiſts themſelves*, inveigh againſt it: So that God and all men do deteſt it, as is herein ſhewed. And therefore, in moſt humble manner, we do beſeech your Majeſty, your Highneſs, your Honours, your Worſhips, to conſider of it, and do as God directeth you in his
Matt. xiii. 30. word, that cannot lye: *Let the wheat and tares grow together in the world, until the harveſt.*

And ſo in humble manner we proceed.

CHAP. I.

The rule of faith is the doctrine of the Holy Ghoſt, contained in the ſacred ſcriptures, and not any church, council, prince, or potentate, nor any mortal man whatſoever.

PROVED by the ſcriptures themſelves, which are the writings of *Moſes*, and the *Prophets*, the *Evangeliſts*, and *Apoſtles*: Theſe are a ſufficient rule alone, to try all faith and religion by. Our reaſons are,
2 Tim. iii. 15, &c. 1. *They are inſpired of God, and are able to make us wiſe unto ſalvation, and perfect to every good work.* 2. Becauſe theſe writings
Luke i. 4. are written, *that we might have certainty of the things whereof we are inſtructed. That*
1 John i. 4. *our joy might be full. And that we might*
John xx. 31. *believe, and in believing might have life.*
1 Cor. iv. 6. 3. We are commanded *not to preſume* (or be wiſe) *above what is written.* For with
Matt. iv. 4. this weapon *Chriſt put to flight the devil*;
Luke xxiv. 27. and *taught his diſciples*; and *Paul taught*
Acts xvii. 2. *Chriſt Jeſus.* The godly are commended

for

for ſearching the ſcriptures. All are commanded *to ſearch them.* And *they that will not believe theſe writings, will not believe Chriſt's words; nor one that ſhould come from the dead.* If any aſk, how we know all, or any of theſe ſcriptures to be inſpired of God? We anſwer, *The ear diſcerneth words, and the mouth taſteth meat for it ſelf.* And as the eye diſcerneth the light of the ſun, ſo doth our ſpirit diſcern theſe ſcriptures to be inſpired of God, and that for theſe reaſons. 1. In regard of the majeſty, wiſdom, and grace of them, above all other writings: For there is as great glory in theſe ſcriptures, as in the making of this *wonderful world,* which is moſt evidently diſcerned. 2. By their teachings; which excelleth all human teachings, leading us from Satan, from this world, and our ſelves, to God, in holineſs, faith, love, fear, obedience, humility. 3. The true events of them, or fulfilling of the prophecies contained in them. 4. The conſent and agreement of all the parts of them; the like whereof cannot be ſhewed, of ſo many ſeveral writers, ſince the world began. 5. The admirable preſervation thereof, againſt time and tyrants; all which could not extinguiſh them. 6. The devil and his inſtruments rage againſt thoſe that practiſe the doctrines contained in them. 7. The converſion of thouſands to God, by the power of their doctrine. 8. The vengeance that hath come upon ſuch as have not obeyed them. 9. The acknowledgment of them, by the very profeſſed adverſaries thereof. 10. The miracles confirming them from heaven. 11. The ſight of a Saviour to man, is only by and from them. And laſtly, The ſim-

Acts xvii. 11. John v. 39. —— v. 47. Luke xvi. 31. Job xii. 11. Heb. xi. 1.

simplicity of the writers, and plainness of the
1 Cor. i. writings; for God hath chosen the mean, contemptible, and despised, to manifest unto the world his mysteries. These are sufficient to persuade, that these holy writings are inspired of God; and so able to make wise unto salvation, and perfect to every good work. These scriptures contain the law and testimony; and if any church, council, prince, or
Isa. viii. 20. potentate, *speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* And
Gal. i. 8, 9. we are *commanded to hold them accursed.* For *whosoever shall add unto these things,* God shall add the plagues written herein: And,
Rev. xxii. *Whosoever shall take away from these things, God shall take his name out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things that are written.*

Much by us shall not need to be written on this subject, the thing is so evident, and so generally acknowledged; at least in words (excepting the *Papists*, with whom we have not here to do) Only we will add some human testimonies.

White's *Way to the Church, dedicated to two bishops,* Page 12. The learned Protestants affirm and prove, that it is the doctrine of the church of *England*, Art. 6. *That the scripture comprehended in the Old and New Testament, is the rule of faith so far, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor cannot be proved thereby, is not to be accepted as any point of faith, or needful to be followed*; but *by it, all doctrines taught, and the churches practice, must be examined*; and *that rejected, which is contrary to it, under what title or pretence soever it come unto us.* And further, they say, *That the*
Page 1. *Pope, or any mortal man, should be the rule, that*

that muſt reſolve in queſtions and controverſies of faith, is an unreaſonable poſition, void of all indifferency; when common ſenſe teacheth, that he that is a party cannot be judge. And again; *Which is the church is controverſal; which is the ſcriptures is not; therefore let that be the rule which is out of doubt.* And again; *The ſcriptures contain the principles of our faith,* and *ſhall we not believe them?* or *cannot we know them infallibly of themſelves, without we let in the authority of the church?* This, and much more, the learned *Proteſtants* have written, and ſufficiently confirmeth, that no church, nor man whatſoever, may be the judge, rule or umpire in matters of faith, but only the holy ſcriptures; and whoſoever teacheth, and practiſeth otherwiſe, they muſt hold and maintain the *Papiſts* creed, or *Collier*'s faith, which the *Proteſtants* ſo much in words deteſt, and mention out of *Staphilus* his *apology*, thus, *The Collier being at the point of death, and tempted of the Devil, what his faith was? anſwered, I believe and die in the faith of Chriſt's church.* Being again demanded, what the faith of Chriſt's church was? *That faith*, ſaid he, *that I believe in. Thus the Devil getting no other anſwer, was overcome and put to flight. By this faith of the Collier, every unlearned man may try the ſpirits of men, whether they be of God or no; by this faith he may reſiſt the Devil, and judge the true interpretation from the falſe, and diſcern the Catholic from the heretical miniſter, the true doctrine from the forged.*

White, p. 17

Page 6.

If the anſwer of the *Collier* and the *Papiſts* concluſion upon it be not found, but deteſta-

ble, as the *Proteſtants* confeſs, and cry *wo* unto the *Papiſts* for the ſame, and that juſtly; then is it no leſs deteſtable in the *Proteſtants*, or any other to require, or any to yield ſo far in religion and faith, that upon ſuch a temptation he hath no better anſwer to make than as the *Collier*, to ſay, *I believe and die in the faith of the church*, or *of the prince*, or *of the learned*; for being demanded what that faith is? If he be not able to prove it by God's word, contained in the ſcriptures, it is no better nor no other than the anſwer of the *Collier*, *The faith that I believe in.* Oh how many millions of ſouls in this nation, not *Papiſts* but *Proteſtants*, live and die, and have never other faith than this, whereunto they are conſtrained and compelled by perſecution, without either faith or knowledge.

CHAP. II.

The interpreter of this rule is the ſcriptures, and Spirit of God in whomſoever.

THE next thing, as the immediate queſtion from this former, is, Who muſt interpret this rule? becauſe, as is objected, *There are many dark places in it, hard to be underſtood.* Unto which we anſwer, The two witneſſes of God ſhall be the only interpreters thereof; which are, the Word of God contained in the ſame ſcriptures, and the Spirit of God; ſo are they called. *Firſt*, For the ſcriptures themſelves; though ſome doctrines, in ſome places, be dark and obſcure, as *Peter* ſpeak-

2 Pet. iii.

John xv. 26, 27.
Acts v. 32.

ſpeaketh, yet the ſelf ſame doctrines, in other places, are plain and manifeſt. For, *all the words of the Lord are plain to him that will underſtand*, and *ſtraight to them that would find knowledge.* And *knowledge is eaſy to him that will underſtand.* *Secondly*, The Spirit of God, ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *It is the Spirit that beareth witneſs: for the Spirit is truth.* But *the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghoſt, whom the father will ſend in my name, he ſhall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance which I have told you. Howbeit, when he is come, which is the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth: for he ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, ſhall he ſpeak, and he will ſhew you of the things to come. For the Spirit ſearcheth all things, even the deep things of God. For the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. But the anointing that ye have received of him, dwelleth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all things, and it is true, and is not lying, and as it hath taught you; you ſhall abide in him. Hereby we know that he abideth in us, even by the Spirit that he hath given us. For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wiſdom; and to another the word of knowledge, by the ſame Spirit.*

Prov. viii. 9. — xiv. 6. 1 John ii. 6. John xiv. 26. — xvi. 3. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. 1 John ii. 27. — iii. 24. 1 Cor. xii. 8.

The ſcriptures be ſo plain in this, that the greateſt adverſaries thereof do acknowledge the truth of it; only herein lieth the difficulty; who it is that hath this Spirit of God to interpret the ſcriptures; which is this ſure rule? which in the next place is to be handled.

CHAP. III.

That the Spirit of God, to underſtand and interpret the ſcriptures, is given to all and every particular perſon that fear and obey God, of what degree ſoever they be; and not to the wicked.

Pſal. xxv. 12, 14. PROV'd, *What man is he that feareth the Lord, him will he teach the way that he ſhall chooſe. The ſecret of the Lord is revealed to them that fear him, and his covenant to give*
—— cvii. 43. *them underſtanding. Who is wiſe that he may obſerve theſe things, he ſhall underſtand the*
Dan. xii. 10. *loving kindneſs of the Lord. None of the wicked ſhall have underſtanding; but the wiſe ſhall un-*
Amos iii. 7. *derſtand.* For *God will do nothing; but he re-*
Pſal. cxix. 99. *vealeth his ſecrets to his ſervants. I have had more underſtanding than all my teachers, and than all the ancients; becauſe I kept thy pre-*
Prov. xxviii. 7. *cepts: For he that keepeth the law is a child of underſtanding. If ye love me, keep my com-*
John xiv. 15, 23. *mandments; and I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you the ſpirit of truth. If any man love me he will keep my word; and my Father and I will come unto him, and will dwell*
—— vii. 17. *with him. If any man will do his will, he ſhall know of the doctrine whether it be of God or*
Acts v. 32. *no. Yea, and the Holy Ghoſt, whom God hath*
Luke xxi. 15. *given to all that obey him. I will give you* (my diſciples that obey me, and ſuffer for
—— xii. 12. my ſake) *a mouth and wiſdom*, &c. *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall teach you what ye ſhall ſay.* For,
Matt. x. 20. *It is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of*
Mark iv. 11. *my Father that ſpeaketh in you.* And, *to you* (my followers) *is given to know the myſteries of*

of the kingdom of God ; but not to them that are without : For the myſtery of the goſpel is made manifeſt to the ſaints. Col. ii. 2.

THE church and ſaints of God have revealed unto them *by the Spirit*, the things *that eye hath not ſeen*, &c. And *they have received the Spirit of God, that they might know the things that are given them of God.* But *the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ; for they are fooliſhneſs to him : neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned. But he that is ſpiritual diſcerneth all things*, &c. 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 14.

HENCE it is moſt plain to whom the Spirit of God is given ; even to every particular ſaint of God. And *it is no private ſpirit* ; but even *the publick Spirit of God*, which is in him, which enableth him to underſtand, and ſo to declare the things given him of God. That is, a *private ſpirit*, that is not of God, though it be in multitudes ; but the Spirit of God, though but in one ſaint, is not private. God's Spirit is not private ; for it is not comprehended only within one place, perſon, or time, as man's is ; but it is univerſal and eternal ; ſo is not man's : Therefore man's is private, though they be many ; God's is publick, though but in one Perſon. 2 Pet. i. 20.

CHAP. IV.

Thoſe that fear and obey God, and ſo have the Spirit of God to ſearch out and know the mind of God in the ſcriptures, are commonly, and for the moſt part, the ſimple, poor, deſpiſed, &c.

Matt. xi. 5, 25. PRov'd. Our Saviour ſaith, *The poor receive the goſpel*; and *I thank thee, Father, becauſe thou haſt opened theſe things unto babes; it is ſo, O Father, becauſe thy good* James ii. 5. *pleaſure was ſuch. Hearken my beloved brethren, Hath not God choſen the poor of this world that they ſhould be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promiſed?* 1 Cor. i. 26, &c. *Brethren, you ſee your calling, that God hath choſen the fooliſh of this world, the weak of this world, the vile of this world and deſpiſed, and which are not.* God's dealing is, *to* Prov. i. 4. *give unto the ſimple ſharpneſs of wit, and to the* John iii. 8. *child knowledge and diſcretion. The ſpirit bloweth where it liſteth*, and is not ty'd to the 1 Kings xxii. learned. Poor perſecuted *Micaiah* had the truth againſt four hundred of king *Ahab*'s prophets. So had *Jeremiah* againſt all the prieſts and prophets of *Iſrael*. The Lord of life himſelf, in his fleſhly being, What was he, but a man full of ſorrows? in his birth, Luke ii. 7. laid in a cratch, becauſe *there was no room* Mark vi. 3. *for him in the inn*. A carpenter by trade: Matt. viii. 20. *Having not a hole to reſt his head in.* And in his death, contemned and deſpiſed. His Apoſtles, in like manner, what were they, but mean men, *fiſhermen*, *tentmakers*, and 1 Cor. iv. 11. ſuch like, *having no certain dwelling place*, which

which the worldly-wise, Scribes and Pharisees took notice of, and reproachfully said; *Doth any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees believe in him?* But *this people that know not the law are accursed.* John vii. 48, 49.

THE truth of this is as plain as may be; that the scriptures being the rule of faith, perfect and absolute, and that the plainness of them is such, as by the Spirit of God they may be easily understood of those that fear and obey God, but of none else, and that such are most commonly the poor and despised; for, *if any man want wisdom* (be he never so simple) *let him ask of God, and he will give him.* James i. 5. Which is also confirmed by human testimonies.

THE *Protestants* confess, That *in the primitive church, the doctrines, and several points of religion, were known and discovered by the most mean of the people, and the bishops exhorted them thereunto,* &c. White, p. 7. Also that *this rule is of that nature, that it is able to direct any man, be he never so simple*; yea, *the most unlearned alive may conceive and understand it sufficiently for his salvation.* Page 9.

AND they relate the sayings of the ancients in this thing. First, *Clemens Alexandrinus. The word is not hid from any; it is a common light that shineth unto all men; there is no obscurity in it: Hear you it, you that be far off, and you that be nigh.* Page 12. Next him *Austin. God hath bowed down the scriptures to the capacity of babes and sucklings; that where proud men will not speak to their capacity, yet himself might.* After him *Chrysostom.* The *scriptures are easy to understand, and exposed to the capacity of every servant, and plowman, and widow,*

dow, and boy, and him that is moſt unwiſe. Therefore God penned the *ſcriptures* by the hands of *publicans*, *fiſhermen*, *tentmakers*, *ſhepherds*, *neatherds*, and unlearned men; that none of the *ſimple* people might have any excuſe to keep them from reading, and that ſo they might be eaſy to be underſtood of all men; the *artificer*, the *houſe-holder* and *widow woman*, and *him* that is *moſt unlearned*. Yea, the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*, as ſchoolmaſters to all the world, made their *writings* plain and evident to all men; ſo that every man of himſelf, only by *reading* them, might learn the things ſpoken therein. Next *Juſtin Martyr* ſaith, *Hear the words of the ſcripture*; which be ſo eaſy, that it needs no *expoſition*, but only to be *rehearſed*. And this the *Proteſtants* ſay was the perpetual and conſtant judgment of the ancient *church*, &c.

White, p. 21. And further, he alledgeth, *Theodoret* who writ of his times, *You ſhall every where ſee theſe points of our faith to be known and underſtood*, not only by ſuch as are *teachers* in the *church*, but even of *coblers* and *ſmiths*, and *webſters*, and all kind of *artificers*; yea, all our *women*, not they only which are book learned, but they alſo that get their living with their needle; yea, *maid ſervants* and *waiting women*; and not *citizens* only, but *husbandmen* of the country are very skilful in theſe things; you may hear among us *ditchers*, and *neatheards*, and *woodſetters*, diſcourſing of the *Trinty* and the *Creation*, &c. The like is reported by others. And ſay the *Proteſtants*, his *doctrine* that was preſident in the *Trent conſpiracy*, *That a diſtaff was fitter for women than a Bible*, was not yet hatched, *&c.* OH!

OH! it were well if the contempt of theſe pious practices were paled only within the *Romiſh* profeſſion, and were not practiſed in and among thoſe that profeſs themſelves to be ſeparated therefrom; and what is more frequent in the mouths of many *Proteſtants*, yea, the biſhops themſelves, than theſe and ſuch like words: Muſt every baſe fellow, *cobler*, *taylor*, *weaver*, &c. meddle with the expoſition, or diſcourſing of the ſcriptures, which appertain to none but to the learned? Yea, do they not forbid their own miniſters to expound or diſcourſe of the ſcriptures? Read their 49th *Canon*, which is; *No perſon whatſoever, not examined and approved by the biſhop of the dioceſe, or not licenſed, as is aforeſaid, for a ſufficient and convenient preacher, ſhall take upon him to expound in his own cure, or elſewhere, any ſcripture, or matter or doctrine; but ſhall only ſtudy to read plainly and aptly (without glozing or adding) the homilies already ſet forth, or hereafter to be publiſhed by lawful authority*, &c. So that not only Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles (who are alive in their doctrine, though not in their perſons) are forbidden all expoſition of the holy ſcriptures, or matter, or doctrine, not being licenſed by the biſhops; but alſo their own miniſters, who have ſworn canonical obedience to them. Yet when they are put to anſwer the *Papiſts*, who practiſe the ſame thing, they take up both ſcriptures and ancient writers to confute it.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The learned in human learning, do commonly, and for the moſt part, err, and know not the truth, but perſecute it, and the profeſſors of it; and therefore are no further to be followed than we ſee them agree with truth.

THE next thing in order is, ſeeing the Lord revealeth his ſecrets to the humble, though wanting human learning, that we now prove on the contrary. That God uſually, and for the moſt part, hideth his ſecrets from the learned, and ſuffereth them to err and reſiſt the truth; yea, ſo far as to perſecute it, and the profeſſors of it.

AND *Firſt*, Let us begin with the learned Heathen, who were behind none in human learning. The wiſe men of *Egypt*, how did they reſiſt the glorious and powerful truth of God delivered by *Moſes?* Yea, they reſiſted it with ſuch ſigns and lying wonders, that the heart of *Pharaoh*, and all his people, were hardened againſt it. And what was the cauſe of *Babel*'s deſtruction, but their truſting in the learned? *Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy councils*, &c. *I deſtroy the tokens of the ſoothſayers, and make them that conjecture fools, and turn the wiſe men backward, and make their knowledge fooliſhneſs.* The things of God's dealing none of the learned of *Egypt* or *Babel* could interpret but *Joſeph* and *Daniel*.

Exod. vii. 12, &c.
—— viii. 7.
Iſa. xlvii. 13.
—— xlii. 25.

NEXT come to the learned *Prieſts* and *Prophets* of the *Jews*, *whoſe lips ſhould have preſerved*

preſerved knowledge, and at whoſe mouth the people ſhould have ſought the Law. But ſaith the Lord, *They are gone out of the way; they have cauſed many to fall by the law,* &c. Mal. ii. 7, 8.

Alſo, *Stay your ſelves and wonder; they are blind and make you blind; they are drunken, but not with wine; they ſtagger, but not with ſtrong drink: for the Lord hath covered you with a ſpirit of ſlumber, and hath ſhut up your eyes, the prophets and your chief ſeers,* &c. *Therefore the Lord ſaid, becauſe this people come near to me with their mouth, and honour me with their lips, but have removed their heart far from me; and their fear towards me was taught by the precepts of men. Therefore, behold, I will again do a marvellous work, in this people; a marvellous work, and a wonder; for the wiſdom of their wiſe men ſhall periſh; and the underſtanding of the prudent ſhall be hid,* &c. *Their watchmen are all blind, they have no knowledge,* &c. &c. And *theſe ſhepherds cannot underſtand; for they all look to their own way, every one for his own advantage, and for his own purpoſe. The wiſe men are aſhamed; they are afraid and taken: Lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wiſdom is in them,* &c. *My people have been as loſt ſheep, their ſhepherds have cauſed them to go aſtray, and have turned them away to the mountains,* &c. *Night ſhall be unto them for a viſion, and darkneſs for a divination: The ſun ſhall go down over the prophets, and the day ſhall be dark over them,* &c. *For they have no anſwer of God: they build up* Zion *with blood, and Jeruſalem with iniquity,* &c. *Her prophets are light and wicked perſons; her prieſts have polluted the ſanctuary; they have wreſted the law.* Ifa. xxix. Ifa. lvi. 10, &c. Jer. viii. 9, &c. —— xiv. 14, &c. —— l. 6. Micah iii. Zeph. iii. 4.

AND

AND in the time of our Saviour, *How had they made the commandments of God of no authority by their traditions. The rulers of Jeruſalem* (the High prieſt, Scribes and Phariſees) *knew not Chriſt, nor yet the words of the prophets, which they heard read every ſabbath, but fulfilled them in condemning him.* And our Saviour ſaith, *I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe, and men of underſtanding.* And *none of the Phariſees nor rulers believed on him. Where is the wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the diſputer of this world? Hath not God made the wiſdom of this world fooliſhneſs? Not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.*

Matt. xv. 6. Acts xiii. 27. Matt. xi. John vii. 48. 1 Cor. i. 20, 26.

AND for the learned, ſince the time of our Saviour, the council of *Epheſus*, where were 132 biſhops. Of *Seleucia*; where were 160 biſhops, related by the Proteſtants. How grievouſly did they err in decreeing the deteſtable error of *Arrianiſm?* Who is ignorant (knowing the hiſtories) that from time to time, both particular Popes and general councils have groſly erred in many things? Only one we will mention, paſſing by *Trent* and others. The council *Lateran*, we mean (Pope *Innocent*, 1215.) which for univerſality was behind none; where were preſent, two patriarchs, 70 archbiſhops metropolitans, 400 biſhops, 12 abbots, 800 conventual priors, the legates of the *Greek* and *Roman* empire; beſides the ambaſſadors and orators of the kings of *Jeruſalem*, *France*, *Spain*, *England* and *Cyprus*. In this council it was decreed, That all hereticks,

ticks, and ſo many as do in any point reſiſt the Catholick faith, ſhould be condemned, *&c.* And alſo that the ſecular powers, of what degree ſoever they be, ſhall be compelled openly to ſwear for the defence of the faith, that, [they will] to the uttermoſt of their power, root out and deſtroy in all their kingdoms, all ſuch perſons as the Catholick church hath condemned for hereticks: and if they do not, they ſhall be excommunicated. And if they do not reform within one whole year, then the *Pope* may denounce all their ſubjects abſolved, and utterly delivered from ſhewing or owing any fidelity or obedience towards them. Again, That the *Pope* may give that land to be occupied and enjoyed of the Catholicks to poſſeſs it (all hereticks being rooted out) quietly and without any contradiction. *Tho. Beacon*, in his *Reliques of Rome*, printed 1563, and the Proteſtants confeſs; that this imperfection hath hung ſo faſt upon all councils and churches, that *Nazianzen* ſaith, *He never ſaw any council have a good end.*

THUS are here ſufficient teſtimonies proved from ſcriptures and experience; that the learned may, and have uſually erred; and therefore the holy ſcriptures often warneth us, *To beware of falſe prophets, for many are gone out into the world.* Matt. xxiv. 1 John. iv.

AND will not your majeſty, your highneſs, your honours, your worſhips, be pleaſed to conſider of theſe *things?* But will your ſelves ſubmit the guidance of your ſouls to the learned ſpirituality (as they are called) without due examination by the ſcriptures? which, if you will ſtill do, we can but bewail

wail with the ſorrows of our hearts. And not ſo only, *but will you with your power which God hath given you to uſe well, compel and conſtrain your ſubjects and underlings to believe as the learned believe, not ſuffering us to read or ſearch the ſcriptures?* Which if you abhor, as being the *Romiſh* practice; *will you do that which is worſe, letting us read the ſcriptures, whereby we may know the will of our heavenly Maſter, and have our conſciences enlightened and convinced; but not ſuffer us to practiſe that we learn and know? Whereby our ſin and condemnation is made greater than* Luke xii. 47. *the blind Papiſts*, as is proved. And not only ſo, but will you conſtrain us to captivate our conſciences, and practiſe in that which in our ſouls we know to be evil, and contrary to the manifeſt law of the Lord, and that *only becauſe the learned have ſo decreed* (whom you acknowledge are ſubject to err as well as others) or elſe lie in perpetual impriſonment, and be otherwiſe greivouſly perſecuted?

May it pleaſe you to obſerve, that the church of *Rome* ſeeth, and acknowledgeth in words, That *Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh*, and hath aboliſhed the prieſthood of *Aaron*, and the legal ſacrifices; but the *Jews* ſee it not to this day; nay, the *High Prieſt*, *Scribes* and *Phariſees* ſaw it not; but for the publiſhing thereof, perſecuted *Chriſt* the Lord, and his *Apoſtles*, unto the death, calling their doctrine *hereſy*, and them *ſeditious* enemies to *Cæſar*, &c. For the which we all juſtly condemn them for their wickedneſs, ſo often as we read the holy hiſtory.

And the church of *England* ſeeth and acknowledgeth divers damnable doctrines of the church

church of *Rome*; this among many; That *the ſcriptures are not the only rule of faith*; but that *men ought to be conſtrained to believe as the church believes.* The *Proteſtants* ſee the iniquity of this, becauſe they ſee and acknowledge all churches *are ſubject to err.* But the learned *Papiſts* ſee it not, but have decreed, That whoſoever reſiſteth in any point, ſhall be judged as an Heretick, and ſuffer fire and faggot. And every temporal magiſtrate that doth not root ſuch Hereticks out of their dominions, ſhall be excommunicated: And if he do not reform, he ſhall be expelled his earthly poſſeſſions, and his ſubjects freed from owing any fidelity or obedience towards him, *&c.* For the which height of iniquity the *Proteſtants* and we juſtly cry out againſt them, for all the innocent blood that they have ſhed.

And we ſee moſt manifeſtly, That *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. And without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* And therefore that *no mortal man may make a law to the conſcience, and force unto it by perſecutions, and conſequently may not compel unto any religion where faith is wanting*, as hereafter more largely we prove. But the learned of this land ſee it not (or rather will not practiſe it) but for our not ſubmitting herein procure your temporal ſword to perſecute us, by caſting us in priſons, where many of us have remained divers years in lingring impriſonment, deprived of all earthly comforts; as wives, children, callings, *&c.* without nope of releaſe, till our God (for the practice of whoſe commandments we are thus perſecuted) perſuade the hearts, of your majeſty,

Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6.

your highneſs, your honours, your worſhips, to take pity upon us, our poor wives and children; or his heavenly Majeſty releaſe us by death. Will not ſucceeding ages cry out againſt the cruelty of the learned *Proteſtants* herein, as well as they cry out againſt the cruelty of the learned *Jews* and *Papiſts?* Yes, we are aſſured they will, as many millions do in other nations at this day.

THE ſcriptures declare, the cauſe of the *Jews* blindneſs was, not the obſcurity of the ſcriptures, but that they winked with their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that which would deprive them of their honours and profits: John xi. 48. And becauſe their fear towards God was taught by mens precepts, and becauſe they looked to their own way, and to their own advantage, and had rejected the word of the Lord; and becauſe they builded their *Sion* with blood, and *Jeruſalem* with iniquity, and ſought their own honour, and not God's, as before is proved: ſo the cauſe of the blindneſs of the learned *Papiſts*, in denying the ſcriptures, the only rule of faith, is not the obſcurity of the ſcriptures, but their winking with their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that that would bring them from their honours and profits, and all the forenamed in the *Jews*. And alſo, as the *Proteſtants* well obſerve, White, p. 18. *Firſt, That they might make themſelves judges in their own cauſe: For who ſeeth not, that if the church be the rule of faith, and theirs be the church, which way the verdict will go?* Next; *For that the greateſt points of their religion have no foundation on the ſcriptures*, &c. So that, take away the ſcriprures, and eſtabliſh their religion; but eſtabliſh the ſcrip-

ſcriptures, and their religion vaniſheth; and that mother of whoredoms, that glorified her ſelf *as a queen*, ſhall be conſumed; and her merchants, that were waxed rich through her pleaſures and profits, ſhall wail and weep, the which they now ſeeing, ſhut their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that which would bring them from theſe honours, profits and pleaſures. In like manner, it may eaſily be judged by every indifferent man, that the cauſe why the learned of this land will not ſee, or at leaſt practiſe (that ſeeing *there is but one Lord*, and *one Lawgiver over the conſcience*; therefore no man ought to be compelled to a worſhip wherein he hath not faith by perſecution) is not the obſcurity of the ſcriptures, but their winking with their eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee that, that would take away their honours and profits? For, if *bribes blind the eyes of the wiſe*, then honours and profits much more. For who ſeeth not, if none ſhould be compelled by perſecution to worſhip, till the power of God's word had begotten faith in them to worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth (*ſuch only worſhip him*, and none but ſuch *are required to worſhip him*) that theſe learned would loſe their honours and profits in being lords and law-makers over the conſcience and ſouls of men; although your majeſty might lawfully give them what temporal honours and profits your highneſs liked of. Theſe are the true cauſes of the blindneſs of the learned; for ſo Chriſt ſaith; *How can ye believe, when ye ſeek honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God alone.* And how can men but be blind in God's myſteries, when they look *to*

Rev. xviii.

Eph. iv. 5. James iv. 12.

Deut. xvi. 19.

John iv. 23.

—— v. 44.

their own way for their *own advantage*, and for their *own purpoſe*; for *having rejected the word of the Lord, What wiſdom is in them?* They have no *anſwer of God*, that *build up their* Sion (for ſo they account their churches and profeſſions) *with blood, and* Jeruſalem *with iniquity*, as before is proved.

If theſe learned could free us from the Lord's wrath, or, if they might anſwer for us, and we be free; it were ſafe for us to ſubmit our ſelves, and captivate our judgments and practice to them; but ſeeing they cannot ſo much as deliver their own ſouls;
Mark xv. 14. and that *if the blind lead the blind, both muſt fall into the ditch.* And *every one muſt give account of himſelf to God*, and *be judged by his own works done in the fleſh*, and *that the ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die.* We dare not follow any mortal man in matters of ſalvation further than we know him to agree with the meaning of God in the ſcriptures.

Paul the holy Apoſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt*,
2 Cor. xi. 1. taught, *That we ſhould follow him no otherwiſe than he followed Chriſt*; yea, *Chriſt* himſelf ſent men to the ſcriptures to try his doctrine. The Apoſtles ſuffered their doctrine to be tryed, and commend them that try it.
White, p. 127. And the Proteſtants confeſs, *This doctrine was never miſliked, till a church roſe up, whoſe ſilver being droſs, and whoſe milk poiſon, could not endure the trial*; which being true, that we may try. Why may not we alſo judge and practiſe according as God's Spirit ſhall direct us in our trial? If a man ſhould drink poiſon, and know it to be poiſon, were he not in a worſe eſtate than he that ſhould drink it ignorantly, not knowing there-

of? even a murderer of himſelf in the higheſt degree: So he that drinketh ſpiritual poiſon, knowing it (for according to mens faith it is unto them) he is in a worſe eſtate, and a murderer of his own ſoul in the higheſt degree. And therefore that church, or thoſe learned, that will ſuffer their doctrine to be tried, and yet conſtrain men to receive and practiſe it, when upon examination, their conſciences are convinced of the falſehood thereof, are worſe, and do more highly ſin than they that conſtrain a blind conſcience, though both be evil.

We deſpiſe not learning, nor learned men, but do reverence it and them, according to their worthineſs; only when it is advanced into the ſeat of God, and that given to it which appertaineth unto the Holy Ghoſt, which is to lead into all truth; then ought all, as *Ezekiah* did unto the brazen ſerpent, deteſt it and contemn it.

CHAP. VI.

Perſecution for cauſe of conſcience, is againſt the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, *King of kings.*

1. CHRIST commandeth, *That the tares and wheat* (which are thoſe that walk in the truth, and thoſe that walk in falſhood) *ſhould be let alone in the world, and not plucked up until the harveſt, which is the end of the world.* Matt. xiii. 28. —— xv. 14.

2. The ſame commandeth, *That they that are blindly led on in falſe Religion, and are offended with him for teaching true religion,* ſhould

be let alone, *referring their punishment unto their falling into the ditch.*

Luke ix. 54, 55. 3. AGAIN, he reproved his disciples (*who would have had fire come down from heaven, and devoured those Samaritans that would not receive him*) in these words; *Ye know not of what spirit ye are: The son of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

2 Tim. ii. 24. 4. PAUL the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, *That the servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle towards all men, suffering the evil men, instructing them with meekness that are contrary minded*; proving, *if God at any time will give them repentance, that they may acknowledge the truth, and come to amendment out of that snare of the Devil*, &c.

5. ACCORDING to these aforesaid commandments, the holy prophets foretold, That when the law of *Moses*, concerning worship, should cease, and Christ's kingdom be esta-

Isa. ii. 4. blished, then all carnal weapons should cease.

Mic. iv. 3, 4. Isa. xi. 9. *They shall break their swords into mattocks, and their spears into sithes*, &c. *Then shall none hurt nor destroy in all the mountain of my holiness*, &c. And when he came, the same he taught and practised as before; so did his

2 Cor. x. 4. Apostles after him: For the *weapons of his warfare are not carnal*, &c. But he charged streightly that his disciples should be so far from persecuting those that would not be of

Matt. v. their religion, that when they were persecuted *they should pray*. When they were cursed, *they should bless*: The reason is, because they that are now *tares* may hereafter become *wheat*; they who are now *blind* may hereafter *see*; they that now *resist him* may hereafter *receive him*;

him; they that are now in the *Devil's ſnare*, in adverſeneſs to the truth, may hereafter come *to repentance*; they that are now *blaſphemers*, *perſecutors* and *oppreſſors*, as *Paul* was, may in time, become *faithful* as he; they that are now *idolaters*, as the *Corinths* once were, may hereafter become *true worſhippers* as they; they that are now *no people of God*, nor under mercy, as the ſaints ſometimes were, may hereafter become *the people of God*, and *obtain mercy* as they. Some come not till the *eleventh hour*. If thoſe that come not till the *laſt hour* ſhould be deſtroyed becauſe they came not at *the firſt*, then ſhould they never come, but be prevented. And why do men call themſelves *Chriſtians*, and do not the things *Chriſt* would?

1 Cor. vi. 9.

1 Pet. ii. 20.

Matt. xx. 6.

CHAP. VII.

Perſecution for cauſe of conſcience is againſt the profeſſion and practice of famous princes.

FIRST, We beſeech your majeſty we may relate your own worthy ſayings, in your majeſty's ſpeech at parliament, 1609. Your highneſs ſaith, *It is a ſure rule in divinity, that God never loves to plant his church by violence and bloodſhed*, &c. And in your highneſs, *Apol.* p. 4. ſpeaking of ſuch Papiſts as took the oath, thus: *I gave a good proof that I intended no perſecution againſt them for conſcience cauſe, but only deſired to be ſecured for civil obedience, which for conſcience cauſe they were bound to perform.* And, *p.* 60. ſpeaking of *Blackwell*, the arch-prieſt, your ma-

majeſty ſaith, *It was never my Intention to lay any thing to the ſaid arch-prieſt's charge, as I have never done to any for cauſe of conſcience*, &c. And in your highneſs's *Expoſ.* on *Rev.* xx. printed in 1588, and after 1603. your majeſty truly writeth thus. Sixthly, *The compaſſing of the ſaints, and beſieging of the beloved city, declareth unto us a certain note of a falſe church to be* perſecution; *for they come to ſeek the faithful; the faithful are thoſe that are ſought; the wicked are the* beſiegers; *the faithful the* beſieged.

Secondly, THE ſaying of *Stephen*, king of *Poland*: *I am king of men, not of conſciences*; a commander of bodies, not of ſouls, *&c.*

Thirdly, THE king of *Bohemia* hath thus written. *And notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the latter time, wherein ſundry opinions have been hatch'd about the ſubject of* religion, *may make one clearly diſcern with his eye, and as it were touch with his finger; that according to the verity of holy ſcripture, and a maxim heretofore held and maintained by the ancient doctors of the church; that mens conſciences ought in no ſort to be violated, urged, or conſtrained; and whenſoever men have attempted any thing by this violent courſe, whether openly or by ſecret means, the iſſue hath been pernicious, and the cauſe of great and wonderful innovations in the principalleſt and mightieſt kingdoms and countries of all Chriſtendom*, &c. And further, his majeſty ſaith; *So that once more we do proteſt, before God and the whole world, that from this time forward we are firmly reſolved, not to perſecute or moleſt, or ſuffer to be perſecuted or moleſted, any perſon whoſoever, for mat-*

matter of religion, no, not they that profeſs themſelves to be of the Roman church; neither to trouble or diſturb them in the exerciſe of their religion, ſo they live conformably to the laws of the ſtates, &c.

AND for the practice of this, Where is perſecution for the cauſe of conſcience, except in *England*, and where popery reigns? and not there neither in all places, as appeareth by *France*, *Poland*, and other places; nay, it is not practiſed among the Heathen, that acknowledge not the true God, as the *Turk*, *Perſian*, and others.

CHAP. VIII.

Perſecution for cauſe of conſcience, is condemned by the ancient and later writers; yea, by *Puritans* and *Papiſts*.

HILLARY againſt *Auxentius*, ſaith thus: *The Chriſtian church doth not perſecute, but is perſecuted: and lamentable it is to ſee the great folly of theſe times, and to ſigh at the fooliſh opinion of this world, in that men think, by human aid, to help God, and with worldly pomp and power to undertake to defend the Chriſtian church. I ask of you biſhops, what help uſed the Apoſtles, in the publiſhing of the goſpel? With the aid of what power did they preach* Chriſt, *and converted the Heathen from their idolatry to God? When they were impriſoned, and lay in chains, did they praiſe and give thanks to God for any dignities, graces and favours received from the court? Or, do you think that* Paul *went about with regal mandates,*

or kingly authority, to gather and eſtabliſh the church of Chriſt? *Sought he protection from* Nero, Veſpatian? *&c.*

THE *Apoſtles wrought with their hands for their own maintenance; travelling by land and water, from town to city, to preach* Chriſt; *yea, the more they were forbidden, the more they taught and preached* Chriſt. *But now, alas! human help muſt aſſiſt and protect the faith, and give the ſame countenance to, and, by vain and worldly honours do men ſeek to defend the church of* Chriſt; *as if he by his power were unable to perform it.*

THE ſame againſt the *Arrians. The church now, which formerly, by enduring miſery and impriſonment, was known to be a true church, doth now terrify others, by impriſonment, baniſhment, and miſery; and boaſteth that ſhe is highly eſteemed of the world: whereas the true church cannot but be hated of the ſame.*

TERTUL. ad Scapul. *It agreeth both with human equity, and natural reaſon, That every man worſhip God uncompelled, and believe what he will; for, another man's religion or belief neither hurteth nor profiteth any man; neither beſeemeth it any religion to compel another to be of their religion; which willingly and freely ſhould be embraced, and not by conſtraint: Foraſmuch as the offerings were required of thoſe that freely, and with a good will offered, and not from the contrary.*

JEROM *in* Prœm. lib. 4. *in* Jeremiam. *Hereſy muſt be cut off with the ſword of the Spirit. Let us ſtrike through with the arrows of the Spirit, all ſons and diſciples of miſled Hereticks; that is, with teſtimonies of holy ſcrip-*

ſcriptures. The ſlaughter of Hereticks is by the word of God.

BRENTIUS *on* 1 Cor. iii. *No man hath power to make or give laws to Chriſtians, whereby to bind their conſciences; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled with a ready deſire and chearful mind, muſt thoſe that come, run unto Chriſt.*

LUTHER, in his book of the civil magiſtrate. *The laws of the civil government extends no further than over the body or goods, and to that which is external; for, over the ſoul God will not ſuffer any man to rule, only he himſelf will rule there. Therefore, whereſoever the civil magiſtrate doth undertake to give laws unto the ſoul and conſciences of men, he uſurpeth that government to himſelf, which appertaineth to God,* &c.

THE ſame upon 1 *Kings* vi. *In the building of the temple there was no ſound of iron heard, to ſignify that Chriſt will have in his church a free and willing people, not compelled and conſtrained by laws and ſtatutes.*

AGAIN he ſaith upon *Luke* xxii. *It is not the true Catholick Church, which is defended by the ſecular arm or human power, but the falſe and feigned church; which although it carries the* name *of a church, yet it denieth the* power *thereof.* And upon *Pſal.* xvii. he ſaith; *For the true church of Chriſt knoweth not* Brachium ſeculare, *which the biſhops now a-days chiefly uſe.*

AGAIN, in *Poſtil. Dom.* 1. poſt. *Epiph.* he ſaith, *Let not Chriſtians be commanded, but exhorted; for he that will not willingly do that whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no Chriſtian. Therefore thoſe that do compel them,*

that

that are not willing, ſhew thereby that they are not Chriſtian preachers, but worldly beadles.

AGAIN, upon 1 *Pet.* iii. he ſaith, *If the civil magiſtrate would command me to believe thus or thus, I ſhould anſwer him after this manner; Lord, or Sir, look you to your civil or worldly government, your power extends not ſo far to command any thing in God's kingdom, therefore herein I may not hear you; for if you cannot ſuffer that any man ſhould uſurp authority where you have to command, How do you think that God ſhould ſuffer you to thruſt him from his ſeat, and to ſeat your ſelf therein?*

THE *Puritans*, as appeareth in their anſwer to *Admonit. to Parl.* pag. 109. *That Papiſts nor others, neither conſtrainedly nor cuſtomally communicate in the myſteries of ſalvation.* Alſo in their ſupplication, printed 1609. *p.* 21, &c. *much they write for toleration.*

Laſtly, THE *Papiſts*, the inventors of perſecution, in a wicked book lately ſet forth; thus they write: *Moreover, the means which almighty God appointed his officers to uſe in the converſion of kingdoms and people, was humi-*
Matt. x. 16. *lity, patience, charity*, &c. ſaying, *Behold, I ſend you as ſheep in the midſt of wolves.* He did not ſay, *I ſend you as wolves among ſheep, to kill, impriſon, ſpoil and devour thoſe unto whom they were ſent.*

—— *ver.* 7. AGAIN he ſaid, *They to whom I ſend you, will deliver you up in councils, and in their ſynagogues they will ſcourge you*; and *to preſidents and to kings ſhall you be led for my ſake.* He doth not ſay, *You whom I ſend ſhall deliver*

the

the people (whom you ought to convert) into councils, and put them in priſons, and lead them to preſidents and tribunal ſeats, and make their religion felony and treaſon.

AGAIN he ſaith; *When ye enter into the houſe, ſalute it, ſaying, Peace be to this houſe.* Matt. x. 12. He doth not ſay, *You ſhall ſend purſevants to ranſack and ſpoil the houſe.*

AGAIN he ſaith; *The good paſtor giveth his life for his ſheep; the thief cometh not but to ſteal, kill and deſtroy.* John x. He doth not ſay, *The thief giveth his life for his ſheep, and the good paſtor cometh not but to ſteal, kill, and deſtroy,* &c.

So that we holding our peace, our adverſaries themſelves, ſpeak for us, or rather for the truth.

CHAP. IX.

It is no prejudice to the commonwealth, if freedom of religion were ſuffered, but would make it flouriſh.

BE pleaſed not to hearken to mens leaſings, but to what God and experience teacheth in this thing. *Abraham* abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in religion. Again, *he ſojourned in* Gerar, *and king* Abimelech *gave him leave to abide in his land.* *Iſaac* alſo dwelt in the ſame land, yet contrary in religion. *Jacob* lived twenty years in one houſe with his uncle *Laban*, yet differ'd in religion. The people Gen. xiii. 7, 16, 3. — xx, & xxi, 33, 34. — xxvi. 31.

of

of *Iſrael* were four hundred and thirty years in that famous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards ſeventy years in *Babylon*; all which time they differ'd in religion from the ſtates. Come to the time of Chriſt, where *Iſrael* was under the *Romans*, where lived divers ſects of religions, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, *Libertines*, *Tkudæans*, *Samaritans*; beſides the common religion of the *Jews*, *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, all which differed from the common religion of the ſtate, which (is like) was the *worſhip of Diana*, which almoſt *the whole world then worſhipped*. All theſe lived under the government of *Cæſar*, being nothing hurtful to the ſtate and commonwealth; for they gave unto *Cæſar* that which was his; and for religion to God, he left them to themſelves, as having no domination therein. And when the enemies of the truth raiſed up any tumults, the wiſdom of the magiſtrates moſt wiſely appeaſed them.

Exod. xii.
2 Chr. xxxvi.
Acts xix. 20.
— xviii. 14.
— xix. 35, &c.

AGAIN, be pleaſed to look into the neighbour nations, who tolerate *religion*, how their wealths and ſtates are governed, many ſorts of religions are in their dominions; yet no trouble of ſtate, no treaſon, no hindrance at all of any good, but much proſperity brought unto their countries, they having all one harmony in matters of ſtate, giving unto *Cæſar* his due; and for religion they ſuffer one another.

IF any object the troubles of *France*, *Germany*, &c. we anſwer; They are ſuch as have been procured by the learned, but moſt *bloody Jeſuits*, who ſeek to eſtabliſh their religion by blood, for the ſubverſion of whom,

your

your wiſdoms are wiſe to deal in. Yet be pleaſed not to let faithful ſubjects be puniſhed for their wickedneſs; but let moſt ſevere laws be made for the maintenance of civil and human peace and welfare, as to your majeſty and others ſhall ſeem expedient. And if it be well obſerved, it is the learned that raiſeth up all the bloody wars among the princes of the earth.

CHAP. X.

Kings are not deprived of any power given them of God, when they maintain freedom for cauſe of conſcience.

WE know the learned do perſuade, that kings have power from God to maintain the worſhip and ſervice of God, as they have power to maintain right and juſtice between man and man. For Chriſtian kings, ſay they, have the ſame power that the kings of *Iſrael* had under the law. For anſwer to which,

Firſt, LET it be obſerved, The kings of *Iſrael* had never power from God to make new laws, or ſet up new worſhips, which God's word required not, nor to ſet high prieſts, or ſpiritual lords for the performance of the ſervices, other than ſuch as God, by *Moſes*, had expreſly commanded; and therefore the power of the kings of *Iſrael* will warrant no kings to make or confirm *Canons*, ſet up new worſhips, and appoint ſpiritual lords and lawgivers to the conſcience, and perſecute all that ſubmit not unto them.

Secondly,

Secondly, LET it be well obſerv'd, only the kings of *Iſrael* had this power, but no other kings, whoſe commonwealths did flouriſh to them and their ſeeds after them, to many generations: and it muſt be granted, that he that is king of *Iſrael* now, which is Jeſus Chriſt (the truth of thoſe typical kings of *Iſrael*) he hath the power according to the proportion; the temporal kings had temporal power to compel all to the obſervation of thoſe carnal or temporal commandments. So Chriſt, the ſpiritual King, hath ſpiritual power to compel all to the obſervation of his ſpiritual commandments. For when he came, himſelf ſaid; *The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and in truth: for the Father requireth even ſuch to worſhip him.* If Chriſt be only King of *Iſrael*, that ſits upon *David*'s throne for ever, as he is; far be it from any king to take Chriſt's ſeat from him. The wiſdom of God foreſaw, that ſeeing the myſteries of the goſpel are ſuch ſpiritual things, as no natural men (though they be princes of this world) can know them; he left not kings and princes to be lords and judges thereof, ſeeing they are ſubject to err; but he left that power to his beloved Son, who could not err; and the Son left his only deputy the Holy Ghoſt, and no mortal man whatſoever, as your highneſs worthily acknowledgeth, in *Apol.* p. 46. *I utterly deny that there is any earthly monarch over the church, whoſe word muſt be a law, and who cannot err by an infallibility of ſpirit. Becauſe earthly kingdoms muſt have earthly monarchs, it doth not follow the church muſt have*

Heb. vii. 16. —— ix. 10.

John iv. 23.

Acts ii. 30.

a visible monarch too. Christ is the church's monarch, and the Holy Ghost his deputy. The kings of the nations reign over them; but you shall not be so, &c. *Christ when he ascended left not* Peter *with them to direct them into all truth; but promised to send the Holy Ghost unto them for that end,* &c. Luke xxii.

Further, THESE learned alledge the commandments, where *Israel* are commanded *to destroy all the inhabitants of the land, lest they intice them to serve their gods*, and *to slay all false prophets*, &c. These they collect from the time of the *law*; for in the time of the *gospel* they have nothing to alledge; for *Rom.* xiii. maketh nothing for their purpose, *Cæsar* being an heathen king. For answer unto the places of *Moses*. Exod. xxiii. 33. Deut. vii, & xiii.

First, THE *sins of this people, the* Canaanites *were full, and the Lord would destroy them, and give their possessions unto the* Israelites; but the sins of the refusers of Christ are not full until the end, or last hour, as before is proved.

Secondly, THE *children of* Israel *had a special commandment from the Lord to destroy them*; but the kings of the nations have no command at all to destroy the bodies of the contrary minded; nay, they are expresly forbidden it.

Thirdly, THE Canaanites *would have rebelled against* Israel, *and have destroyed them*; but the contrary minded will not rebel against their kings, but give unto them the things that belong unto them; not so much for fear, as of conscience; and of this the GOD of Gods is witness; if any do, or teach otherwise, let them be destroy'd. Matt. xiii. 29.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, THE *heads and rulers of* Iſrael *could command and compel the people to obſerve thoſe carnal rites and ordinances of the law; even as* CHRIST, *the head and ruler of* Iſrael *can compel to the obſervation of his ſpiritual ordinances of the goſpel*; but the heads of the nations cannot compel their ſubjects to believe the goſpel; for *faith is the gift of God*; which *faith*, if they want, all they do in God's worſhip *is ſin*. Therefore they cannot compel any to worſhip, becauſe they cannot give them *faith*; for which cauſe the Lord in wiſdom ſaw it not meet to charge kings with a duty which they cannot perform; God will never require it at their hands; the blood of the faithleſs and unbelieving ſhall be on their own heads. *He that will not believe ſhall be damn'd.*

Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6. Mark xvi. 16.

AGAIN, ſeeing it is true, as your majeſty well obſerveth in your highneſs's ſpeech at Parl. 1609. *That the judicials of* Moſes, *were only fit for that time, and thoſe perſons.*

AND alſo it is confeſſed, the law for adultery, theft, and the like, is not now to be executed, according to the judicials of *Moſes*, nor directions for the magiſtrates of the earth to walk by; Why ſhould theſe be any directions for them, ſeeing alſo our Saviour and his Apoſtles have taught the contrary, as before hath been proved? If all falſe prophets ſhould be now executed, according to *Deut.* xiii. The kings of the earth would not only be deprived of many of their ſubjects; but the *cities of their habitation, with all the inhabitants of the cities, muſt be deſtroyed with the edge of the ſword; the cattle thereof, and all the ſpoil thereof muſt be brought into the midſt*

midſt of the city, and the city and all therein be burnt with fire, be made a heap of ſtones for ever, and never be built again; which God forbid ſuch execration ſhould ever be ſeen. And if theſe judicials of *Moſes* be not now directions for the kings of nations; we read not in all the book of God, any directions given to kings to rule in matters of conſcience and ſpiritual worſhip to God. But often we read, that the kings of the nations ſhall give their power to the beaſt, and fight againſt the lamb, as lamentable experience hath plainly taught it.

Rev. xvi. 14.
—— xvii. 2, &c.
—— xviii. 3, 9.
—— xix. 19.

THUS all men may ſee, there is only deceit in theſe learned mens compariſons of the kings of *Iſrael* in the law, with the kings of nations in time of the goſpel, in matters of *religion*. Much might be written to prove that kings are not deprived of their power by permitting of freedom of religion; but are rather deprived thereof by uſing compulſion to the contrary minded; and do ſin grievouſly in cauſing them to ſin for want of faith; but this may ſuffice, the Almighty bleſſing it with his bleſſing, which we humbly beſeech him for his *Chriſt*'s ſake, for his own *glory* ſake, for the proſperity and welfare of theſe *kingdoms*, and for the comfort of your faithful and true hearted ſubjects that are now diſtreſſed by long and lingring impriſonments, and otherwiſe; who of conſcience give unto *Cæſar* the things which are his; which is, to be *lord* and *lawgiver* to the bodies of his *ſubjects*, and all belonging to their outward man, for the preſervation of himſelf and his good ſubjects, and for the puniſhment of the evil: In which preſerva-

tion the church of Christ hath a special part, when their outward peace is thereby preserved from the fury of all adversaries; in which respect princes are called *nursing-fathers*, as many are at this day, *blessed be the Lord.*

Matt. xxii. 21.

OH be pleased to consider, why you should persecute us for humbly beseeching you, in the words of the King of kings, *To give unto God the things which are God's*; which is, to be *Lord* and *Lawgiver* to the soul in that spiritual worship and service which he requireth. If you will take away this from God, what is it that is God's? Far be it from you to desire to sit in the consciences of men, to be *lawgiver and judge therein.* This is *antichrist's* practice, persuading the kings of the earth to give him their power to compel all hereunto. But whosoever submitteth, *shall drink of God's fierce wrath.* You may make and mend your own laws, and be judge and punisher of the transgressors thereof; but *you cannot make or mend God's laws, they are perfect already. You may not add nor diminish, nor be judge nor monarch of his church*, that is CHRIST's right; he left neither you, nor any mortal man his deputy, but *only the Holy Ghost*, as your highness acknowledgeth. And whosoever erreth from the truth, his judgment is set down, and the time thereof.

Rev. xiv. 9, 10.

Psal. xix. 7. Deut. iv. 2. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

2 Thess. i. 8, &c. Rom. ii. 8, &c.

THIS is the sum of our *humble petition*; That your majesty would be pleased not to persecute your faithful subjects (who are obedient to you in all civil worship and service) for walking in the practice of what God's word requireth of us, for his spiritual wor-

Matt. xiii. 40. —— xxv. 31, &c. Rom. ii. 16.

ship,

ſhip, as we have faith, knowing (as your majeſty truly writeth in your *Medit.* on *Matt.* xxvii. *p.* 69. in theſe words) *We can uſe no ſpiritual worſhip or prayer that can be available to us without faith.*

THIS *is the ſum of our* moſt humble petition, *thus manifoldly proved to be juſt.*

O LORD GOD of glory, raiſe up in this high aſſembly the heart of ſome *Nehemiah*, of ſome *Ebedmelech*, that may open their mouths (for the dumb, that cannot ſpeak for themſelves) in a truth ſo apparent as this is, leſt it be ſaid, as *Iſa.* lix. 16. *And when he ſaw that there was no man, he wondered that none would offer himſelf; therefore his arm did ſave it; and his righteouſneſs it ſelf did ſuſtain it.*

AND now we ceaſe not to pray for the king, and his ſon, and his ſeed, and this whole, high and honourable aſſembly, now and always.

Calling the all-ſeeing God to witneſs, That we are your majeſty's loyal ſubjects, not for fear only but for conſcience ſake. *Unjuſtly* called,

ANA-BAPTISTS.

NUMB. III.

To the Right Reverend THOMAS *Lord Biſhop of* LINCOLN.

'*My Lord*,

'THE ground of my humble tendering theſe enſuing pages to your lordſhip, is your declared condeſcenſion to peruſe any brief treatiſe that ſhould be preſented to you concerning the proper ſubject and adminiſtration of baptiſm.'

THEN follows a ſhort preface, giving an account of the *Engliſh* baptiſts; at the concluſion of which, the captain ſays, 'That their particular perſuaſion may be no bar in the way of your lordſhip's charity towards them, I ſhall now proceed briefly to ſtate their opinion, with the proofs in general upon which they eſtabliſh the truth of it.'

THE ſubſtance, ſays he, of what is aſſerted by them, is, *That thoſe who do profeſs repentance towards God, faith in, and obedience to our Lord Jeſus, are the proper ſubjects of baptiſm.*

THAT *the due adminiſtration of this ordinance is by immerſion, or dipping the perſon in water; and that they find no rule or example in ſcripture for baptizing any perſon in any other manner, or without an actual declaration of faith.*

'For proof hereof they alledge,

'1. The doctrine and practice of *John the Baptiſt*, and of the diſciples of our Lord, whilſt

'whilſt he was preſent with them before his 'crucifixion.' *And ſaying, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. And were baptized of him in* Jordan, *confeſſing their ſins. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to bear, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire. Then cometh Jeſus from* Galilee *to* Jordan *unto* John, *to be baptized of him. And Jeſus, when he was baptized, went up ſtraightway out of the water; and lo, the heavens were opened unto him; and he ſaw the Spirit of God deſcending like a dove, and lighting upon him.* John *did baptize in the wilderneſs, and preach the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins. And there went out unto him all the land of* Judea, *and they of* Jeruſalem, *and were all baptized of him in the river of* Jordan, *confeſſing their ſins. And it came to paſs in thoſe days that Jeſus came from* Nazareth *of* Galilee, *and was baptized of* John *in* Jordan. *And he came into all the country about* Jordan, *preaching the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins.* John *anſwered, ſaying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to unlooſe, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire. Now when all the people were baptized, it came to paſs that Jeſus alſo being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened. Then ſaid* Paul, John *verily baptized with the baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the people, That they ſhould believe on him which ſhould come after him; that is, on Chriſt Jeſus. When they heard this, they were baptized*

Matt. iii. 2, 6, 11, 13, 16.

Mark i. 4, 5, 9.

Luke iii. 3, 16, 21.

Acts xix. 4, 5.

John iii. 22, 23. *in the name of the Lord Jesus. After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of* Judea, *and there he tarried with them and baptized. And* John *also was baptizing in* Enon, *near to* Salim, *because there was much* John iv. 1. *water there; and they came and were baptized. Jesus made and baptized more disciples than* John.

'2. THE words of positive and sovereign Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. 'institution, after the resurrection of our Lord.' *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end* Mark xvi. 16. *of the world.* Amen. *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

'3. THE Apostles and Evangelists instruc-'tions, resolutions of questions on this sub-'ject and practice, correspondent with the 'command, next and immediately after it 'was given.'

Acts ii. 38. THEN Peter *said unto them, Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye* —— viii. 12, 36, 39. *shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. But when they believed* Philip, *preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water; and the eunuch said, See here is water; What doth hinder me to be baptized? And* Philip *said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I belive that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the*

the chariot to ſtand ſtill; and they went down both into the water, both Philip *and the eunuch, and he baptized him. And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away* Philip, *that the eunuch ſaw him no more, and he went on his way rejoicing. And he departed thence, and enter'd into a certain mans houſe, named* Juſtus, *one that worſhipped God, whoſe houſe joined hard to the ſynagogue. And* Criſpus, *the chief ruler of the ſynagogue, believed on the Lord, with all his houſe; and many of the* Corinthians *hearing, believed, and were baptized.* Acts xviii. 7, 8.

'4. THE manifold uſe and improvement, 'which after many Chriſtian churches were 'ſettled, the Apoſtles made in their epiſtles 'to them, taken from the due qualifications 'required in perſons to be baptized, and built 'upon the due adminiſtration of that ordi-'nance, wherein is ſhewed the myſtical ſigni-'ficancy thereof.'

'(1.) As it is by the prayer, ſtipulation, 'or interrogation of the baptized's good con-'ſcience therein Godward, the figure of ſal-'vation through the reſurrection of Jeſus 'Chriſt; which otherwiſe, by the waters 'waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh in 'baptiſm it would not be.' *And now why tarrieſt thou? Ariſe and be baptized, and waſh away thy ſins, calling on the name of the Lord.* — xxii. 16. *And the Lord ſaid unto him, Ariſe, and go into the ſtreet which is called* Straight, *and enquire in the houſe of* Judas, *for one called* Saul *of* Tarſus; *for behold he prayeth. The like figure whereunto even baptiſm doth alſo now ſave us, not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience toward* — ix. 11. 1 Pet iii. 21.

wards God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

'2. As it is to the understanding of the 'baptized person ordained to be a sign of 'fellowship with Christ in his death and re-
Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5. 'surrection.' *Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.*
Col. ii. 12. *Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.*

'And of engrafting into that mystical body 'the church, whereof Christ is the head.' *For*
Gal. iii. 27, 28. *as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither* Jew *nor* Greek, *there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in*
1 Cor. xii. 13. *Christ Jesus. For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be* Jews *or* Gentiles, *whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit.*

'And consequently a reproof and convi-'ction, in the baptized's own conscience, of 'the crime, in case he be guilty of making
1 Cor. i. 13. 'a schism in the church.' *Is Christ divided? Was* Paul *crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of* Paul?

'Or separating from the church,' as,
Jude ver. 19. Heb. x. 25. These *be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit. Not forsaking the assem-*

assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another; and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.

'3. As the baptized is presumed to know 'himself to be thereby obliged in general to 'a perseverance in holiness, a growth in 'grace, and knowledge of the mysteries of 'God, even of the Father and of Christ, and 'to the yielding a ready obedience of faith 'to all other doctrines and precepts of our 'Lord.' *Know ye not, that so many of us* Rom. vi. 3. *as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Buried with him in* Col. ii. 12. *baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the the dead. There-* Heb. vi. 1, *fore leaving the principles of the doctrine of* 2, 3. *Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God; of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. And this will we do if God permit.*

'My Lord, says the captain, if these 'scriptures be rightly interpreted and applied 'by these called *Anabaptists*; and if it be also 'true, as they have often asserted, that there 'is not in the whole scriptures any rule given 'to baptize, or any plain instance of any 'person's being baptized in any other man-'ner, or without being first further instru-'cted in the doctrine, and making confession 'of faith; I cannot conceive why this should 'not be accepted without any other additio-'nal testimonies or arguments, as a sufficient 'de-

'defence for ſuch, as with a due obſervance 'of all other rules of Chriſtianity, general 'and ſpecial, do in this point thus behave 'and do: nor why they ſhould be therefore 'cenſured, either as varying from the firſt 'inſtitution, or as being deficient in any 'proof neceſſary to maintain this their opini-'on and practice.

'I TAKE it to be agreed, ſays he, among 'the generality of reformed Chriſtians, that 'in the holy ſcriptures are contained dire-'ctions, as well concerning all eſſential parts 'of worſhip, as doctrines neceſſary to be be-'lieved. And it may be thence ſafely con-'cluded, that without the help of any un-'written traditions, or any other writings, 'the holy ſcriptures divinely inſpired and 'written for our learning, always, ſince they 'were firſt written, have been, are, and will 'be, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus, equally 'powerful to render any other perſon, as well 'as *Timothy*, *wiſe to ſalvation:* and to com-'pleat any other miniſter of Chriſt for his 'work, whether it be for doctrine or inſtru-'ction in righteouſneſs, reproof of errors, or 'ſetting to right and reſtoring the true wor-'ſhip of God, if any of his inſtitutions, 'through negligence, omiſſion, incogitan-'cy, human traditions, frequent and long 'continual examples in the church, or any 'other means have not been rightly obſerved. 'And if it be admitted, that no power or 'authority was ever committed to any do-'ctors, aſſemblies, or general councils, pur-'poſely, or knowingly, in any tranſcript of 'the ſcriptures, to vary one letter from the 'original record, or in any tranſlation to va-

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'ry from the true and genuine ſenſe of the
'original text; and that not every individual
'letter, ſyllable, or word, in a tranſcript or
'tranſlation; but the ſenſe of ſcripture is
'of divine authority, and may be render'd
'and preach'd now as well as in the Apo-
'ſtles time, to every nation under heaven, Acts ii. 5, 11.
'in their reſpective proper languages. And
'that notwithſtanding all accidents of vari-
'ous lections, or different interpretations,
'through the oſcitancy of tranſcribers, or
'various ſentiments of tranſlators, through
'human frailty; yet, through the admira-
'ble providence and grace of God, watching
'over and aſſiſting his faithful biſhops and
'teachers in the church, we have, in all neceſ-
'ſary points relating to doctrine, worſhip and
'converſation, the genuine ſenſe and mean-
'ing of the holy ſcriptures continued to us,
'as they were at firſt revealed, and divinely
'inſpired into, and delivered over by the ho-
'ly penmen thereof, as I am abundantly ſa-
'tisfied; I thank God for it, that we have.
'And if it be alſo admitted that the church
'hath no more power to change the rites and
'forms of ſacraments inſtituted by our Lord,
'than they have to change his word and law;
'for that as the one contains the audible, ſo
'the other the viſible ſign of the divine will:
'Then, I humbly conceive, in the deciſion
'of this controverſy, between the *Anabap-*
'*tiſts* and *Pædobaptiſts*, we may ſafely caſt
'out of our thoughts all intercurrent centu-
'ries between the primitive and the preſent
'ſtate of the church; and without having re-
'gard to any intervening canon, tradition,
'or nice ſchool diſtinction, follow that ve-
'nerable

'nerable ſcripture example of the chief of 'the fathers and the prieſts, in a caſe which, 'in many reſpects, may be ſaid to be of the 'like nature, upon their return out of the '*Babyloniſh* captivity; who, when they and 'the people were aſſembled to read and un-'derſtand the words of the law, which God 'had commanded by *Moſes*, and found writ-'ten therein in what manner the rites of the 'feaſt of tabernacles were to be obſerved by 'the *Iſraelites*, they regulated and kept the 'ceremonies thereof, not by former examples, 'but by the preſcript form, which had not 'been ſo done for about a thouſand years be-

Neh. viii. 14, 15, 16, 17. 'fore.' *And they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by* Moſes, *that the children of* Iſrael *ſhould dwell in booths in the feaſt of the ſeventh month: and that they ſhould publiſh and proclaim in all their cities, and in* Jeruſalem, *ſaying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, as it is written. So the people went forth and brought them, and made themſelves booths, every one upon the roof of his houſe, and in their courts, and in the courts of the houſe of God, and in the ſtreet of the water-gate, and in the ſtreet of the gate of* Ephraim. *And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and ſat under the booths: for ſince the days of* Joſhua *the ſon of* Nun, *unto that day, had not the children of* Iſrael *done ſo: and there was very great gladneſs.*

'I TAKE baptiſm, ſays the captain, to 'have been generally reputed the initiating 'ordinance, or admiſſion of ſuch into the vi-

'ſible

'ſible church, who having been before in-
'ſtructed in, and converted to the Chriſtian
'faith, have, from that internal perſuaſion,
'made an external profeſſion of faith in, and
'ſubjection to the perſon, doctrine and com-
'mands of the Lord Jeſus. Not that I rec-
'kon it in order of nature, or time, the firſt
'act of worſhip which any ſuch perform to-
'wards him; for if any thing may in that
'reſpect be ſaid to be firſt, I ſhould rather
'attribute the priority to the reception in the
'heart, of that *incorruptible ſeed, the word*
'*of God*, by which a perſon is born again;
'and the demonſtration of that ſpiritual life to
'be the firſt breathing after God, thro' Chriſt,
'in holy deſires and prayer. Nor do I think
'inſtruction in all the fundamentals of Chri-
'ſtianity, or in the utmoſt extent or ſignifi-
'cancy of baptiſm it ſelf, of any more abſo-
'lute neceſſity than in the beginning of Chri-
'ſtian religion; for in many, if not in each
'individual perſon, Chriſtianity may in ſome
'reſpects have as much its beginning now, as
'when Chriſt was firſt preached among the
'*Gentiles*. *Apollos* was *mighty in the ſcrip-*
'*tures*, and an accurate teacher of the things
'of the Lord; knowing only the baptiſm of
'*John*, until *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* expounded Acts xviii. 24,
'to him the way of the Lord more exquiſitely. 26.
'A deficiency is alſo mentioned among the — xix. 1, 7.
'diſciples at *Epheſus*. A competent know-
'ledge of the grounds of that obedience, which
'in each individual act of worſhip is yielded
'to God, is requiſite in him that ſo worſhips,
'to render it acceptable; for God is a *ſpirit*,
'and ſeeketh and reputeth ſuch for true wor-
'ſhippers of him, who do worſhip him *in*
'*ſpirit*

'*spirit and in truth.* But there may be errors
'on the right hand, as well as on the left.
'God is jealous of his inſtituted worſhip, and
'no man is exempt, by the dignity of his
'perſon, or eminency of his gifts, from yield-
'ing obedience thereunto, in due order and
'manner required. It is very remarkable,
'that *Moſes*, the reputed ſon of king *Pha-*
'*raoh*'s daughter, educated in all the learning
'of the *Egyptians*, although God had emi-
'nently appeared to him, ſhewed him divers
'miracles, made him ſignal promiſes of his
'preſence and aſſiſtance, appointed him to be
'the leader of his people; yet, after all this,
'the Lord met him in his journey, and ſought
'to ſlay him. And by the context it is evi-
Exod. iv. 24, 25, 26. 'dent, that this anger againſt him was for that
'he had neglected to circumciſe his ſon. Two
'inſtances alſo we have in the New Teſtament,
'though not of ſuch ſeverity, yet ſuch as ſerve
'to evidence that it may be ſometimes neceſ-
'ſary to admoniſh thoſe that are moſt emi-
'nently favoured of God, and endued with
'the ſpecial gifts of the Holy Spirit, that
'they defer not that obedience which they
'ought to yield to his inſtituted worſhip, par-
'ticularly this ordinance of baptiſm. Ordina-
'narily, at the firſt preaching of this goſpel,
'baptiſm in water did precede the baptiſm of
Matt. iii. 11. 'the Spirit, and conferring of ſpecial gifts;
'although the latter of theſe was always pre-
'ferred before the other, as moſt eminent.
'But *Ananias* was ſent to *Saul* of the Lord
'Jeſus, who had before appeared to him, that
Acts ix. 17. 'by putting on of his hands, as appears by
'the text, he might receive his ſight, and be
'filled with the Holy Spirit. And this was
'done,

'done, not only before his baptiſm in water;
'but by compariſon of this place with *Acts*
'xxii. 16. there ſeems to have been, by *Ana-*
'*nias*'s queſtion, *Why tarrieſt thou?* at leaſt
'a neceſſary ſtirring of him up to an imme-
'diate diſcharge of his duty therein. And the
'like we may obſerve in *Cornelius* and his
'kinſmen, and near friends; on whom, whilſt
'the Apoſtle *Peter* was preaching to them,
'the gift of the Holy Spirit was poured out,
'ſo that they ſpake with tongues, and mag- Acts ix. 47,
'nified God; which as it did ſufficiently evi- 48.
'dence they were qualified for it, ſo alſo that
'by this anticipation of the baptiſm of the
'Spirit, baptiſm in water might not be de-
'ferred by them. The Apoſtle, not by way
'of teſtimony and exhortation only, as in
'*Acts* ii. 40. and in other common caſes;
'but as better ſuiting with their before de-
'clared diſpoſition, and the preſent occaſion,
'expreſly commanded them to be baptized. —— *ver.* 33,

'TOUCHING things relating to the common 34.
'faith, and common ſalvation of Chriſtians,
'it has always been allowed, by the moſt emi-
'nently learned and orthodox biſhops and
'doctors, that the ſcriptures are eaſy to be
'underſtood; and were ſo plainly in theſe
'points penn'd by the Prophets, Apoſtles and
'Evangeliſts, that every perſon who will read,
'and diligently ſearch and ponder them, might
'thereby of himſelf learn what are therein ſpo-
'ken of theſe things.

'TOUCHING the proper ſubject and man-
'ner of baptiſm, it ſeems not to me (I ſpeak
'with ſubmiſſion, ſays the captain) very ma-
'terial to enquire concerning the different opi-
'nions of men, or how their controverſies here-
'about

'about have been decided, by any general 'council ſince the Apoſtles days; becauſe each 'perſon's faith, and practice herein, in every 'ſucceeding generation to the end of the world, 'is alike to be founded upon, and regulated 'by the ſcripture, as was theirs who did ſuc- 'ceed immediately, and were next to the Apo- 'ſtles. The ſcriptures in theſe points are leaſt 'of all liable to be miſtaken, when they are 'taken by ſuch as read them, as if ſent to 'them immediately by the hands of the Apo- 'ſtles and evangeliſts, and by ſuch as hear 'them read openly in the church, as if that 'ſervice was performed by ſuch as had ſo re- 'ceived them, in obedience to the Apoſtles
1 Theſſ. v. 27. 'ſtrict charge to that purpoſe.' *I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle be read unto all the holy brethren.*

'I DO not write this, ſays the captain, to 'derogate from, or diminiſh any part of that 'honour that is due, and ought to be given 'to thoſe who are pious and learned *overſeers* 'in the Lord's vineyard. The wiſdom of 'God did foreſee it neceſſary to eſtabliſh ru- 'lers, paſtors and teachers, in his church, 'and to qualify them with ſuitable authority 'and gifts, as well for the good government, 'ordering and edifying of the body of Chriſt, 'as on their behalf to watch againſt and diſ- 'cover falſe doctrines, and falſe teachers; 'who by transforming themſelves into angels of 'light, ſeek all occaſions to deſtroy the flock, 'remove the ancient foundations of the houſe 'of God, and to introduce damnable hereſies, 'and doctrines of devils; the detection where- 'of is not within the compaſs of an ordinary 'capacity; therefore in this reſpect, eſpeci- 'ally

'ally even now, when the ravening wolves
'ſtood watching for the moment wherein they
'might ſeize their prey, is your lordſhip de-
'ſervedly rank'd with the foremoſt of thoſe,
'whoſe words are the more excellent and ac- Prov. xxv. 11.
'ceptable, becauſe upright, and words of truth,
'ſpoken in ſeaſon by a maſter of collections. Eccleſ. xii. 10,
'And the grace and good providence of God, 11.
'that qualified and ſtirred up your lordſhip,
'upon ſuch a ſpecial occaſion, to detect and
'expoſe to open view, the opinions and prin-
'ciples of ſuch falſe teachers, in their native
'deformity, which renders them ſo abomina-
'ble, that the diſciples of thoſe who are the
'fathers of them, are aſhamed to own them,
'is the more remarkable, and calls for an
'humble, hearty and thankful acknowledg-
'ment from all thoſe on whoſe behalf this
'was done.

'THESE, and all ſuch labours as have a
'tendency either to detect erronious doctrines,
'or reduce the doctrines of Chriſtianity to
'their prime and genuine purity, that inter-
'pret and help others to underſtand aright the
'holy ſcriptures of truth, have been, and
'will be always of ſingular uſe and advan-
'tage to the church of God, approved, bleſ-
'ſed, and the authors of them highly eſteem-
'ed of all ſincere Chriſtians for their work-
'ſake.

'BUT, my Lord, theſe and all faithful guides,
'who teach their hearers and diſciples pure
'doctrine and worſhip, ſpeak to them in, and
'guide them to the words of the Prophets
'and Apoſtles; ſo that, by common conſent,
'all are to be tried, judged and determined
'by the rule of ſcripture. And in this re-

'ſpect it is, that this ſect of *Anabaptiſts* a-'mongſt us do ſay,' *That if the doctrine of baptiſm, as they teach it, and the form of baptiſm as they practiſe it, be according to the ſcriptures, and primitive uſe of the Chriſtian church; this alone is a ſufficient defence for them herein, although there ſhould be no concurrent teſtimony of any other tradition, cuſtom, decree of council, or opinion whatſoever.* 'Yet, my lord, with this due '*ſalvo* to the ſovereign and ſole authority of 'ſcripture, I ſee no cauſe they have, if mat-'ters be duly weighed, to decline, or that 'they do indeed appeal from the judgment of 'the ancient fathers herein.

'To evidence this on their behalf, I ſhall, 'ſays the captain, inſtance in a few of thoſe 'many ancient teſtimonies which they al-'ledge as unqueſtionable, and of ſuch argu-'ments deduced from thence, as to me ſeem 'very cogent and natural.

'1. THAT the general and very ancient 'uſage of ſponſors or ſuſceptors at the bap-'tiſm of infants, to perſonate and anſwer to 'articles of the Chriſtian faith; as if the ve-'ry perſon to be baptiſed is, beyond contra-'diction, an evidence in it ſelf of a general 'received opinion among all that uſe this 'cuſtom with underſtanding, that a confeſ-'ſion of the principal doctrines of the Chri-'ſtian faith, made by the perſon to be bap-'tized, did, according to the firſt inſtitution, 'precede baptiſm. But then the reaſon al-'ledged by this ſect, why they do not ob-'ſerve this ancient cuſtom, is, becauſe, they 'ſay, there are no footſteps of this practice 'to be found in the ſcriptures; neither can

'they

'they trace the original of it any higher than 'the time mentioned in the *Roman* breviary, 'in their ſervice, the 11th day of *January*, 'celebrated in memory of *Hyginus* biſhop of '*Rome*, *Anno Chriſti* 153. who is therein ac- 'knowledged to be the firſt inſtitutor of ſuſ- 'ceptors in baptiſm; and is ſo alſo by the 'concurrent teſtimony of other hiſtorians.

'AND it is further alledged by them, as 'very probable, that *Tertullian*'s admonition 'concerning the deferring of infants baptiſm 'till they could anſwer for themſelves, rather 'than to admit them to it by ſuch underta- 'kers, was occaſioned by this novel inven- 'tion of *Hyginus*; the one of them living till 'toward the latter end of the ſecond century, 'and the other at the ſame time, or about the 'beginning of the third. Tert. *lib. de Bapt. cap.* 11.

'2. THAT practice*, which at firſt was 'generally admitted by all ſorts of converts 'to the faith, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in all places 'at the ſame time, and in a continued ſucceſ- 'ſeſſion from the beginning, without any diſ- 'pute or diſagreement, *Scil.* to baptize ſuch 'as manifeſted a joyful reception of the word 'of grace, and made a confeſſion of their 'faith, is to be preferred, as agreeing with 'the firſt inſtitution and primitive ſtate of the 'Chriſtian church; before that other pra-

* It is related by father *Vanſleb.* in his *French* hiſtory of the church of *Alexandria*, ch. xxxiii. That *Amba Macaire*, biſhop of *Memphis*, ſecretary to *Coſmus*, the third of that name, patriarch to the *Cophti*, or Chriſtians of *Egypt*, who liv'd in the eighth *century*, ſays, *That in the primitive times, baptiſm was not adminiſter'd in the church of* Alexandria, *but once a year, and that upon* Good-friday; *and only to thoſe of thirty years of age.*

'ctice, *Scil.* admitting infants to baptiſm by 'ſponſors; which obtained but by degrees, 'and in ſome places before others; and 'which from the firſt mention of that uſe, 'ſucceſſively for ſeveral ages, if not to this 'very age, hath been queſtioned, diſputed, 'and ſometimes omitted by Chriſtian parents, 'of ſome who afterwards were of great emi-'nency in the church, who were not baptized 'until they were adult, although infant bap-'tiſm was then admitted by others; as ap-'pears in the hiſtory of their lives, *viz.* '*Gregory Nazianzen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Conſtan-'tine*, *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*.

Hieron. *in* Matt. xxviii.

'FIRST teach all nations, then dip the 'taught in water; for it cannot be that the 'body ſhould receive the ſacrament of baptiſm, 'unleſs the ſoul firſt receive the truth of faith.

Baſil, *mag. de ſpiritu ſancto, cap.* 12.

'THE confeſſion of ſalvation goes before; 'then follows baptiſm, ſealing our covenant.

Concilium Laodiceum, Anno 364.

'THOSE who are to be baptized ought to 'learn and repeat the creed to the biſhop or 'preſbyter.

'THIS canon was confirmed in *Conſtan-'tine*'s time, at the ſixth general ſynod at '*Trullo.* Canon 46.

Apolog. Juſtin Martyr *to the emp.* Antonio.

'As many as believe the things preached 'by the Chriſtians to be true, and promiſe to 'live accordingly, are taught to faſt and 'pray, for the remiſſion of their ſins, the 'church alſo praying and faſting with them; 'and then they are brought to a place 'where water is, and are baptized; then 'they are brought and added to the church 'and receive the Lord's-ſupper.

Lud. Vives *in* Aug. *lib.* 1. *de Civ. Dei, c.* 27.

'NONE but the adult of antient time were 'uſed to be baptized.

'THE

'THE words of *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, Baxter. *more*
'ſhew it was long before all were agreed of *proofs*, *p.* 279.
'the time or neceſſity of baptizing infants
'before the uſe of reaſon, in caſe they were
'like to live to maturity.

3. THAT form of baptizing which is *Sir* Norton
'according to the common acceptation of the Knatchbull,
'word and uſage of the Chriſtian church in *at large in his notes on* 1 Pet.
'its primitive ſtate, and repreſents all the ma- iii. 21.
'terial points of Chriſtian doctrine, whereof
'it is a type, *Scil.* dipping the perſon bap- Ambroſ. *de*
'tized in water, to ſignify his death unto ſin, *initiand. c.* 3.
'purification and reſurrection unto newneſs Bern. *ſer.* 46.
'of life, is to be obſerved rather than any
'other form; which agrees only with one
'thing thereby ſignified, *Scil.* purification,
'which is mentioned (*Let us draw near with* Heb. x. 22.
a true heart, in full aſſurance of faith, having our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our bodies waſhed with pure water) 'rather as the effect than form of bap-
'tiſm. There appearing no reaſon why this
'word, by which this ordinance was inſtitu-
'ted, ſhould be therein taken in any other
'than a literal ſenſe; and if it be well ob-
'ſerved, it may appear, where-ever this word
'is uſed in the ſcriptures in a metaphorical
'ſenſe, thereby is repreſented an overwhelm-
'ing, plunging, or large pouring on, whe-
'ther it be of ſufferings, conferring ſpiritual
'gifts, or the *Iſraelites* paſſing through the
'bottom of the ſea, and no where to ſignify
'ſprinkling. It is affirmed by this ſect, that
'herein they have the concurrent teſtimony
'of many learned and approved expoſitors,
'of thoſe paſſages of ſcripture where this
'word is to be taken in a figurative ſenſe.

'CLEMENT the 5th is cited for the first, 'who at the second synod at *Ravenna*, *Anno* 1305, approved, that baptism might 'be given, no necessity compelling, by 'sprinkling.

Bugenhagius Pomeranius, *circa finem libelli* Germanician 1542. *editi.*

'JOHANNES *Bugenhagius Pomeranus*, 'when he saw at *Hamburgh*, an infant 'brought to baptism, wrapped up in swad-'ling clothes, and water sprinkled upon its 'head, was amazed; for that except in the 'case of necessity, for persons sick in their 'beds, he had neither seen nor heard, nor 'in any history read of any such thing. 'Whereupon there being a convocation of 'all the ministers, it was asked of Mr. *John* '*Fritz*, who had been formerly minister at '*Lubeck*, how baptism was there administer'd? 'who answer'd, infants were there, as in all '*Germany*, baptized naked; but he was igno-'rant how that peculiar manner of baptizing 'had crept in at *Hamburgh*. At length it was 'agreed amongst them, that they should send 'to know the opinion of *Luther*, and the 'divines at *Wirtenberg* in this matter. Which 'being done, *Luther* writ back to *Hamburgh*, 'that this sprinkling was an abuse which 'ought to be removed, that thereupon im-'mersion was restored at *Hamburgh*.

Monsieur de la Roque, *minister of the reformed church at* Roan.

'A learned *French Protestant*, in answer 'to the treatise of bishop *Bossuet*, *De commu-'nione sub utrâque specie*, answers to an ob-'jection concerning the *Protestants* baptizing 'by sprinkling. That it is true they do so, 'but that it is certainly an abuse; and that 'this practice which they have retained from 'the church of *Rome*, without well exa-'mining it, renders their baptism very de-'fective.

'THERE-

'THEREIN is corrupted the inſtitution, 'and the ancient cuſtom, and the reſemblance 'which it ought to have with faith, repen- 'tance, and regeneration. Monſieur *Boſſuet*'s 'remark, that plunging had been uſed for 'thirteen hundred years, deſerves a ſerious re- 'flection.

'IT was very ill done to aboliſh the firſt 'uſage authorized by ſo much ſtrength of 'reaſon, and for ſo many ages. We are 'obliged to return to the ancient practice of 'the church, and the inſtitution of Jeſus 'Chriſt.

4. THEY further alledge, ſays the cap- 'tain, that it appears by ſeveral paſſages in 'ancient hiſtory, that the variations which 'were made from the firſt eſtabliſhed form 'of baptiſm, did not ariſe from any doubt- 'ful ſignification of the words, whereby this 'ordinance was inſtituted; but from other 'collateral conſiderations, *viz.* The danger 'of perſons, young or old, dying unbapti- 'zed; and thereupon the pouring or ſprink- 'ling water upon them in their beds, whence, 'by reaſon of ſickneſs they could not riſe, 'nor without hazard of a real, inſtead of a 'repreſentative dying, be baptized in any 'other manner.

'OF this there needs no other evidence 'than the many queſtions which were moved. 'Whether their baptiſm might be eſteemed 'lawful or compleat, who were baptized only 'by ſprinkling or pouring on of water? which 'received no other anſwer, but that neceſſity 'urging, it might be ſo eſteemed.

Magn. apud Cyprian, *epiſt.* Corn. *ad* Fabium, *apud.* Niceph. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 3.

'MY lord, ſays the captain, I am mind- 'ful of your direction, not to be prolix;

'and have therefore omitted many material 'quotations; which if you will please to read 'a few pages, you will find, in Dr. *Duveil*'s 'treatise on Chap. ii, viii, and xviii. of the '*Acts*, exactly referred to, and much to the 'purpose. It is not my intent to handle this 'point by way of controversy, but only to 'give some brief hints, that as the form 'of baptism has been varied upon other con-'siderations than what appears in the insti-'tution, so may it have been also with re-'spect to the proper subject of baptism.

Mr. Claude's *Hist. defence*, Eng. *transl. Part* IV. *p.* 100.

'THE reverend Mr. *Claude*, in his histo-'rical defence of the reformation, answering 'to the objections of the author of prejudi-'ces, about the validity of his baptism, cites 'this passage:' *The promise is* made *to us and to our children; and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord shall call*; 'and says, That by a necessary consequence, 'the seal of that promise, which is baptism, 'and all the other rights of the covenant of 'Jesus Christ, belongs to us, and to our 'children; that is to say, to the truly faith-'ful. I will not undertake, says he, to ex-'plain Mr. *Claude*'s meaning in these expres-'sions, nor to set forth the extent of the cove-'nant which he mentions.

Nehem. Cox *on the covenants*; *printed at* London, 1683. *cited by* Duveil, *on* Acts ii. 41.

'THERE is a short treatise, published by 'Mr. *Nehemiah Cox*, concerning the cove-'nants before the law, on this subject, which 'may give some light into this matter.

'THERE may be a great difference be-'tween a direct, immediate, and a remote 'right to what is comprehended in, or be-'longs to a covenant, not to insist any thing 'on the impropriety or congruity of a seal,

'as applied to the covenant of grace under
'its various miniſtrations. *Davia*'s ſon by
'*Bathſheba*, in the time of the law, dying
'at ſeven days old, had no right to circum-
'ciſion. *Shem* and *Lot* were contemporary
'with *Abraham*; *Job* and his friends, as is
'ſuppoſed, with *Moſes*, all true worſhippers
'of God, and within the covenant of grace;
'yet nothing is ſpoken of circumciſion be-
'longing to them, or any of their poſterity.

'In the reſolution of the caſe by the Apo- 1 Cor. vii.
'ſtle ſaint *Paul*, concerning the cohabitation
'of a believer with an unbeliever, in a mar-
'ried ſtate, it is determined by the Apoſtle,
'that the unbeliever is ſanctified by the be-
'liever; and thence he draws this inference,
'that their *children* were *holy*: Whence it
'ſeems plain, that to the procreation of an
'holy ſeed, in the Apoſtle's ſenſe, it was ne-
'ceſſary that both parents, as well the belie-
'ver as the unbeliever, in that conjunct ſtate
'of marriage, ſhould be alſo reputed holy.
'And therefore I do not diſcern how the iſſue
'of both theſe ſhould have any more im-
'mediate right from thence to baptiſm, than
'the unbelieving parent. And if *Chriſtiani*
'*fideles*, and *baptizati*, were anciently terms
'promiſcuouſly uſed one for the other; then
'it may ſeem by that character, amongſt
'others given by *Paul* to *Titus*, of a perſon Tit. i. 6.
'to be choſen an elder, having believing Τέκνα ἔχοντα πιστά.
'children, that it was not a common caſe for
'all Chriſtian parents to have all their chil-
'dren accounted faithful, and conſequently
'baptized. But whenſoever it proved ſo, it
'was a great evidence of a right and ſucceſs-
'ful education in the fear of God, as was

'that

2 Tim. i. 4,5. 2 John v. 4. ‘ that of *Timothy*, and ground of rejoicing ‘ to the ſervants of God ; as were thoſe *chil-* ‘ *dren of the elect lady*, that walked in the ‘ truth.

‘ But, my lord, my province, ſays the ‘ captain, is only to repeat briefly what oc- ‘ curs to mind in defence of their opinion and ‘ practice, who are ſtiled *Anabaptiſts* ; and ‘ otherwiſe than what may be preſumed of ‘ neceſſary conſequence, if the terms and ‘ forms of this ordinance be ſtrictly limited ; ‘ not to intermeddle with the opinion of any ‘ that teach otherwiſe, but leave them therein, ‘ as I ought to do, to ſtand or fall to their ‘ own maſter.

Greg. *magn.* *lib.* 1. *ep.* 37. ‘ The *Anabaptiſts*, in their own caſe, do ‘ ſay, It is an opinion that the ancients held, ‘ that what cannot be ſhewed by certain ſigns ‘ to be rightly performed, cannot be ſaid to ‘ be repeated.

Scotus, *in* 4 *ſent. diſt.* 3. *q.* 2 N°. 10. ‘ In all doubtful caſes, as to matter and ‘ form, there are three ſpecial things to be ‘ obſerved.

‘ 1. If poſſible to chuſe the moſt ſafe way.

‘ 2. If it be not poſſible to keep that which ‘ is next to the ſafeſt.

‘ 3. The impoſſibility ceaſing, to ſup- ‘ ply warily what that did for the ſeaſon pro- ‘ hibit.

Forbeſius Scoto. Britan. *inſtruct. hiſt.* *lib.* 10. *can.* 4. Num. xxx. ‘ There is no doubt but they are again ‘ to be baptized, who were not dip'd in the ‘ true ſacrament of baptiſm.

Ordo Romanus *de ritibus eccleſiaſt.* ‘ To conclude, Whoever undertakes to ‘ write againſt the ancient manner of inſtru- ‘ cting or confeſſion preceding baptiſm, ‘ or form uſed in baptizing, hath this taſk ‘ incum-

'incumbent upon him; To give ſome other proper interpretation of the words of inſtitution, ancient manner of *catechumens*, uſe of large *baptiſteria* and *Lavacres*, and of the methods and care deſcribed for the decent adminiſtration of this ordinance, than is hitherto extant in the frequent mention of theſe things in antiquity.

Sittridus Othonis *presbyter aſſiſtens in ipſius actis, lib.* 2. *c.* 15. Salmaſius *in epiſt. ad* Andr. Calvin. *ſcrip. cal. Jul.* 1644.

'If I have, ſays the captain, through inadvertency, erred in any quotations, or in any thing not anſwered your lordſhip's expectation: I humbly beg your lordſhip's pardon. And if it may be without trouble to your lordſhip, that I may, by the meaneſt of your ſervants, receive your lordſhip's further commands herein; they ſhall readily be obeyed by

Your Lordſhip's

obliged and obedient ſervant,

RICH. DEANE.

NUMB. IV.

A Brief CONFESSION *or* DECLARATION *of* FAITH, *lately preſented to king* Charles *the ſecond; ſet forth by many of us, who are falſly called* Anabaptiſts, *to inform all men, in theſe days of ſcandal and reproach, of our innocent Belief and Practice; for which we are not only reſolved to ſuffer perſecution to the loſs of our goods, but alſo life it ſelf, rather than to decline the ſame. Subſcribed by certain* Elders, Deacons, *and* Brethren, *met at* London *in the behalf of themſelves, and many others unto whom they belong, in* London, *and in ſeveral Counties of this Nation, who are of the ſame* Faith *with us.*

I. WE believe, and are very confident, That there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, from everlaſting to everlaſting, glorious and unwordable in all his attributes. 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. *Iſa.* xl. 28.

II. THAT God in the beginning made man *upright*, and put him into a ſtate and condition of glory, without the leaſt mixture of miſery; from which he, by *tranſgreſſion*, fell, and ſo came into a miſerable and mortal eſtate, ſubject unto the firſt death. *Gen.* i. 31.

1. 31. *Eccleſ.* vii. 29. *Gen.* ii. 17. and iii. 17, 18, 19.

III. THAT there is one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, who is the only begotten Son of God, born of the virgin *Mary*; yet as truly *David*'s lord, and *David*'s root, as *David*'s ſon and *David*'s off-ſpring; whom God freely *ſent into the world*, becauſe of his great love unto the world; who as freely *gave himſelf a ranſom for all*; *taſting death for every man*; *a propitiation for our ſins*; *and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of the whole world.* Luke xx. 24. Rev. xxii. 16. 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. 1 John ii. 2. Heb. ii. 9.

IV. THAT *God is not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance*, 2 Pet. iii. 9. *and the knowledge of the truth that they might be ſaved*, 1 Tim. ii. 4. For which end Chriſt hath commanded that the goſpel (to wit, the glad tidings of remiſſion of ſins) ſhould be preached to every creature, *Mark* xvi. 15. So that no man ſhall eternally ſuffer in hell (that is, the ſecond death) for want of a Chriſt that died for them; but, as the ſcripture ſaith, *for denying the Lord that bought them*, 2 Pet. ii. 1. or becauſe they *believe not in the name of the only begotten Son of God*, John iii. 18. Unbelief therefore being the cauſe why the juſt and righteous God, will condemn the children of men; it follows, againſt all contradiction, that all men, at one time or other, are put into ſuch a capacity, as that (through the grace of God) they may be eternally ſaved. *John* i. 7. *Acts* xvii. 30. *Mark* vi. 6. *Heb.* iii. 10, 18, 19. 1 *John.* v. 10. *John* iii. 17.

V.

V. THAT ſuch who firſt orderly comes into, and are brought up in the ſchool of Chriſt's church, and waiting there, comes to degrees of Chriſtianity, rightly qualified, and conſiderably gifted by God's Spirit, ought to exerciſe their gifts, not only in the church, but alſo (as occaſion ſerves) to preach to the world (they being approved of by the church ſo to do) *Acts* xi. 22, 23, 24. *ch.* xi. 19, 20. and that among ſuch ſome are to be choſen by the church, and ordained by faſting, prayer, and laying on of hands, for the work of the miniſtry. *Acts* xiii. 2, 3. and i. 23. Such ſo ordained (and abiding faithful in their works) we own as miniſters of the goſpel; but all ſuch who come not firſt to repent of their ſins, believe on the Lord Jeſus, and ſo *baptized* in his name for the remiſſion of ſins, but are only brought up in the ſchools of human learning, to the attaining human arts, and variety of languages, with many vain curioſities of ſpeech, 1 *Cor.* i. 19, 21. 2 *Cor.* ii. 1, 4, 5. ſeeking rather the gain of large revenues, than the gain of ſouls to God: Such (we ſay) we utterly deny, being ſuch as have need rather to be taught themſelves, than fit to teach others. *Rom.* ii. 21.

VI. THAT the way ſet forth by God for men to be juſtified in, is by faith in Chriſt, *Rom.* v. 1. That is to ſay, When men ſhall aſſent to the truth of the goſpel, believing, with all their hearts, that there is remiſſion of ſins, and eternal life to be had in Chriſt. And that Chriſt therefore is moſt worthy their conſtant affections, and ſubjection to all his commandments; and therefore reſolve, with purpoſe

poſe of heart, ſo to ſubject unto him in all things, and no longer unto themſelves. 2 *Cor.* v. 15. And ſo ſhall (with all godly ſorrow for the ſins paſt) commit themſelves to his grace, confidently depending upon him, for that which they believe is to be had in him: Such ſo believing are juſtified from all their ſins, their faith ſhall be accounted unto them for righteouſneſs. *Rom.* iv. 22, 23, 24. and iii. 25, 26.

VII. THAT there is one holy Spirit, the precious gift of God, freely given to ſuch as *obey him*, Eph. iv. 4. Acts v. 32. that thereby they may be thoroughly ſanctified, and made able (without which they are altogether unable) to abide ſtedfaſt in the faith, and to honour the Father, and his Son Chriſt, the author and finiſher of their faith. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. There are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, the Holy Spirit, and theſe three are one, 1 *John* v. 7. which ſpirit of promiſe ſuch have not yet received (though they ſpeak much of him) that are ſo far out of *love*, *peace*, *long-ſuffering*, *gentleneſs*, *goodneſs*, *meekneſs*, *and temperance (the fruits of the Spirit*, Gal. v. 22, 23.) as that they breath out much cruelty, and great envy againſt the liberties, and peaceable living of ſuch as are not of their judgment, though holy as to their converſations.

VIII. THAT God hath, even before *the foundation of the world*, *choſen* (or elected) *to eternal life*, *ſuch as believe*, and ſo are in Chriſt, *John* iii. 16. *Eph.* i. 4. 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 13. yet confident we are, that the purpoſe of God, according to election, was not in the leaſt ariſing from foreſeen faith in, or works of

of righteouſneſs done by the creature, but only from the mercy, goodneſs, and compaſſion dwelling in God, and ſo *it is of him that calleth*, Rom. ix. 11. whoſe purity and unwordable holineſs cannot admit of any unclean perſon (or thing) to be in his preſence; therefore his decree of mercy reaches only the godly man, whom (ſaith *David*) God *hath ſet apart for himſelf*, Pſal. iv. 3.

IX. THAT men not conſider'd ſimply as men, but ungodly men, *were of old ordained to condemnation*, conſider'd as ſuch, who turn the grace of God into wantonneſs, and deny the only Lord God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Jude* 4. God indeed ſends a ſtrong deluſion to men, that they might be damned, but we obſerve that they are ſuch (as ſaith the Apoſtle) that *received not the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved*, 2 Theſſ. ii. 10, 11, 12. and ſo the indignation and wrath of God, is upon *every ſoul* of man, that doth *evil*, living and dying therein, *for there is no reſpect of perſons with God*, Rom. ii. 9, 10, 11.

X. THAT all children dying in infancy, having not actually tranſgreſſed againſt the law of God in their own perſons, are only ſubject to the firſt death, which comes upon them by the ſin of the firſt *Adam*, from whence they ſhall be all raiſed by the ſecond *Adam*; and not that any one of them (dying in that eſtate) ſhall ſuffer for *Adam*'s ſin, eternal puniſhment in hell (which is the ſecond death) *for to ſuch belongs the kingdom of heaven*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. Matt. xix. 14. not daring to conclude with that uncharitable opinion of others, who though they plead much for

for the bringing of children into the visible church here on earth by *baptism*; yet nevertheless, by their doctrine, that Christ died but for some, shut a great part of them out of the kingdom of heaven for ever.

XI. That the right and only way of gathering churches (according to Christ's appointment, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20.) is first to teach, or preach the gospel, *Mark* xvi. 16. to the sons and daughters of men; and then to *baptize* (that is, in *English*, to *dip*) in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, such only of them as profess *repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.* Acts ii. 38. ch. viii. 12. ch. xviii. 8. And as for all such who preach not this doctrine, but instead thereof, that scriptureless thing of sprinkling of infants *(falsly called baptism)* whereby the *pure word of God is made of no effect*, and the New Testament way of bringing in members into the church by regeneration, cast out; when as the bond woman and her son, that is to say, the Old Testament way of bringing in children into the church by generation is cast out, as saith the scripture, *Gal.* iv. 22, 23, 24, 30. *Matt.* iii. 8, 9. All such we utterly deny; forasmuch as we are commanded to *have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them*, Eph. v. 11.

XII. That it is the duty of all such who are believers baptized, to draw nigh unto God in submission to that principle of Christ's doctrine, to wit, prayer, and laying on of hands, that they may receive the promise

of the holy Spirit. *Heb.* vi. 1, 2. *Acts* viii. 12, 15, 17. *ch.* xix. 6. 2 *Tim.* i. 6. Whereby they may *mortify the deeds of the body*, Rom. viii. 13. and live in all things anſwerable to their profeſſed intentions and deſires, even to the honour of him, *who hath called them out of darkneſs into his marvellous light.*

XIII. THAT it is the duty of ſuch, who are conſtituted as aforeſaid, to continue ſtedfaſtly in Chriſt's and the Apoſtle's doctrine, and aſſembling together, in fellowſhip, in breaking of bread and prayers, *Acts* ii. 42.

XIV. THAT although we thus declare for the primitive way and order of conſtituting churches; yet we verily believe, and alſo declare, that unleſs men ſo profeſſing and practiſing the form and order of Chriſt's doctrine, ſhall alſo beautify the ſame with a holy and wiſe converſation, in all godlineſs and honeſty; the profeſſion of the viſible form will be render'd to them of no effect; *for without holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord*, Heb. xii. 14. *Iſa.* i. 11, 12, 15, 16.

XV. THAT the elders or paſtors which God hath appointed to overſee, and feed his church (conſtituted as aforeſaid) are ſuch, who firſt being of the number of diſciples, ſhall in time appear to be *vigilant*, *ſober*, *of good behaviour*, *given to hoſpitality*, *apt to teach*, &c. *not greedy of filthy lucre* (as too many national miniſters are) *but patient*; *not a brawler*, *not covetous*, &c. and as ſuch choſe, and ordained to office (according to the order of ſcripture, *Acts* xiv. 23.) who are to feed the flock with meat in due ſeaſon, and in much love to rule over them with all care,

ſeeking after ſuch as go aſtray: but as for all ſuch who labour to feed themſelves with the fat, more than to feed the flock, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 2, 3. ſeeking more after theirs than them, expreſly contrary to the practice of the miniſters of old, who ſaid, *we ſeek not yours but you*, 2 Cor. xii. 14. All ſuch we utterly deny, and hereby bear our continued teſtimony againſt them, as ſuch whom the prophets of old bore teſtimony againſt. *Ezek.* xxxiv.

XVI. THAT the miniſters of Chriſt tha have freely received from God, ought freely to miniſter to others, 1 *Cor.* ix. 17. and that ſuch who have ſpiritual things freely miniſter'd to them, ought freely to communicate neceſſary things to the miniſters (upon the account of their charge) 1 *Cor.* ix. 11. *Gal.* vi. 6. and as for tithes, or any forced maintenance, we utterly deny to be the maintenance of goſpel miniſters.

XVII. THAT the true church of Chriſt ought, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, to reject all hereticks, *Tit.* iii. 10, 11. and in the name of the Lord to withdraw from all ſuch as profeſs the way of the Lord, but walks diſorderly in their converſations, 2 *Theſſ.* iii. 6. or any ways cauſes diviſions or offences, contrary to the doctrine (of Chriſt) which they have learned, *Rom.* xvi. 17.

XVIII. THAT ſuch who are true believers, even branches in Chriſt the Vine (and that in his account, whom he exhorts to abide in him, *John* xv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.) or ſuch who have charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conſcience, and of faith unfeigned, 1 *Tim.* i. 5. may nevertheleſs, for want of watchfulneſs, ſwerve and turn aſide from the

ſame, *ver.* 6, 7. and became as withered branches, caſt into the fire and burned, *John* xv. 6. But ſuch *who add unto their faith vertue, and unto vertue knowledge, and unto knowledge temperance*, &c. 2 *Pet.* i. 5, 6, 7. ſuch *ſhall never fall*, ver. 8, 9, 10. 'tis impoſſible for all the falſe chriſts and falſe prophets that are, and are to come, to deceive ſuch; for they are *kept by the power of God, through faith unto ſalvation*, 1 Pet. i. 5.

XIX. THAT the poor ſaints belonging to the church of Chriſt, are to be ſufficiently provided for by the churches, that they neither want food or raiment; and this by a free and voluntary contribution, and not of neceſſity, or by the conſtraint or power of the magiſtrate, 2 *Cor.* ix. 7. 1 *Cor.* viii. 11, 12. and this through the free and voluntary help of the deacons (called overſeers of the poor) being faithful men; choſen by the church, and ordained by prayer and laying on of hands to that work, *Acts* vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. So that there is no need in the church of Chriſt of a magiſterial compulſion in this caſe, as there is among others, who being conſtituted in a fleſhly and generational way, are neceſſitated to make uſe of a carnal ſword, to compel even a ſmall, mean, and ſhort maintenance for their poor; when as many other members of their churches can and do part with great and large ſums of money to maintain their vain faſhions, gold, pearls, and coſtly array; which is expreſly contrary to the word of God, 1 *Tim.* ii. 9, 10. 1 *Pet.* iii. 3. Alas, *What will ſuch do when God riſeth up? and when he viſiteth, what will they anſwer him?* Job xxxi. 14.

XX.

XX. THAT there ſhall be (through Chriſt, who was dead, but is alive again from the dead) a reſurrection of all men from the graves of the earth, *Iſa.* xxvi. 19. both the juſt and the unjuſt, *Acts* xxiv. 15. that is, the fleſhly bodies of men, ſown into the graves of the earth, corruptible, diſhonourable, weak, natural (which ſo conſidered, cannot inherit the kingdom of God) ſhall be raiſed again, incorruptible, in glory, in power, ſpiritual; and ſo conſidered, the bodies of the ſaints (united again to their ſpirits) which here ſuffer for Chriſt, ſhall inherit the kingdom, *reigning* together with Chriſt. 1 *Cor.* xv. 21, 22, 42, 43, 44, 49.

XXI. THAT there ſhall be after the reſurrection from the graves of the earth, *an eternal judgment*, at the appearing of Chriſt and his kingdom, 2 *Tim.* iv. 1. *Heb.* ix. 27. at which time of judgment, which is unalterable, and irrevocable, every man ſhall receive according to the things done in his body, 2 *Cor.* v. 10.

XXII. THAT the ſame Lord Jeſus who ſhewed himſelf alive after his paſſion, by many infallible proofs, *Acts* i. 3. which was taken up from the diſciples, and carried up into heaven, *Luke* xxiv. 51. *ſhall ſo come in like manner as he was ſeen go into heaven*, Acts i. 9, 10, 11 *And when Chriſt, who is our life, ſhall appear, we ſhall alſo appear with him in glory*, Col. iii. 4. *For then ſhall he be King of kings, and Lord of lords*, Rev. xix. 16. *For the kingdom is his, and he is the Governor among the nations*, Pſal. xxii. 28. *and king over all the earth*, Zech. xiv. 9.

and we ſhall reign with him on the earth, Rev. v. 10. The kingdoms of this world (which men ſo mightily ſtrive after here to enjoy) ſhall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and his Chriſt, *Rev.* xi. 15. *For all is yours* (O ye that overcome this world) *for ye are Chriſt's, and Chriſt is God's*, 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. *For unto the ſaints ſhall be given the kingdom, and the greatneſs of the kingdom, under* (mark that) *the whole heaven*, Dan. vii. 27. Though (alas) now many men be ſcarce content that the ſaints ſhould have ſo much as a being among them; but when Chriſt ſhall appear, then ſhall be their day, then ſhall be given unto them power over the nations, to rule them with a rod of iron, *Rev.* ii. 26, 27. Then ſhall they receive a crown of life, which no man ſhall take from them, nor they by any means turned, or overturned from it; for the oppreſſor ſhall be broken in pieces, *Pſal.* lxxii. 4. and their now vain rejoicings turned into mourning and bitter lamentations; as it is written, *Job* xx. 5, 6, 7. *The triumphing of the wicked is ſhort, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment: though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, yet ſhall he periſh for ever, like his own dung; they which have ſeen him, ſhall ſay, Where is he?*

XXIII. That the holy ſcripture is the rule whereby ſaints, both in matters of faith and converſation, are to be regulated; they being *able to make men wiſe unto ſalvation, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus; profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs,*

teouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. John xx. 31. Iſa. viii. 20.

XXIV. THAT it is the will and mind of God (in theſe goſpel times) that all men ſhould have the free liberty of their own *conſciences* in matters of religion or worſhip, without the leaſt oppreſſion or perſecution, as ſimply upon that account; and that for any in authority otherwiſe to act, we confidently believe is expreſly contrary to the mind of Chriſt; who requires, that *whatſoever men would that others ſhould do unto them, they ſhould even ſo do unto others*, Matt. vii. 12. and that the tares and the wheat ſhould grow together in the field (which is the world) until the harveſt (which is the end of the world) *Matt.* xiii. 29, 30, 38, 39.

XXV. WE believe, That there ought to be civil magiſtrates in all nations, *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well*, 1 Pet. ii. 14. and that all wicked lewdneſs and fleſhly filthineſs, contrary to juſt and wholſome (civil) laws, ought to be puniſhed according to the nature of the offences; and this without reſpect of any perſons, religion, or profeſſion whatſoever; and that we, and all men are obliged by goſpel rules, *to be ſubject to the higher powers, to obey magiſtrates*, Tit. iii. 1. *and to ſubmit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake*, as ſaith *Pet.* ii. 13. But in caſe the civil power do, or ſhall at any time impoſe things about matters of religion, which we, through conſcience to God, cannot actually obey; then

we, with *Peter* alſo, do ſay, That we ought in ſuch caſes *to obey God rather than men*, Acts v. 29. and accordingly do hereby declare our whole and holy intent and purpoſe, That through the help of grace we will not yield, nor in ſuch caſes in the leaſt actually obey them; yet humbly purpoſing, in the Lord's ſtrength, patiently to ſuffer whatſoever ſhall be inflicted upon us for our conſcionable forbearance.

THESE things, O ye ſons and daughters of men, we verily believe to be the Lord's will and mind, and therefore cannot but ſpeak! And if herein we differ from many, yea, from multitudes, from the learned, the wiſe and prudent of this world, we, with *Peter* and *John*, do herein make our ſolemn and ſerious appeal; namely, *Whether it be right in the ſight of God to hearken unto men* (of a contrary perſuaſion) *more than unto God.* O let the judicious judge righteous judgment, *Acts* iv. 19, 20. And in the belief and practice of theſe things, it being the good old apoſtolical way, our ſouls have found that reſt and ſoul peace which the world knows not, and which they cannot take from us. Of whom then ſhall we be afraid? *God is become our ſtrength, our light, our ſalvation*; therefore are we reſolved, through grace, to ſeal the truth of theſe things, in a way of ſuffering perſecution; not only to the loſs of our goods, freedoms, or liberties, but with our lives alſo, if called thereunto.

MOREOVER we do utterly, and from our very hearts, in the Lord's fear, declare againſt all

all thoſe wicked and deviliſh reports, and reproaches, falſly caſt upon us, as though ſome of us (in and about the city of *London*) had lately *gotten knives*, *hooked knives*, and the like, and great ſtore of arms beſides what was given forth by order of parliament, intending to cut the throats of ſuch as were contrary minded to us in matters of religion; and that many ſuch *knives* and arms, for the carrying on ſome ſecret deſign, hath been found in ſome of our houſes by ſearch: We ſay, from truth of heart, in the Lord's fear, that we do utterly abhor, and abominate the thoughts thereof, and much more the actions; and do hereby challenge both city and country (in our innocency herein) as being not able to prove the things whereof they accuſe us; and do for evermore declare the inventors of ſuch reports, to be lyars, and wicked deviſers of miſchief, and corrupt deſigns. God that is above all will juſtify our innocency herein, who well knows our integrity in what we here declare, the Lord lay it not to their charge. In the time of building the decay'd houſe of God, *Sanballat* and *Tobiah (wicked counſellors) hired* Shemaiah, *to make good* Nehemiah *afraid*; and laboured againſt him, that they might have *matter for an evil report*; that they might reproach him, and hinder the building of the houſe of God, *Neh.* vi. 12. *For I have heard*, ſaith the prophet, *the defaming of many*; *Report*, *ſay they*, *and we will report it*, Jer. xx. 10.

SUBSCRIBED by certain Elders, Deacons and Brethren, met at *London*, in the firſt month called *March*, 1660. in the behalf of

of themſelves, and many others unto whom they belong in *London*, and in ſeveral counties of this nation who are of the ſame faith with us,

Joſeph Wright,
William Jeffery,
Thomas Monk,
John Hartnol,
Benjamin Morley,
Francis Stanley,
George Hammon,
William Smart,
John Reeve,
Thomas Parrot,
John Wood,
Francis Smith,
Edward Jones,
Humphry Jones,
Matthew Caffen,
Samuel Loveday,
John Parſons, ſen.
Thomas Stacey,
Edward Stanly,
Jonathan Jennings,
John Hammerſly,
William Ruſſell,
Joſeph Keech,
Nicholas Newbery,
Samuel Lover,
George Wright,
John Parſons, jun.
Thomas Grantham,
John Claton,
Thomas Seele,
Michael Whitticar,
Giles Brown,
John Wells,
Stephen Torie,
Thomas Lathwel,
William Chadwel,
William Raph,
Henry Browne,
William Paine,
Richard Bowin,
Thomas Smith.

Owned and approved by more than twenty thouſand.

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NUMB. V.

A DECLARATION *of a ſmall ſociety of baptized Believers, undergoing the name of* Free-willers, *about the city of* London.

WE well knowing that we are and have been miſrepreſented to the people of this and other nations, as well by particular letters from friend to friend, as by publick intelligence in pamphlets and news books, by which means we have been render'd odious in the eyes of almoſt all, and as it were made a by word, and a hiſſing to all. Were notwithſtanding willing, according to the requirement of our Saviour, *In our patience to poſſeſs our ſouls*, and ſilently to wait upon our God, for a clearing of our innocency, and the cleanneſs of our hands in his eye-ſight; but lately having had a view of a declaration, dated the 12th of *December* laſt, made by ſome perſons of the particular judgment; in which ſome others of another perſuaſion have joined, to the which, in ſeveral particulars, we cannot in the leaſt aſſent to; we therefore thought it our bounden duty, for the vindication of that truth which we are in preſent profeſſion and practice of; as alſo fearing, leſt they having declared to publick view, we by our ſilence ſhould be looked upon either to be of the ſame judgment with them in what they have declared, or elſe guilty of all or ſome of thoſe five particulars they in that declaration ſay the Baptiſts in general are charged

Luke xxi. 19.

charged withal, have therefore ſet pen to paper, and ſhall firſt give a particular of the ſaid five charges; and then, as in the preſence of God, lay down our real judgments and perſuaſions grounded upon ſcripture record, to thoſe charges; by which it will be apparent that we are not guilty of them at all, and that we differ from the ſaid declarers in point of judgment: and if we ſhall in any thing therein derogate from the mind of God, we ſhall deſire, in the ſpirit of love, to be rectified by better judgments from the word of truth; and ſhall think our ſelves happy gainers in ſuch a Chriſtian reproof. Say they, we being miſrepreſented to the nation,

1. As *ſuch as are oppoſite to magiſtracy.*
2. That *we would deſtroy the publick miniſtry of the nation, who differ from us in ſome things about religion.*
3. That *we do countenance the people called* Quakers *in their irregular practice.*
4. That *we do endeavour a toleration of all miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical and civil, under pretence of liberty of conſcience.*
5. That *we deſire to murder and deſtroy thoſe that differ from us in matters of religion.*

To the *firſt*, we poſitively ſay, That we are ſo far from oppoſing magiſtracy, as that it would be to us matter of great rejoicing to know who were our magiſtrates; but far greater to ſee ſuch ſet up who are men fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs, that ſo juſtice might be duly executed without reſpect

ſpect of perſons, and judgment run down like water, and righteouſneſs like a mighty ſtream, that ſo there might be no more leading into captivity, and that complaining in our ſtreets might have an end. But for our parts, to take a carnal weapon in our hands, or uſe the leaſt violence, either to ſupport or pull down the worſt, or to ſet up or maintain the beſt of men, we look not upon it to be our duty in the leaſt; much leſs to have a thought of endeavouring to ſet up our ſelves, either directly or indirectly; for were we abilitated and furniſhed with ſuch endowments as might render us capable of being rulers, yet could we not allow our ſelves to act as magiſtrates, becauſe we are a people *choſen out of the world*, and look upon our ſelves *as pilgrims and ſtrangers in the earth.* But this we know to be the mind of God, that we are to be *ſubject to, and not to reſiſt the powers*, becauſe they be *ordained of God*; and as God ſets them up, ſo he requires his ſons and daughters to render unto them *tribute, cuſtom, fear and honour.* And we further declare, That it is our bounden duty in obedience to our God, to *pray for kings, and all that are in authority.* So that we are ſo far from oppoſing them, as that we ſay it is our duty to obey them in all civil things that are agreeable to the mind of God; and if they ſhall require any thing from us that is contrary to his mind and will revealed in his holy ſcriptures of truth, we ſay, we are not to reſiſt them; but if in conſcience we cannot obey them, then we are patiently to ſuffer under them, whatever they ſhall inflict upon us for our non-obedience to their requirements; and

John xv. 19. Heb. xi. 17. 1 Pet. ii. 11. Rom. xiii. *beg.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. Tit. iii. 2. Rom. xiii. 7. 1 Tim. ii. 2.

to

to this we yet further declare, That it is our real judgment as to things ſpiritual, not to own them as our lawgivers in the leaſt; *for there is one Lawgiver which is able to ſave and to deſtroy*, which is the Lord; and therefore if they ſhall at any time impoſe upon us laws in point of worſhip; that is, either to worſhip a falſe god, or the true God after a falſe manner; we, by God's aſſiſtance, ſhall tell them, with *Shadrach*, *Meſhech* and *Abednego*, That we are not careful to anſwer them in that matter, yet ſhall not violently reſiſt, but with them patiently ſuffer under them as aforeſaid.

James iv. 12. Iſa. xxxiii. 22.

Dan. iii. 16

To the *ſecond*, *That we would deſtroy the publick miniſtry of the nation, that differ from us about ſome things in religion.* We do declare, That if there be a deſtruction intended between us, we muſt leave it at their doors, and deſire them to judge between the all-ſeeing God, the ſearcher of all hearts, and their own conſciences, what they have intended by their ſo often preſſing *parliament* men from time to time, for a ſuppreſſion of all, that are not of their judgment in matters of religion; and upon ſearch made, if they find themſelves guilty of a deſire of any ſuch deſtruction unto us, we ſhall beg them in God's fear, to break off that evil by timely repentance, and make their peace with God: as for our parts, we are ſo far from deſiring any revenge againſt them, or any other that ſhall deſire or endeavour our ruin; as that in the preſence of God we ſhall rather pity than envy them, and, according to the requirement of our Lawgiver, *pray for them*, and their converſion, not at all in the leaſt deſiring or endeavouring their confuſion. That there

Matt. v. 44.

are

are many things wherein the publick miniſtry of the nation and we differ in matters of religion, both in doctrine and diſcipline, is very clear, and that we deſign or ſo much as deſire the deſtruction of them, or any other perſon whatſoever; for ſuch differences, or any other matters concerning our ſelves, we hope in our further anſwer to this, and to the fourth and fifth particulars, we ſhall manifeſt to be as clear, and alſo therein diſcover our ſelves to be the *peaceable lambs of Chriſt*, *the great Shepherd and Biſhop of our ſouls*, who doth require us to *learn of him, for he is lowly and meek*; yet notwithſtanding we do declare, when or whereſoever ſome of us ſhall conveniently meet with any of them, either in private or in publick, we ſhall reſolve (God aſſiſting us) *to contend earneſtly with them for the faith once delivered to the ſaints*, according to that exhortation of the Spirit of God by his Apoſtle *Jude*, and againſt them, and all oppoſitions, and oppoſers whatſoever, as good *ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt*, *fight the good fight of faith*; in which combat we are confident, we neither ſhall hazard life, nor draw blood; for through mercy we can ſay with our Apoſtle, That *though we live in the fleſh*, *yet we war not after the fleſh*; *for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.*

John xxi. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 25. —— v. 4. Heb. x. 20. Matt. xi. Jude *ver.* 3. 2 Tim. ii. 3. 1 Tim. vi. 12. 2 Cor. x. 3, 4.

To the *third*, *That we countenance the people called* Quakers *in their irregular practice.* To this we anſwer, and God is our witneſs, we lye not, that we are ſo far from countenancing the *Quakers* our ſelves in any irregular practice, as that if we our ſelves be found in any ſuch actings, we ſhall not violently oppoſe, but patiently ſubject to ſuch penal-

penalties as the breach of ſuch laws call for; it would have been well if the aſſertors had declared wherein this irregular practice doth conſiſt, that ſo we might have given a more particular anſwer; yet we hope, by what hath and ſhall be declared, it will eaſily be judged, that we, for our parts, are no ſuch people as the Baptiſts generally are reported, and ſome ſhew themſelves to be.

To the *fourth*, *That we endeavour a toleration of all miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical and civil, under pretence of liberty of conſcience.* If by endeavouring a toleration of all miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical, the aſſertors intend amongſt our ſelves in our own aſſemblies, we ſhall anſwer them as in the preſence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, that we are ſo far from any ſuch toleration, as that we, at this very day, go under a reproach by that people we formerly walked withal; becauſe in the reality of our ſouls, and the integrity of our hearts, we cannot allow of ſome things that we judge to be of that nature amongſt them, we well knowing that the Lord Chriſt requires a perfect obſervation of, and a univerſal obedience to all things whatſoever he commanded; and that as well to what hath been laid down by his Apoſtles, given in by the incomes of that ſpirit that was to lead them into all truth, and to ſhew them things to come; which are alſo the commands of Chriſt, as to thoſe that were laid down by himſelf: So that we poſitively ſay, That if we ſhall allow of any miſcarriages either in doctrine or diſcipline amongſt our ſelves, to thwart the mind of Chriſt, revealed in his ſcriptures of truth, we can expect no better

Matt. xxviii. 20.

John xvi. 13. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. John xviii. 12, 15.

better anſwer for him, than a proclamation of our worſhip, to our vain worſhip, as once he declared againſt the *Jews*: And therefore, if miſcarriages ariſe amongſt us, we are to bring ſuch miſcarriages to the touchſtone of God's word, and ſo weigh them in the ballance of the ſanctuary, and finding them either too heavy or too light, that is, either adding or diminiſhing from or to the mind of Chriſt, we are then to repair to thoſe wholeſome laws left us in ſcripture record, for the regulating of ſuch miſcarriages according to the nature of them, as they are private or publick, or more or leſs in their ſeveral aggravations, and as they are committed by perſons ſtanding in ſuch or ſuch relations. We ſay the more of this, becauſe moſt perſons think, and many do not ſtick to ſay, that we live and act, in things eccleſiaſtical, as libertines, and without church government, becauſe we withdraw our ſelves from the publick aſſemblies. But did ſuch perſons rightly conſider what the diſcipline of the miniſtry of the nation is in their parochial aſſemblies, who profeſs themſelves to be the true ſpouſe and church of Chriſt, and compare it with the mind of Chriſt revealed in the ſcriptures of truth, who gives laws to his church, which is that body of which he himſelf is the head; they would then find themſelves to be the libertines, and not we: and therefore we ſhall earneſtly deſire all that are unacquainted with the true diſcipline of the church of Chriſt, well to weigh, and ſeriouſly to conſider the ſtatute laws of Chriſt, in that caſe provided; the which, as we will anſwer the contrary at the great day of account, we dare not in the leaſt willfully violate or neglect.

Matt. xv. 9.

Eph. iv. 15, 21, 22. Col. i. 18. —— ii. 19. 2 Tim. iii. 16 —— iv. 1, 2. Eph. v. 11. Matt. xviii. 15. 1 Tim. v. 12, 19, 20. —— vi. 5. But —— i. 20.

Tit. iii. 10. 2 Theſſ. ii. 15. 2 Theſſ. iii. 10. 1 Cor. v. 4, 9, 11. ——— v. 12. But if by miſcarriages in things eccleſiaſtical, they mean that we endeavour a toleration of all miſcarriages amongſt them in their aſſemblies, we ſhall, in the preſence of God, clear our ſelves, and ſay, We have nothing at all to do with them in ſuch matters; for we ſay, They are *without*, as to us, and ſo we look upon our ſelves to be as to them. And if any one ſhall ſeem to be troubled at this term *without*, and object and ſay, That we are all the creation of God, and what need thoſe expreſſions of, *Stand at a diſtance, I am more holy than you*; to ſuch we ſhall anſwer in the ſpirit of love and meekneſs, and God is our witneſs, without oſtentation, that it is true, all the ſons and daughters of *Adam*, are the ſons and daughters of God by creation, but Matt. xx. 16. few by regeneration and adoption; for *many are called, but few choſen*; for not the Rom. ii. 13. *hearers of the law, but the doers ſhall be ju-* Matt. vii. 21. *ſtified*, and not every one that ſaith, *Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of the Father*; we well know, that many will ſay, Theſe are hard ſayings, and cannot well bear them: but to ſuch we ſhall give a direction in our poſtſcript, where from one of us they may expect, and we hope alſo find good ſatisfaction as to the term *without*.

THAT we own liberty of conſcience, we confeſs, but under that or any other pretence, to endeavour a toleration of any miſcarriages, either in things eccleſiaſtical or civil, we have given (we hope) full ſatisfaction; for ſeeing it is the will of our maſter, to have the tares ——— xiii 30. and the wheat grow together till the harveſt; and that our heavenly Father doth exerciſe his

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long-ſuffering to the whole bulk of mankind, *not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance*; we look upon it to be our duty to follow God as *dear children*, and thus to *walk in love*; and therefore are *like minded*, having the ſame love; and therefore do further declare, That we are as free, that all others ſhould enjoy their liberties as we our ſelves, of what judgment ſoever they be, we well knowing that ſome are called at the eleventh hour, as well as at the firſt and third. And had the Apoſtle *Paul* been plucked up whilſt he was a tare, a perſecutor, a blaſphemer, and the chief of ſinners, he had never been ſuch choice wheat, to ſatisfy, refreſh, enable, enliven, enlighten, encourage, build up and inſtruct, correct and reprove, the building of God, the houſe of God, the houſhold of God, the ſons and daughters of God, nor that body of which Chriſt is the head; and therefore we cannot but ſay again, that we are as free, that all others ſhould enjoy their liberties in the things of God, as we our ſelves, we well knowing that every one muſt give an account of himſelf to God; *for every one ſhall receive the things done in the body according to what they have done, whether it be good or bad.* But either to procure or maintain our own or others liberties by force of arms, or the leaſt violence, we can find no warrant from the ſcriptures of truth, in the leaſt, which is that only and alone rule that we walk by; for all the remedy that we find there recorded is, that if they *perſecute us in one city, flee into another*; and this we ſee acted by our Saviour himſelf, and by his parents, and the

2 Pet. iii. 9.
Eph. v. 1, 2.
Phil. ii. 2.
Matt. xx. 1, 6.
1 Tim. i. 13, 15.
1 Cor. iii. 9.
Heb. iii. 6.
Eph. ii. 19.
1 Cor. vi. 18.
Col. i. 18.
Rom. xiv. 12.
1 Cor. v. 10.
Matt. xxv. 34, 41.
John vii. 1.
Matt. ii. 14.

Acts xii. 17. —— ix. 25, 26. 1 Cor. xi. 33.

Apoſtle *Peter* and ſaint *Paul*. And to follow our Maſter, and to tread in the footſteps of the flock of God gone before us, we judge is very ſafe; but to reſiſt by force of arms, or uſe the leaſt violence, we judge unwarrantable.

To the *fifth* and *laſt* particular; *That we would murder and deſtroy thoſe that differ from us in matters of religion.* To this we cannot but anſwer, That ſo to do, we judge were not ſo much as common humanity, much leſs religion or chriſtianity; but our religion is *pure, and undefiled before God and our Father*, which is to *viſit the fatherleſs and widows*; not to make fatherleſs and widows; and to viſit them in their afflictions; not to murder and deſtroy their relations, to bring them under afflictions: But to this we further anſwer, That this and the fourth particular we judge ſeem to contradict one another; for murdering and deſtroying for difference in matters of religion and liberty of conſcience, cannot ſtand together, nor in the eye of reaſon can they be charged againſt one and the ſame perſons; for murdering and deſtroying for difference in matters of religion, deſtroys liberty of conſcience, and liberty of conſcience ſwallows up and drowns murdering and deſtroying for difference in matters of religion: ſo that it argues, that the aſſertors of theſe things are yet in *Babylon* and confuſion, with thoſe our Apo-

1 Tim. i. 7.

ſtle writ of, not *knowing well what they ſay, nor whereof they do affirm*; yet, notwithſtanding, ſeeing we are therewith charged, in order to the diſcharging our ſelves of this confuſed burden, we ſhall, in the ſingleneſs of our ſouls, yet further diſcover our real judgments, as to the main intent of the charge, which

which is murdering and deſtroying; and add this further, that we read of a threefold ſword in ſcripture.

(1.) THE ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God. Eph. vi. 17.

(2.) THE ſword of juſtice, which is the magiſtrates ſword. Rom. xiii. 4.

(3.) THE ſword of ſteel, uſually ſo called, which is the ſword of ſlaughter. Iſa. i. 20. Ez. ix. 1, 2.

THE *firſt* of theſe we are required to take to us, and *put on*, and *thus to be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might*, whoſe might was evidenced once again and again, by uſing this ſword ſkilfully; *for it is mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity*, &c. and having in a readineſs *to revenge all diſobedience*, and *is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works*; *for we wreſtle not with fleſh and blood, but againſt principalities, powers, the rulers of the darkneſs of this world*; not for nor againſt the magiſtrates, parliament, nor armies of the world, the beſt of whoſe ſtrength is fleſh and not ſpirit, who ſhall be deſtroy'd together. As for the ſword of juſtice, or the magiſtrates ſword we are to be ſubject to it, as we have fully declared, and not to reſiſt it; which ſword takes revenge on no man before he be apprehended, charged, heard, and by good evidence convicted, and ſentence, according to the fact prov'd, given; and then an immediate commiſſion given to an executioner, ac-

Eph. vi. 11, 13, 17. Matt. iv. 4, 7, 9. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Eph. vi. 12. Iſa. xxxi. 1, 2, 3. Matt. xxvi. 52.

according to the fact and ſentence, for the putting this ſword in execution.

But the ſword of ſlaughter, without examination or due conſideration, is, many times, put in execution to the ſlaying and deſtroying of friends as well as enemies, witneſs thoſe ſlaughters and woundings in this city in the late inſurrection.

And for our acting in this ſword, we can find no warrant from ſcripture in the leaſt; for that ſword being once procured by *Peter*, and another of the diſciples, and that by an immediate commiſſion from Chriſt, the work being finiſhed for which it was intended, we find an immediate and peremptory command for the ſheathing it again; and this reaſon render'd from the lip of truth it ſelf; *for all they that take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword: for whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it.* And we find no toleration in holy writ to the people of God for the drawing it again in the leaſt, neither by precept nor example.

Matt. xxvi. 52. Mark xvi. 15.

But leſt this countermand ſhould not be looked upon to be a ſufficient warrant for its continuance in its place, by the people of God, for the time to come; the Lord Chriſt, among ſeveral other weighty things, ſent to the ſeven churches in *Aſia*, and in them to us, by *John* the revelator, is not backward to remind them, and us in them of it again, as a matter of no ſmall concernment; and, as we judge, leſt it ſhould not be taken ſo much notice of by us in this our day as he would have it, he bringeth it in, in the midſt of a diſcourſe, not long before the riſe of the man of ſin, when one of the heads of the beaſt

beaſt is wounded as it were to death, and that deadly wound was healed; intimating thus much, as we apprehend, That as kingly power hath had a wound in theſe nations, even as it were unto death, ſo we know that the deſign of God ſhall be brought about, and the ſcriptures muſt be fulfilled; for the deadly wound ſhall be healed. And we finding the ſpirits of the generality of the people of the three nations very high in this juncture of time in the behalf of kingly government, like *Iſrael* of old; ſo that by the face of things, as they appear to us in this laſt change, we do diſcern as through a glaſs darkly, that the deadly wound is now going to be healed, although we do really judge, that ſeveral that are in preſent eminent power, intend no ſuch thing, no more than the *Jews* in the crucifying of Chriſt, intended the bringing the great deſign and fore-appointment of God about; by all which we judge, that caution was intended chiefly to us, *upon whom the ends of the world is come:* and leſt we ſhould not be ſo mindful of our duties as he would have us, he makes, as it were, a proclamation, to beſpeak our better attention to what he intendeth, and ſaith, *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear: he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity: he that killeth with the ſword, ſhall be killed with the ſword.* Here is the faith and patience of the ſaints; that whilſt others are leading into captivity, and killing with the ſword, to pull down, or ſet up this or that power, man, or government, to give a deadly wound to kingly power, or to heal that deadly wound again; that then the people of God ſhould,

Rev. xiii. 3.

1 Sam. viii.

Acts ii. 23.

Rev. xiii. 9, 10.

Heb. iii. 17. in their *patience poſſeſs their ſouls*, and in the midſt of theſe revolutions exerciſe their faith, as once that prophet did, and faithfully to depend upon God for his preſervation and protection, keeping themſelves pure and undefiled, from leading into captivity, or killing with the ſword, leſt they themſelves be led into captivity, and be killed by the ſword; John xv. 19. thereby evidencing themſelves to be the *peaceable flock of Chriſt, choſen out of the world*, Iſa. ix. 6. and following their *maſter, the Lord and* 2 Theſſ. iii. 16. *prince of peace*, being regulated by his requirements in the *goſpel of peace*, having Rom. x. 15. Eph. vi. 15. received from the *God of peace*, that *ſpirit*, Rom. xv. 33. whoſe *fruits is love, joy, peace, long-ſuffer-* —— xvi. 20. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. *ing, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs and* Gal. v. 22, 23, 24. *temperance, againſt which there is no law*; that as they are Chriſt's, ſo they ſhould evidence that they have *crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts*; but luſt being not crucified, it breaks forth into wars and fightings; James iv. 1, 2. for when *men luſt, and have not*, then they *kill and deſire to have*: and when the people of God ſhall act thus, the ſpirit of God brands them with thoſe ignominious names of adulterers and adultreſſes; informing them, that what they are fighting for is enmity againſt God; and that if they obtain it, they —— iv. 4. are enemies to God: And we well knowing that whilſt we are friends to the world we are enemies to God, dare not, in the leaſt, have to do in the world, ſo as to ſet up our ſelves, or to ſide with any either in ſetting up or pulling down; and how can a man's love to the world be evidenced more, than in venturing his life for it, according to that John xv. 13. ſaying of our Saviour.

AND

AND we further declare, That as we are to be a peaceable people upon the account of action, ſo we look upon it to be our duty to keep our ſelves from oaths, engagements and covenants, either for or againſt this or that perſon, government, or perſons whatſoever: *For becauſe of ſwearing the land mourneth.* Jer. xxiii. 10. *For the Lord hath a controverſy with the inhabitants of the land; becauſe there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land; for by ſwearing, and lying, and killing, and ſtealing, and committing adultery, they break forth, and blood toucheth blood, ſaith the prophet.* And ſaith the ſame prophet; Hoſ. iv. 1, 2, 3. *They have ſpoken words ſwearing falſly in making a covenant.* — x. 3, 4. *Thus judgment ſpringeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field*; and we not knowing what the cabinet counſel of God is in this our day, upon the account of government, dare not in the leaſt have ſo much as a thought to engage in any ſuch thing, *leſt we be found fighters againſt God,* Acts v. 39. according to the ſaying of *Gamaliel*, though in another caſe.

AND therefore do declare our reſolution herein, That we ſhall not (God aſſiſting us) enter into any engagement whatſoever upon any ſuch account; yet ſhall this ſay again, That we ſhall not violently reſiſt the impoſers of any ſuch engagements; but ſhall patiently ſuffer the penalty of our non-obedience as aforeſaid.

AND we further declare, as in the preſence of God, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, That as it hath been ſome of our great trouble for a long time, to ſee ſome of thoſe that are in the ſame faith and order with us, ſo acting;

ing; ſo it is now become even an overwhelming burden upon our ſouls, to ſee them generally running ſuch a precipitant courſe, by which actings of theirs, the mouths almoſt of all men are opened againſt them, and that truth they profeſs, moſt ignominiouſly branded and reproached. And therefore we further declare, That in the ſight of God, Angels and men, that we bear our teſtimony againſt them in their preſent actings, and cannot ſtand by them, nor have communion with them therein, nor with thoſe that ſtrengthen their hands in ſtanding by them; and muſt tell them, in the words of our Saviour, *That they know not what ſpirit they are of*; for *the ſon of man*, their maſter, *came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.*

Luke ix. 55.

THE premiſes conſider'd, we ſhall appeal to the judgments of all rational men, whether we are guilty of what we are charged withal or not; yet if they ſhall ſtill go on notwithſtanding, to uſe us reproachfully for the name of Chriſt, we ſhall be ſo far from endeavouring or deſiring a revenge, as that, in the words of Chriſt, we ſhall, in our requeſts at the throne of grace, cry out and ſay, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

FOraſmuch as the ſaid declarers, in their anſwer to the firſt particular in their declaration, do call the *Independants and Presbyterians* their Chriſtian friends, the which however it is they ſo complement with them, yet in reality (we judge) they cannot own them as ſuch upon a ſcripture account; as alſo becauſe one Mr. *William Alleyn*, in a book lately by him publiſh'd, intitled, *A retractation to ſeparation.* In which book, in the whole current of it, all the ſcriptures that he brings, which were written by the immediate direction and incomes of the holy Spirit of God, to the churches, as they were in the faith and order of the goſpel, he applieth to, and alſo for, and in the behalf of *Epiſcopals*, *Independants* and *Presbyterians*, who are oppoſite both to the doctrine and diſcipline of thoſe churches, he intending thereby to perſuade us, if poſſible, to a belief that they are the true and viſible members of that body, of which Chriſt is the head; the which book, by God's aſſiſtance, is intended ſuddenly to be anſwer'd by one of our ſociety, who reſolveth to intitle it, *The retractators work ſcan'd, or the conceptions and ſuppoſals of Mr.* William Alleyn, *regulated by ſcripture record*; in which, with other things, a goſpel believer, or a true church of Chriſt, upon a goſpel account, is intended to be ſtated; the which is hoped will be ſo plain, that it may prove inſtrumental to the undeceiving of ſome that

that are under a deceit, by means of that and ſuch deceitful diſcourſes as that is. In which anſwer it is further hoped, that thoſe that are unſatisfied with our term *without*, in our anſwer in our declaration to the fourth particular, may receive alſo good ſatisfaction; and in the mean time, we deſire all to take notice, that though we thus ſpeak, yet we have good thoughts of thoſe friends that go under thoſe denominations, and do own them, and all others, of all other opinions whatſoever, in union, ſo far as they own God, Chriſt and their truths: but to own the beſt of men to be members of that body of which Chriſt is the head, and ſo to have communion with them, either to make them our mouth in prayer to God for us, or God's mouth in ſpeaking forth his truths to us, or in breaking of bread at the table of the Lord, we cannot own them in the leaſt, our reaſons, we hope, will be fully laid down in the anſwer to the ſaid book.

Henry Adis, Richard Pilgrim, William Cox, in behalf of themſelves, and thoſe that walk with them.

And if any man ſhall queſtion the reaſon why there are no more ſubſcribers to this long declaration; we muſt anſwer them in the ſorrow of our hearts, in the language of the prophet; *Wo is us, for we are as when they have gathered the ſummer fruits, as the grape gatherings in the vintage, there is no cluſters to eat. The good man is periſhed out of the earth, and there is none upright amongſt men;*

Mic. vii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

they

they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earneſtly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward, and the great man he uttereth his miſchievous deſire; ſo they wrap it up. The beſt of them is as a briar, the moſt upright is ſharper than a thorn hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy viſitation cometh, now ſhall be their perplexity.

FOR thus ſaith the Lord by his prophet; *Your iniquities have ſeparated between you and your God, and your ſins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear: for your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity, your lips have ſpoken lies, your tongues have mutter'd perverſeneſs. None calleth for juſtice, nor any pleadeth for truth; they truſt in vanity, and ſpeak lies; they conceive miſchief, and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the ſpider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is cruſhed breaketh out into a viper. Their webs ſhall not become garments, neither ſhall they cover themſelves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their feet run to evil, and they make haſte to ſhed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, waſting and deſtruction is in their paths. The way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whoſoever goeth therein, ſhall not know peace. Therefore is judgment far from us; we wait for light, but behold obſcurity; for brightneſs, but we walk in dark-*

Iſa. lix. 2.

darkneſs; and ſo read on to the 18th verſe. *According to their deeds, accordingly he will pay, fury to his adverſaries, recompence to his enemies, to the iſlands he will repay recompence.*

BUT leſt any man ſhould think us to be what we are not, by what hath been inſerted in our paper, after our ſubſcriptions, we ſhall in fine declare, That, in the preſence of God, that what we have ſaid, is againſt ſinful actions, and not perſons.

THERE are *three* or *four* lines following ſo torn in ſome parts of them, that I choſe rather to omit them than ſupply, for fear of miſtake.

FINIS.

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THE Third *Volume* of the *Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts* is ready for the Preſs, and will be ſent thither as ſoon as the Subſcriptions are compleated. It will contain the like number of ſheets, be printed with the ſame letter, and upon as good paper as the former volumes. The price to the Subſcribers will be *Four Shillings* in ſheets, or *Five Shillings* neatly bound in calf. Thoſe who ſubſcribe for *Six* to have a *Seventh* gratis.

Chap. I. of this *Volume* will contain an account of thoſe *Baptiſt* miniſters who were ejected or ſilenced by or before the *Act of Uniformity*, or otherwiſe ſuffer'd on account of their miniſtry. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, in Vol. II. I have obtained ſome account of theſe following, *viz.*

Robert Brown
John Harding
Robert Steed
—— Williams
Paul Frewin
Joſeph Head
Abraham Chear
Paul Hobſon
Thomas Hardcaſtle
George Fownes
John Miles
Thomas Froud
John Skinner
Laurence Wiſe
John St. Nicholas
Will. Woodward
Thomas Jennings
—— Baker
John Smith
Thomas Paxford
Henry Haggar
John Canne
Thomas Patient
Thomas Lamb
John Goſnold
John Bunyan
Thomas Grantham
Henry Danvers
William Jeffery
John Reeve
Henry Forty
Thomas Wilcox
Iſaac Lamb
George Hammon
Richard Hobs
Charles M. Duveil
Edward Morecock
Samuel Taverner
Thomas Plant
William Pardoe
John Denne
Manaſſeh King
Jonath. Jennings
Joſeph Wright
Matthew Caffin
John Eccles
Richard Farmer
—— Gamman
John Griffith
Stephen Dagnal
John Miller
James Wilmot
—— Tidmarſh
John Amory
Thomas Burgeſs
James Hind
Peter Coles
John Sanger
Roger Applin
John Tredwell
Francis Stanley
John Grunden
Stephen Curtis
Joſeph Slater
Benjamin Morley
Hercules Collins
Joſeph Davis
George Sanders
Rich. Drinkwater
Thomas Bowes
John Maulden
Benjamin Keach
Andrew Gifford
Joſeph Maſters
Richard Allein
Richard Adams

Theſe are all at preſent I have any account of. If any thing further be communicated in due time, a due regard ſhall be had thereunto, without reſpect of perſons.

WHERE-

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